

**'Disaster Identity' as a new analytical approach for Disaster
Studies:
The paradigmatic case of disaster identity construction in
Valparaíso, Chile**

María José Otero-Auristondo

200874258

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy

The University of Leeds
School of Geography
Cities and Social Justice Cluster

October 2018

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of María Otero-Auristondo to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

© 2018 The University of Leeds and Maria Otero-Auristondo

Acknowledgements

*I asked my mother, when I was a small child,
if I went to university, what did she see me doing with a degree.
She answered: "You will get your doctorate".
This within a family where me and my cousins were the first generation ever,
to consider grad school as an option.
My father did not quite understand why
I gave up a wealthy career in medicine for a pauper's life of teaching school history.
"It is already a tough life, why do you want to make it even more difficult?",
He once asked me. It did not make sense to him.
But he stood, and stands by me, tall, with love and pride.
Thank you both for your love, sacrifice, support and aspirations.
I am much obliged. All my love, forever.
However, I am and always will be eternally sorry for not being there.
For not being able to hold your hands through the difficult times of these past years.
For not being there for my aunt Jessica's and my Nona Marta's long and painful agony.
It is something I will never be able to forgive myself for.
Although I know they knew I was there with them, as I was there with you both virtually at
least, throughout both these agonies, both these twilights, both these pains, both
these deaths.
I am so, so sorry.*

*I want to thank all of my many colleagues during my 10 years of school teaching,
as well as the 3 years of university lecturing.
All of you have been both a source of comfort and challenge, of help, growth and hurt.
These experiences with all of you have been character building, yes,
but also they have given me knowledge about the human race that has shaped me more
than I can tell.*

*Of all of you,
I want to thank Alicia Bustamante Bertoglio.
She interviewed me for my first teaching job, fresh out of university.
I was only 22, and she saw me for what I was: a (still) raw force, who cared and understood
the enormity that is implied in teaching. Thank you for believing in me when I did not yet
believed myself.*

*To Andoni Arenas Martija,
My high school history teacher, current colleague and dear friend.
You saw me grow up. You saw me turn into a professional. You were there for me to
expand my professional views. You gave me, always, so many chances.
You did not question it, you somehow knew I would be capable of this.
Thank you for pushing me, for making sure I strived to become what you always knew I
could be.*

*To Clare Brooks and Felisbela Martins, true rock stars in their fields. I have no sufficient
words to give back for your appreciation and support, for the direct (and sometimes harsh)
advice in critical times. I thank the International Geographers Union for awarding me the
travelling scholarship to assist the conference in Krakow 2014, which gave me the
opportunity to meet you both, along with David Öbring and Tricia Seow. It has, still is, and
hopefully still will be my honour.*

*To my supervisors, Sara González and Alex Schafran, for their dedication, patience and
counsel given in these four years of teamwork. Thanks for our talks, discussions,
disagreements. The rough path, all of it has made this research and this researcher a
better one. Also, many thanks for the financial aid of the City's and Social Justice Cluster,
in specific to the "Contested Cities" project, who allowed me to travel to Chile and realise
my two fieldworks during 2015 and 2016.*

To David Bell, Nichola Wood and the late Anthony Carrigan, members of my Research Graduate Committee, for all your feedback, comments and encouragement. Also, many thanks to Jacqui Manton for her help in our housing in 2014, and for her patience in answering all of my annoying questions during all these years. Many thanks to Wändi Bruine de Bruin, who lend me time and expertise when planning my research design. Finally, many many thanks to James R. Mason, who thoroughly read this dissertation and offered great advice in key moments of its development.

To Katherine Taylor from the Language Centre of the University of Leeds. You helped me selflessly, took time from your schedule to help me improve my academic English. Moreover, thanks for your support and understanding. Also, many thanks to Emily Diamond, who also assisted me in discovering my academic English writing style. Moreover, thanks for your support and understanding.

To Dr Eleanor Granger, the staff of the Leeds Student Medical Practice, the Leeds General Infirmary and the St. James' Hospital. Dr Granger, you have helped me through these past 4 years, thanks for your concern, care and professionalism.

To the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso team of librarians, especially to Angélica Miranda Guajardo (Engineering), Selma Páez Alliendes (Curauma), Leonardo Riquelme Bustamante (Law), Manuel Rivera Urrutia and Pamela Zavala Difonis (History), Guillermo Arancibia (Architecture) for your excellent service and selfless help during data collection. To Fernando Vergara, of the Eduardo Budge Barnard Patrimonial Collection of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso for testing and proving my resilience against (his) bureaucracy in tiny spaces of power.

To the Newspaper section of the Santiago Severín Public Lybrary of Valparaíso and its team of dedicated librarians, who were of great help when locating rare pieces of data that proved critical for this research.

To Claudia Cuevas Saavedra and Christian León Pardo of the National Congress Library, who patiently helped me sift through endless volumes of general and specific references, and mostly, for their incredible positivism and disposition to help me and fellow researchers.

To Luís Álvarez Aránguiz, Marcela Sánchez Martínez, Alejandro Corvalán Quiroz and Rodrigo Figueroa Sterquel who made sure I applied to my doctorate, who recommended me to my sponsor, and who ensured to treat my supervisors as guests whilst they travelled in Valparaíso. Also, many thanks to Evelyn Uribe and Gladys Castro, for her help and support in surfing the administrative bonds of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso.

To all my interviewees, who have helped in shaping this research with their experiences and emotions. In particular, to Mrs María Isabel and to Eduardo, your enthusiasm was fuel for this researcher in critical times of need. Also, many thanks to Luís Rivera Caneo, Miguel Ángel Rojas, María de los Ángeles De la Paz for their help in contacting other interviewees during the process of fieldwork; and to Dr. Jaime Vito and Dr. Eduardo Cavieres-Figueroa, for all your patience and discussions

To the National Council of Science and Technology Conicyt, Ministry of Education, Chile; and the Becas-Chile Programme of Advanced Human Capital, for your trust and belief in the relevance of my research project. Hopefully it will be of help and assistance for science and knowledge advancement for our country.

To old friends and new.

To Ximena Prado Dagnino, a "life's friend", thanks for your bullying, your pushes, your support, our talks... our endless talks, our tears; but most of all, our laughs.

To Brenda Ampuero Paredes, for your trust and confidence, for your advice,

for believing, for your words.

To Gabriela Torres Tapia,
Who gave me friendship and understanding without question. See, our friendship survived
the “seven year clause”, I knew we would. Sense and sensibility, always.

To Montserrat Pávez Zamora and Constanza Hola Chamy... you have sustained me in
different moments of our lives. I thank those paths that we have trailed together.

To “La Junta Vecinal Lo Tesho” Chilean community of Leeds, formed in 2015.
Quirian Sani Vegas, Carlos Flores Ruíz, Daniel Aravena Lepe, Lizi Gómez Zúñiga
you made this journey a safer, enjoyable and hilarious one.
For that I thank you, truly.

To Paulette Dougnac Quintana, Mario Álvarez Fuentes,
Manuel and Pedro Álvarez Dougnac, our godsons.
You are true Friends, we have become a true Family.
Thank you for welcoming us into yours. We love you.

To Vivian Valdivia Figueroa and Cristóbal Torres Muñoz,
Your friendship is sincere, your take in life so understated, your entertainment sublime.
Hopefully one day we can see Carcassone together and keep on playing...

To my fellow researchers Samuel Ese, Suad Al-Manji, Iqbal Ahmed, Daniel Ancona, Sarah
Fell, Rathakrishnan Kamla, Stephen Clark, Junwoo Kim, Zac Taylor Melville, Junfan Lin,
Arizka Warganegara, Heru Purwandari, Rui Yu, and Rakesh Tiwari. Thanks for the shared
moments, the talks, the support, the stories.

To Shruti Vispute, with whom I have shared this extremely challenging ride,
where care, concern and friendship arose from the depths of PhD life.
Thanks for your trust and care. I am eternally grateful.

To Tantria, Cony and Andrés,
for your trust, smiles, laughter, and mutual bullying.
To my mother and father in law, and sister and brother in law,
you welcomed me into your family 12 years ago,
and I have felt home since then.
Thanks for your heart, love and respect;
for Rony, Yuky and Lady.
I love you all.

To my husband, the love of my life, God’s true gift to me.

Patricio:
I honestly do not know where I would be without you.
But I do know that I would be worse off. Alone, normal, and without laughter.
You bring sunshine with you, it shines all around you.
You bring music in your smile, in your sight, in your jokes, in your thoughts.
The extraordinary of our lives starts with you.
You give me confidence. I feel safe only with you.
I am so sorry for everything I have put you through,
and most of all for not protecting you when it was most needed.
You gave up so much, you have endured so much, you have given me so much.
I only hope I am worthy of you, and that, somehow, it has been also mutual from me to you.
This, right here, is for you.
An everlasting paw.
“Pato da La Vida”.

...The Song Remains the Same. Who knew? And although He who heed the path to this place will be there in my time of dying, across the sea of years;
here I stand, with no provision but an open face, along the straits of fear... And it's Nobody's Fault but Mine...
Because I Carry Fire, here, in my naked hands... Because I give No Quarter... Because I must Ramble On...
Because I must escape this hell and find the only sound that matters... The sound of the ages...
Because I'm moving to higher ground, Because I've found a new way out.
Thanks RP and LZ. Truly.

Abstract

On 12th April 2014, the coastal city of Valparaíso, Chile, was affected by Mega Fire that destroyed seven of its major hills, leaving thousands of affected families and major urban chaos behind. This is the latest happening of a historical relationship of this place and its communities with disaster events, that goes back two-hundred years to its original emplacement.

In this thesis I will establish how this historically embedded way of life can be recognised through meaningful collective experiences of diverse communities that share a common place through time. I further argue that these meaningful collective experiences tend to merge into everyday city-making life, in what I call '*Disaster Identity*'; a key analytical tool that entwines the relationship amongst disaster, identity and place in disaster-prone places.

I propose that this particular identity construction process is based on four main arguments: constantly re-signified social memory; collectively created identity and place-making through deep tophophilic relationships with space; socially constructed resistant resilience that opposes demagogic clientelism; and culturally created false expectations due to failed urban recuperation plan post-disasters. Working together, they evidence that disasters are also sociocultural constructions; such an understanding is lacking from mainstream discussions in disaster studies.

This research is a product of intersubjective analysis applied to Valparaíso's 2014 Mega Fire and other relevant historical disasters. Hence, I designed a mixed method fieldwork, where the most-rich descriptive data was obtained through 50 interviews and archival work related to historic disasters before 2014. Both data collection and analysis were organised through relevant explanations of disaster experiences highlighted by participants, applying intersubjective interpretation to their narratives.

This thesis foregrounds the important role that social sciences can offer to disaster studies, all of which would be of use to decision-makers for better-planned schemes in facing potential disaster events in disaster-prone places.

Keywords: Disaster Identity, Social Memory, Resistant Resilience, False Expectations, Topophilia, Commodification of Spectacle, Total History.

Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	vi
Contents	vii
List of Maps	xi
List of Tables	xii
List of Images	xiv
Abbreviations	xviii
Part I: Case Introduction, Methodological and Theoretical Frameworks.....	1
Chapter 1 Introduction	2
1.1 Disasters and Social Life	2
1.2 Framing disaster, identity and place in disaster studies.....	3
1.2.1 A conceptual articulation triad for the understanding of disaster as a sociocultural phenomenon.....	6
1.3 The case of Valparaíso, Chile, as a paradigmatic case study.....	9
1.3.1 Porteñoness as the connection between disasters, identity and place in Valparaíso	11
1.4 Main Arguments.....	13
1.4.1 Social Memory as the reservoir of the set of values and mentality of a particular identity – porteñoness.....	14
1.4.2 Communication of political disaster management affects identity and place construction in disaster-prone places.....	14
1.4.3 Political patterns of behaviour in a disaster-prone place relate to the notion of ‘resistant resilience’	15
1.4.4 Failed reconstruction plans affect identity and place construction in disaster-prone places as future social crises	16
1.5 Presentations of Chapters	17
Chapter 2 Methodology	19
2.1 Data Gathering: Mixed Methods	20
2.2.1 Observation.....	21
2.2.2 Participatory Observation.....	23
2.2.3 Research Diaries	24
2.2.4 Interviews.....	25
2.2.5 Visual Data	30
2.2.6 Mapping	30

2.2.7 Archive Data Gathering.....	31
2.2 Data Analysis.....	34
Document Insertion 1: 'Photo Awakening' Collage Exercise	38
Chapter 3 Literature Review and Conceptual Framework.....	39
3.1 Disaster, Identity and Place Studies Literature Review	42
3.1.1 Disaster Studies.....	42
3.1.2 Identity Studies	52
3.1.3 Place Studies.....	57
3.2 Structural Theoretical Concepts.....	61
3.2.1 Yi Fu Tuan's Topophilia	62
3.2.2 Ferdinand Braudel's Total History.....	63
3.2.3 Guy Debord's Commodification of Spectacle.....	63
3.3 Operational Concepts from the Social Sciences.....	64
3.3.1 Behaviour Studies.....	65
3.3.2 Trauma Studies	65
3.3.3 Media Studies	67
Part II Data Analysis: Questions of Social Memory, Resistant Resilience Politics, Spectacle and False Expectations, and Their Role in Identity and Place Construction in Disaster-Prone Places	69
Chapter 4 Creating Social Memory through Disaster	70
4.1 Social Memory and <i>Porteñoness</i> through Two Disaster Cases.	73
4.1.1 The 1866 Bay Bombing	73
4.1.2 The 1906 Earthquake	79
4.2 The 2014 Mega Fire analysed through Social (Disaster) Memory .	86
4.3 Social Memory through disasters in a disaster-prone place.....	92
Chapter 5 Spectacle, Disasters and <i>Porteñoness</i>	99
5.1 The Rise and Fall of <i>Porteñoness</i> , analysed through Debord's Spectacle.....	101
5.1.1 First Moment: The dual culture within <i>porteñoness</i>	101
Document Insertion 2: The Investor Immigrant.....	103
5.1.2 Second Moment: The Bourgeoisie's Assisstencialism and the Worker's Resistance Societies within <i>Porteñoness</i>	106
5.1.3 Third Moment: The port crisis and <i>porteñoness</i> during the 20 th century.....	113
5.2 The 2014 Mega Fire: the fourth moment of <i>porteñoness</i> that became a new cultural stepping-stone	117

5.3 <i>Porteñoness</i> through Spectacle	123
Chapter 6 <i>Porteñoness</i>, Politics, and Disasters.....	126
6.1 The Rise and Fall of <i>Porteñoness</i> as a Chilean political aware vanguard.....	128
6.2 The Burned <i>Porteño</i> : The Immediate Before and the Immediate After of the 2014 Mega Fire	134
6.2.1 *Before the Mega Fire*	134
6.2.2 *During the Emergency*	138
6.2.3 *After the Mega Fire*	145
6.3 The <i>Porteño</i> becomes political vanguard Again: From ‘ <i>Castro’s</i> <i>Phrase</i> ’ to the 2016 Municipal Elections	148
Document Insertion 3: Did I invite You to Live Here?.....	153
6.4 Resistant Resilience as an embedded behaviour in disaster-prone places.	162
Chapter 7 On <i>Porteñoness</i> and False Expectations	166
7.1 Historical Traces of the Double Vulnerability Condition	169
7.1.1 False Expectations during the Rise, Fall and Commodification of <i>Porteñoness</i>	169
7.1.2 The 1980s National Congress Relocation.....	176
7.1.3 The 2003 UNESCO heritage denomination	183
7.2 The 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	188
7.2.1 Objective 1: Housing solutions.....	190
7.2.2 Objective 2: To recuperate neighbourhoods	193
7.2.3 Objective 3: To lower vulnerability levels	196
7.3 The embedding of social disasters, through false expectations...	198
Part III Conclusions, Limitations and Future Possibilities	204
Chapter 8 Conclusions	205
8.1 The Four Main Arguments and their findings	206
8.2 Comparison of Disaster Identity with other analytical tools in disaster studies.....	210
8.3 Disaster Identity’s relevance and originality as a new analytical tool for disaster studies.....	214
8.4 Limitations of this Research.....	216
8.5 Future Possibilities for Research	217

Appendix A: Disaster Management Phases Models.....	219
Appendix B: Application of the proposed Conceptual Framework to Valparaíso.....	222
Appendix C: The Porteño as a current visible social stereotype	226
Appendix D: Representative Songs of Valparaíso.....	233
Appendix E: 1985 Earthquake	235
Appendix F: List of the 79 urban projects within the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	237
Appendix G: List of the 79 urban projects within the 2014 Reconstruction Plan contemplated for the 2014-2018 Presidential Period of Michelle Bachelet.	239
Appendix H: Valparaíso’s Disaster History	241
Appendix I: Informed Consent forms for my Interviewees.	250
Appendix J: Email Consent from Fotos Históricas de Valparaíso	251
Appendix K: Ethics Committee Resolution 2015 for this research.	253
References	254

List of Maps

Map 1: Localization of Valparaíso and Chile.....	10
Map 2: Magellan Trade Route.....	74
Map 3: Area of Impact of 1906 Earthquake.....	80
Map 4 Proposed urban grid post-1906 Earthquake.....	86
Map 5: Environmental Vulnerability of El Litre and Las Cañas hills.....	143
Map 6: Land use of El Litre and Las Cañas hills.....	143
Map 7: Valparaíso’s mapped vulnerabilities.....	144
Map 8: Satellite image of 2014 Mega Fire.....	144
Map 9: Collective mapping of ‘Did I invite you to Live Here’.....	153
Map 10: Reurbanization post-1866.....	173
Map 11: Reurbanization post-1906.....	173
Map 12: Valparaíso-Santiago route.....	179
Map 13: UNESCO Patrimonial area in Valparaíso.....	187
Map 14: Synthesis of risky areas of self-reconstructed houses in 2015.....	192
Map 15: Synthesis of alternatives of self-reconstruction c. December 2015.....	192
Map 16: Areas to be intervened with the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	197
Map 17: 21st May in local mapping.....	228

List of Tables

Table 1: Descriptive data of interviews.....	26
Table 2: Interview questions and perceptions of porteñoness.....	28-29
Table 3: 19 Major disasters in Valparaíso’s history.....	32-33
Table 4: Dimensions and Categories.....	35
Table 5: Research and Conference Participations.....	37
Table 6: Research questions and main arguments summary... ..	40
Table 7: Characteristics of perceived disaster situations.....	43
Table 8: Difference between risk assessment and risk perception.....	44-45
Table 9: Toolbox 1 – Key Disaster Studies concepts summary.....	51
Table 10: Toolbox 2 – Key Identity Studies concepts summary... ..	56
Table 11: Toolbox 3 – Key Place Studies concepts summary... ..	60
Table 12: Toolbox 4 - Key Behaviour Studies concepts summary.....	65
Table 13: Toolbox 5 – Key Trauma Studies concepts summary.... ..	66-67
Table 14: Toolbox 6 – Key Media Studies concepts summary... ..	68
Table 15: Population Growth in Valparaíso, 1864-1875.....	71
Table 16: Summary of the First Argument... ..	72-73
Table 17: Summary of Main Arguments 1 and 2.....	101
Table 18: Summary of Main Arguments 1, 2 and 3... ..	128
Table 19: Map 9 Keys.....	154
Table 20: ‘Did I invite you to live here’ analysis.....	154-155
Table 21: Summary of Main Arguments 1, 2, 3 and 4.... ..	168-169
Table 22: Immigrant rate of Valparaíso 1855-1907.....	170
Table 23: Overview of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	190
Table 24: Alternatives of Self-Reconstruction according to hill of precedence in 2015.....	193

Table 25: Expense rates and execution of projects for 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	195
Table 26: Risk Calculation Equation.....	221
Table 27: Examples of Porteñoness from Identity Studies concepts.....	222
Table 28: ‘La Joya del Pacífico’ song and lyrics.....	233
Table 29: ‘Valparaíso’ song and lyrics.....	234

List of Images

Image 1: Disaster Identity Model according to four main arguments.....	13
Image 2: Illustrations of formal fieldworks.....	22
Image 3: Illustrations of Participant Observations.....	24
Image 4: Collage Memory Exercise.....	38
Image 5: Disaster Identity theoretical model.....	40
Image 6: Four oppositions of Disaster Subculture.....	46
Image 7: Diplomatic reception for Luís Pinzón, 1866.....	75
Image 8: London Times Print, 1866.....	77
Image 9: Clock of the Intendency Building, 1866.....	77
Image 10: Bombarded Valparaíso, 1866.....	77
Image 11: Seismograph register of 1906 Earthquake.....	80
Image 12: Illustration of 1906 Earthquake destruction.....	80
Image 13: 1906 Revista Sucesos 1906 Earthquake especial.....	81
Image 14: Lukas' representation of 1906 Earthquake.....	83
Image 15: Images of the up-hills during 1906 Earthquake.....	84
Image 16: Representation of Valparaíso's Bay 1930s, 1950s, 1910.....	85
Image 17: Aerial shot of El Vergel zone pre-2014 Mega Fire.....	87
Image 18: Collage of 3rd day after the 2014 Mega Fire.....	87
Image 19: House built on house.....	90
Image 20: 1906 Earthquake Monument.....	90
Image 21: Immigrants' Day 2011.....	94
Image 22: Mote Mey Vendor.....	102
Image 23: Julio Bernstein c. 1880.....	103
Image 24: Emporium in the up-hills.....	104
Image 25: Façade of Riddle and Co.....	104

Image 26: Collage illustrating Valparaíso's boites.....	104
Image 27: La Unión 1866 remembrance front cover.....	106
Image 28: Urban Modernization c. 1870.....	107
Image 29: Examples of Life in the Conventillos.....	108
Image 30: Collage of vulnerable children.....	109
Image 31: Revista Sucesos' 1908 front cover.....	109
Image 32: Collage of Mutualists' organisations.....	110
Image 33: First Fire Brigades of Valparaíso.....	112
Image 34: Mayor Castro and President Bachelet about the 2014 Mega Fire.....	119
Image 35: Valparaíso opinion column post-2014 Mega Fire.....	120
Image 36: Collage of Claudio Fariña's interviews.....	121
Image 37: Selfie of 2014 Mega Fire.....	121
Image 38: Comic As Always.....	122
Image 39: Sketch of the 2014 Mega Fire beginnings.....	139
Image 40: Footage of 'Castro's phrase'.....	148
Image 41: Political flyer of 'Castro's phrase'.....	148
Image 42: Graffiti of 'Castro's phrase' in UNESCO area.....	152
Image 43: Collage of 'Parque O'Higgins Parks Defence'.....	156
Image 44: Dramatisation of coastline.....	157
Image 45: Collage of 'No al Mall Barón'.....	158
Image 46: Citizens' Primaries and 2016 Municipal Election Candidates.....	158
Image 47: Valparaíso's Reconstruction Forum for 2016 Candidates.....	159
Image 48: Collage of Sharp's campaign.....	159
Image 49: Sharp's Facebook profile.....	161
Image 50: Life in Las Cañas gorge 2015.....	175

Image 51: Gentrification in Las Cañas, 2015.....	176
Image 52: Overview of gentrification and segregation from Las Cañas, 2015.....	176
Image 53: Collapsing Argentina Avenue.....	178
Image 54: 12th Apostles Church blythe.....	178
Image 55: Argentina Avenue Fleas' Market.....	178
Image 56: Enrique Deformes Public Hospital.....	180
Image 57: Front Covers of El Mercurio and Ercilla magazine.....	182
Image 58: Mayor Bartolucci's Thanks to Pinochet.....	182
Image 59: Collage of the National Congress Building construction.....	182
Image 60: Transfer of Power from Pinochet to Aylwin.....	183
Image 61: 2003 UNESCO denomination La Estrella's front cover.....	184
Image 62: Mayor Pinto's Interview.....	184
Image 63: Collage of informal housing study.....	190
Image 64: Proposed gorge land use.....	194
Image 65: Illustration and mapping of the 2014 new transportation plan.....	196
Image 66: Precariat self reconstruction, 2015.....	202
Image 67: Municipality of Valparaíso and 'I Love my Neighbourhood' leaflets.....	203
Image 68: Disaster Identity model recontextualised.....	209
Image 69: Volunteers facing post-2014 disaster clean-up.....	215
Image 70: Disaster management continuum.....	219
Image 71: PAR Model for disaster management.....	219
Image 72: Smith's sequential model for disaster recovery.....	220
Image 73: UN disaster management clusters.....	220
Image 74: English and German in Valparaíso.....	222

Images 75-77: Moments of entrepreneurship in Valparaíso.....	223
Images 78-79: Saint Cross' Lutheran Church and Chapel.....	223
Image 80: Spanglish dictionary.....	224
Image 81: El 'Buen Porteño' Facebook Profile.....	224
Image 82: Catholic temple surrounded by protestant temples.....	224
Images 83 and 84: 1985 Earthquake images of the plains and the up-hills.....	225
Images 85-86: Schools' 21st May Parade....	227
Images 87-88: 21st Presidential Message.....	229
Images 89-92: 21st May Sindical protests.....	229
Image 93: 21st May Military Parade.....	230
Images 94-95: 21st May 2016 consequences.....	230
Image 96: Santiago Wanderers commemoration plaque.....	231
Image 97: Santiago Wanderers actions post 2014 Mega Fire.....	232
Images 98-99: Collage of 1985 Earthquake in Valparaíso's up-hills.....	235
Image 100: Collage of Pinochet's actions post-1985 Earthquake.....	236
Images 101-102: 79 Projects of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.....	237-238
Images 103-104: 79 Projects of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan during the 2014-2018 presidency timeframe.....	239-240

Abbreviations

AESOP	Association of European Schools of Plannings
CNTV	Consejo Nacional de Televisión (National Television Council)
CONAF	Corporación Nacional Forestal (National Forestry Corporation)
CRAC	Centro de Residencias y Arte Contemporaneo (Contemporary Art and Residence Centre)
COES	Centre of Conflicts and Cohesion Studies
CUT	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (Unitarian Workers' Union)
DLP	De La Paz ¹
FA	Frente Amplio (Wide Front political movement)
GIS	Geographical Information System
IGU	International Geographers Union
INJUV	Instituto Nacional de la Juventud (National Youth Institute)
LCR	Local Council Representative
MINVU	Ministerio de Vivivenda y Urbanismo (Housing and Urbanism Ministry)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ONEMI	Oficina Nacional de Emergencias (National Office of Emergencies)
PCCh	Partido Comunista de Chile (Chilean Communist Party)
PDC	Partido Demócrata Cristiano (Christian Democratic Party)
PDI	Policía de Investigaciones de Chile (Chilean Civil Investigations' Police)

¹ Acronym used to shorten the last/family name of the Director of Emergencies of the Municipality of Valparaíso (2014), María de los Ángeles De la Paz. Only used in the transcription of a short dialogue in Chapter 6.

PGR	Postgraduate Researcher
PGF RGS-IBG	Postgraduate Forum of the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers
PREMVAL	Plan Regulador Metropolitano de Valparaíso (Metropolitan Regularising Plan of Valparaíso)
PSCh	Partido Socialista de Chile (Chilean Socialist Party)
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
REDULAC	Reduction of Emergency Risk and Disaster Conference
SECPLA	Secretaría Comunal de Planificación (Communal Planification Secretary of the Municipality of Valparaíso)
SERNAGEOMIN	Servicio Nacional de Geología y Minería (National Geology and Mining Service)
SII	Servicio de Impuestos Internos (National Revenue and Tax Service)
SOCHIGEO	Sociedad Chilena de Ciencias Geográficas, Chilean Society of Geographical Science
TVN	Televisión Nacional de Chile (National Television of Chile)
UDI	Unión Demócrata Independiente (Independent Democratic Union)
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WHO	World Health Organisation

Part I:
Case Introduction, Methodological and Theoretical
Frameworks

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Disasters and Social Life

Disasters matter. They are extraordinary events that can impact, change and shape the lives of those who experience them, their environmental surroundings and the social organisation that brings life to such places. They are specific moments in time and space that put state-wide effectiveness to the test, as well as the social organisation and integration of the affected communities. Ultimately, disasters evolve into true stepping-stones for disaster-prone places within their own historic development.

A disaster, as an extraordinary event, can be studied from different perspectives. From environmental assessments to urban hazards, disaster studies focus on how a disaster event can impact on society. As Vose (2008) explains, the most developed perspectives in disaster studies generally relate to the management of such events. This entails an overview that relates the pre and post-disaster situation to a located space, which reports the details necessary for decision-makers to contextualise reconstruction plans that describe efforts to regain what was lost after a disaster event. For these reasons, disasters have become an important area for research, especially considering the emerging issues related to climate change around the globe.

However, questions regarding how disasters impact societies' *meanings* are less explored. What does it mean to survive, and later live, in a destroyed space? What does it mean for a society to lose symbolic spaces like local cemeteries, parks or public statues? Does the reconstruction of such symbolic spaces carry within them the same meanings? How is this process handled by decision-makers, and how does this process affect communities that are directly affected by a disaster and those communities that are emplaced in surrounding areas but who were not affected by it? Are affected communities' expectations integrated into the reconstruction plans, with their proposed aims and meanings (carried within them)? How do disasters impact the affected communities' sense of belonging to their (destroyed) space? Moreover, how

do disasters relate to the construction of place (space) and identity (social meanings)?

All of the above questions relate the framing of my research's main aim. Thus, the queries about the role of disaster in social life can have impacts on how communities shape their history, politics, culture and decisions about their future. Yet, what happens to the sense of belonging crafted by communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?

Therefore, the *aim* of my research is to understand how disaster events *impact* identity construction in communities that *live* in disaster-prone places. Taking into account that a sense of belonging is a key element of identity and place construction, when communities that live *in and with* permanent tensions of past and future disasters, how does these tensions impact the sociocultural crafting of everyday life?

In the following sections I present, firstly, a theoretical framing of the relationship between disaster, identity and place. This discussion draws from key authors that focus on elements of the relationship related above from disaster studies. Secondly, I bring into the above discussion three specific theoretical approaches: Yi Fu Tuan's concept of *topophilia* (2013); Guy Debord's *commodities of spectacle* (2012); and Ferdinand Braudel's *total history* (1995) – which I propose as theoretical tools that can lead me to understand the deep *meaningful* connection between disaster, identity and place more profoundly. This theoretical framing, and its discussion, will contextualise this thesis' research questions. Thirdly, I present my case study, in Valparaíso, Chile, and the justifications that sustain its selection as a paradigmatic case study that presents substantial findings of the relationship between disaster, identity and place. Fourthly, I articulate my arguments and their relevance in disaster studies. Finally, I present the chapter plan for the development of this thesis.

1.2 Framing disaster, identity and place in disaster studies

As it will be deeply discussed in Chapter 3, disaster studies conglomerate a vast variety of issues that relate to different elements of daily life. This acknowledgement developed after the Second World War, when disaster

studies started to question what happens in a society affected by disaster within the day-to-day lives of its inhabitants. In particular, this development furthers the level of impact from the loss of symbolic places (such as destroyed schools or hospitals) to the level of disruption that a society suffers in a disaster context (such as a sense of belonging); evolving disaster studies from urban preparation (like hurricane protocols such as boarding-up door and windows) to what makes a 'destroyed' space part of a society's history (for example, the creation of the national state of Israel).

Throughout this thematic evolution in disaster studies, the main focus has been on to how societies *behave* in a disaster event. In the seminal study of Sorokin (2017 [1942]), entitled *Man and Society in Calamity*, he observes that disasters can change how individuals think, feel and process, and, in the end, can impact the performativity of an individual or a society when disasters strike. With Sorokin's work, disaster studies began to enquire about the kinds of behaviours societies exhibit when a disaster happens.

Consequently, *Anticipating flood Emergencies* by Hannigan and Kueneman (1978) acknowledged the creation of a Disaster Subculture that was crafted and sustained by disaster frequency. This seminal study reflected upon the characteristics that made the affected communities (in this case of flooding events in Western Canada) unique in their response behaviours, signalling that this type of resilience was provided through generations of communal knowledge.

In this sense, Beck's *Risk Society* (1992) furthers the importance of communal knowledge when he focuses on what the elements are that make social life vulnerable, and how vulnerable societies can become a risk factor themselves without the need of natural disasters to disrupt day-to-day life. Other factors, such as politics and the enforcement of law requirements within reconstruction phases, come to acquire prominence when seeking control of the post-disaster situation.

Recent studies, along these lines, further the relevance of behaviours, both as preventive actions in disaster preparedness as well as reactive actions in the wake and aftermath of a disaster. For example, Drury (2018) proposes the existence of a relational transformation of communities that are exposed to

disasters. In his view, communal survival behaviours seem enhanced when those same communities share collective self-organisation capacities, all of which depicts a resilient identity. From another point of view, Manalu, Soesilo, and Seda (2018) pose the relevance that social feedback has in potentiating communal resilience when facing disasters. For these authors, exposure to disaster frequency assures the development of a local history that is conditioned, both in an environmental and in a sociological way, by disaster events. Finally, studies like that proposed by Melo Zurita et al. (2018) and Jarman (2017) depict the importance of communal knowledge (referred to by them as 'social capital') for disaster management, and the consequences when such knowledge is used to obtain/maintain political power in a disaster area. In their view, decision-makers, as well as city-makers and disaster managers have the potential to generate inter-level discussions within their cultural political behaviour, and, in sharing their experiential knowledge as well as the historical background of their represented institutions, could enhance disaster management performativity.

Although the above presented authors acknowledge the importance of the relationship between society and disaster, they do not sufficiently explore what this relationship *means*. The implications of this previous statement suggest that these studies position the relationship between disaster and society in the realm of tangible manifestations, of *behaviours in response to a particular disaster*.

However, the above explanation highlights the changes in behaviour of a society due to a disaster event, in a pre and post-disaster comparative manner. They do not relate the context in which those behaviours were crafted, using a long period analysis of its society's historical record. Nor do they consider the sociocultural reasons for which the relationship between a society and disaster changes over time, and how some behaviours are consolidated, and others forgotten and/or changed in meaning. They do not argue how a particular society, which has suffered a disaster event, has constructed its relationship with its space or how this space comes to evolve in meaning historically. Nor do they explore in what ways past and/or current

experiences with disasters have helped build a society that is and lives with permanent risk.

As seen above, these questionings seem relevant in the understanding of disasters as a sociocultural phenomenon, which is a direct result of the relation between disaster and society. In the following subsection, I draw theoretical concepts from three authors, who can deepen the understanding the phenomena noted above.

1.2.1 A conceptual articulation triad for the understanding of disaster as a sociocultural phenomenon

In this subsection, I explore the key conceptual elements of work by Tuan, Debord, and Braudel in an effort to introduce these theoretical concepts, which will be later developed in Chapter 3. These concepts, articulated and entwined in disaster-prone scenarios, allow me to deeply question the relationship between disaster, identity and place throughout this thesis. With the theoretical concepts proposed by these authors, I then present the research questions for this thesis in a specific manner.

1.2.1.1 Topophilia

Yi Fu Tuan's study of *Topophilia* involves the circumstances upon which a determined *space evolves* when society attaches to it feelings and *emotions*. In this evolution, Tuan identifies patterns of social life that carry deep meaning in understanding the relationship of a determined society and how it has built its social life in that particular space, transforming it into *place*.

Thus, Tuan proposes that social life in such spaces has developed a symbolic and metaphorical understanding with its environment through the generation of *topophilia*. I will use this theoretical approach in an effort to understand why a society, which happens to be emplaced in a disaster-prone space nonetheless builds deep connections with it, in the form of *mentality* and *sets of values*, through human experience and symbolic interaction with its environment. The topophilia that is generated under these tense conditions, and its perceptions in social life with disaster, will describe the construction of place in this thesis.

1.2.1.2 Society of Spectacle

Guy Debord's *Society of Spectacle* explored how the relations within a society can change, and how this change is perceived through *images* of collective perception. However interpretative the previous statement is, Debord explains that such communication is imposed. The dialogue amongst communities, and the narratives that they can create, are buffered by deliberate distortions caused by the means of production, which can ultimately change previous social values by the imposition of new social needs. This changing process, then, describes the commodification of that particular social life when *change affects* directly prior *meanings* in its sets of values.

I will use this theoretical approach to understand how social life changes and, in particular, how such changes can deeply impact on a society's set of values. If Debord's approach can explain *how* contextual *changes impact* a social life not only from its manifesting patterns of behaviour, but also through its *mentality and set of values* whilst explaining the depth of the commodification of spectacle; then I use the concept of spectacle to achieve the *depth* in *meaning* that *change has* in a social life emplaced in a disaster-prone area.

1.2.1.3 Total History

Ferdinand Braudel, as member of the French Annales School of History and Mentalities approach, relates the importance of deep meaning when researching a case study. To achieve this goal, he proposes the application of historical method in a long-term perspective, in a dialectic he calls *total history*. In his doctoral thesis entitled *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* Braudel (1995 [1949]) he explores both the importance of space and time, and the vital role they have when understanding social symbols and meaning that are particularly and situationally constructed within a single context. Braudel and Reynolds (2002) later established that diachronically guided analysis, with the help of the broad spectra of social science's theoretical conceptualisations, is preferable to reach the *deep meaning* of the object of study and its happenings. Long-term issues (geographical and environmental), mid-term issues (economy and society) and short-term issues (politics) have to be considered in order to obtain deep meaning of human experience.

I will use the approach of total history as a guide to understand the relationship between disaster, identity and place. Importantly, total history does not focus only on one event. As Braudel proposes, to understand current social life, it is important to delve into its historical construction. Therefore, in order to create a path that leads to the current understanding of present events in their full meaning (in my case, the latest disaster) then the historical record of a disaster-prone place is necessary for trying to access its historically-constructed meaning for the social life that is exposed to such disaster history.

1.2.1.4 Research Questions

As I established in the beginning of this Introduction, the research problematic of this thesis regards the meanings that underlie the relationship between disasters, identity and place. Within disaster studies, such an area of research is insufficiently explored, especially in disaster-prone places.

Therefore, to achieve *the depth in meaning* that I propose in the above relationship, the following research questions will guide this thesis:

1. How is topophilia and sense of belonging developed in disaster-prone places?
2. How does the process of commodification of spectacle impact both topophilia and sense of belonging of communities that are emplaced in disaster-prone places?
3. How does living in the uncertainty of potential and future disasters generate particular forms of political behaviour within communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?
4. How do failed reconstruction plans affect both topophilia and sense of belonging in communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?

To critically answer the above research questions, and in an effort to exemplify their articulation in a case study, I have decided to study arguably the most disaster-related space in the world, which presents both experience facing a diverse range of disasters and has also dealt with disaster frequency. In the following section, I justify my selection of Valparaíso as my case study -a very disaster-prone place within Chile, a very disaster-prone country-.

1.3 The case of Valparaíso¹, Chile, as a paradigmatic case study

This thesis uses a long-term historical scope for disaster analysis, in the search for deep meaning of the relationship between disaster, identity and place, as discussed above. In Valparaíso as my case study, a mixed-methods methodology design was applied over a seven months period of *in situ* fieldwork, where I gathered primary data relating life within disasters through extensive open-ended interviews with 50 participants², numerous national and local official reports, and exploration of four newspapers and one nation-wide magazine, dating from the 19th century onwards. This (exhaustive) exploration contemplated a list of 19 different disasters throughout the period between 1851 and 2014, which varied in kind, from war bombings to earthquakes and fires. During this seven-month period I also critically explored a numerous variety of secondary data, from theses to documentaries, as well as historiographic and social science works. They all related disasters, communal knowledge, mappings of disaster-prone areas, political reactions and reconstruction plans – all of which were noted in research diaries and recorded in videos and photographs.

This research design was applied to the city of Valparaíso, Chile. This decision was based on Chile exemplifying the connection between disaster, identity and place clearly. Being a disaster-prone country, it presents both recurrence and vulnerability towards disaster events. Geographically located in the Circle of Fire of the Pacific, all of its 42,000 kilometres of coastline sit on top of the most destructive subduction area of the planet, the Nazca and South American plate (Pickett, Cadenasso, & McGrath, 2013). With this geographical location comes continued risk of earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcano eruptions, which have conditioned human activity across its latitude in what Beck (1992 [1986]) describes as risky geographical habitational areas.

Considering only earthquakes as a disaster example in Chile, they oscillate in a pattern of 25 to 30 years in terms of recurrence (Bronfman, Cisternas,

¹ For a historical summary of Valparaíso, see Appendix H, p. 241.

² It is relevant to state that all translations into English have been carried out by this researcher, unless otherwise stated.

López-Vázquez, & Cifuentes, 2016). Also, with Chilean life expectancy rising to a median of 80.5 years according to the World Health Organization (Cuchi, 2017), this statistic becomes ever more significant when taking into account that in the life of an average Chilean, the possibilities of facing a major earthquake event are almost 3:1. Therefore, no matter its geographical, social, or economic conditions, Chileans have learnt to deal with disaster as part of place-making and everyday life. Still, within this disaster-prone country, there is a space that stands out in its disaster proclivity, both in its variety and in its recurrence.



Within Chile's urban areas, Valparaíso is a city of roughly 300,000 inhabitants, with an urban area that assumes the administrative role of regional capital that oversees over 952,000 inhabitants (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 2017). As such, Valparaíso represents the second metropolitan area after Chile's capital, Santiago. Emplaced in Valparaíso's Bay, it is the location of Chile's first and primary port, which connected the country to Europe and the rest of the northern hemisphere during the 1800s.

Map 1: Localization of Chile in South America, and of Valparaíso in Chile.
Source: Zafra (2014).

Significantly, this central and coastal city has experienced every disaster that Chile, as a country, has faced in its history³. Valparaíso's selection as my case study was thus based on its quality as a *paradigmatic case study*⁴, which

³ This statement is based only within the Chilean republic's existence over 200 years. However, more evidence is obtainable in Valparaíso's case, if oral historic indigenous records were accurately referenced, when collected by early Spaniards conquistadors in the beginnings of the 16th century.

⁴ Building upon what Geertz (1973), Kuhn (2011) and Foucault (1970) have proposed regarding the importance of case study selectiveness, Flyvbjerg (2006) explains that the role of a paradigmatic case study relies on its capacity to "highlight more general characteristics of the societies in question" (p. 232). A paradigmatic case should have,

relates to both the diverse type of disasters in a disaster-prone place, as well as its high disaster frequency qualities. Ultimately, Valparaíso offers what Geertz (1973b) would call a '*thick-description case*', as the city's relation to disaster experiences goes back to its original emplacement and historical development.

1.3.1 Porteñoness as the connection between disasters, identity and place in Valparaíso

In this thesis, I will focus intensely and extensively on *porteñoness*⁵. Grammatically, in Spanish, this *word* serves as the demonym to all communities that dwell in/near a coastline. In Latin America, *porteño* communities exist in many countries, such as in Argentina, where *porteños* are just another *word* to call people from Buenos Aires. In Chile, *porteño* is also a demonym of quotidian use, loosely used in the south of the country.

However, in Chile, the *word porteño* is mainly related with Valparaíso because *it is not just* a word that relates a *demonym*. In the case of Valparaíso, *porteño* has become a *concept of deep meaning*. As an important finding of my fieldwork, *porteñoness* emerges as the identity of Valparaíso because it relates not only its identity or its place making, but mainly because it relates the inhabitants' relationship with disaster events; relationship which guides the development of this thesis.

As will be discussed throughout this research, all 50 participants were asked to share their views on how disaster relates to identity in Valparaíso. Particularly, they were all asked '*what is a porteño?*' While they all agreed on the existence of *porteñoness*, there is no one true and definitive answer of what this identity implies. Despite this fact, they were all comfortable to self-

for Flyvbjerg, a metaphorical and prototypical value which signifies the meaning of the research case. Added to these reasons, I would argue for its *transferability* quality, which for Flick (2014) and Yin (2013) means to highlight its possibilities of contribution to general and disciplinary knowledge.

⁵ Due to Spanish grammatical rules and its lack of gender-free writing, where the collective word for any concept is written with its masculine voice, I will use this form of wording when referring to *porteño* collectives. This decision by no means depicts any consent from my part to misogynist narrative that may be attached to the masculine collective wording.

recognise as *porteños* themselves, which suggests that identity construction is not a homologous process. As Tajfel (2010) discusses, an identity depends entirely to its contextual origin, and its conjectural happenings; and in my research case, Valparaíso's *porteñoness* is bound up by (and with) disaster events.

Thus, to understand *porteñoness* performance in the 2014 Mega Fire, it is necessary to delve into other disaster events of Valparaíso's past, to obtain the full spectra (*total history*) of its development process. The 1866 Bay Bombing, the 1906 Earthquake and the 2014 Mega Fire will be the main disasters critically analysed, due to their major impacts on both the city's communities as well as the city's urbanisation which, in turn, contextualises the happenings of the 2014 Mega Fire and its complex historical development. While at some points of this thesis a historical account will be used to explain certain aspects of *porteñoness*, it is by no means a chronologically detailed account of the city's history. Rather, the city's historical context will be used to trace and build a profound understanding of *porteño* development.

Valparaíso as a city is contextualised both geographically and culturally by its *port condition*. As Brown (1994) and Meyer (1999) discuss, a *port*, when also an urban space, offers its inhabitants the possibility to be in touch with other cultures, but, more importantly, it allows its inhabitants the opportunity to test the boundaries of their own culture and their capacity to adapt. More recently, Petrou and Connell (2017) built on this notion, establishing that the space of a port-city is where the global meets the local, merging both realities into a new one, through acculturation and cultural syncretism that shows concretely in its food, morality and identity.

Discussing Valparaíso's port condition for city-making and city life, one of my interviewees explained:

You have to understand this. I have lived here all my life. Friends, family, school, and what you read in your life tells you that because Valparaíso is a port, it became the home for all who arrived [...].

Different religions, different trades, prostitutes, seamen, other cultures, other customs... all arrived over decades!

And as porteños, we were able to take all that in and make it our own. That's why we are different from the rest of the country. That's why we [pointing at himself, and then to the floor] are porteños

Source: *Participant-48, 2016*⁶.

The most strong and repetitive notion that emerges from my fieldwork is that *porteñoness* is a *different kind* of identity construction *because* it is based on disaster events within a disaster-prone place that develops a strong sense of belonging and attachment. Disasters then, not only affect, but *construct* identity.

I call this phenomenon **disaster identity**, where, with each event, said identity reconstructs, re-signifies and repositions itself as a cultural archetype for the communities involved. Thus, I argue that, in disaster-prone places, local identity and place-making are not only impacted *by* disaster, but are constructed *with* disaster. Therefore, behaviours, values and mentality carry within them deep meaning and historicity, all of which is interceded and catalysed by disaster events, as illustrated in Image 1.

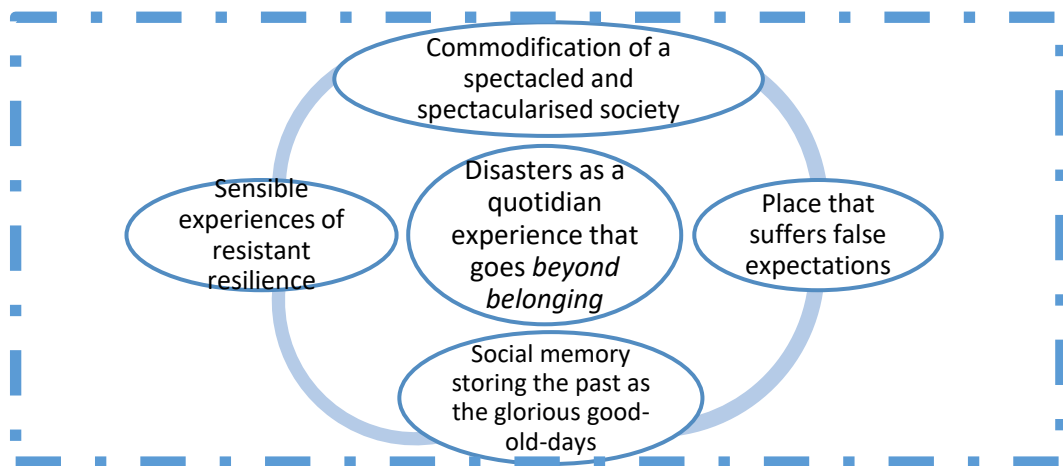


Image 1: Disaster Identity Model of Analysis.

Source: Own Crafting.

1.4 Main Arguments

As I will articulate throughout this thesis, my focus will be on the construction of deep meaning in the relation between disaster, identity and place. In this

⁶ Male hill dweller, president of the NGO 'Acción Gay'.

particular kind of sociocultural construction, the focus will then be put on the affected communities, their actions and their reactions during a disaster and its aftermath. In doing so, the critical analysis of disaster events, which affect communities that live in disaster-prone places, will position itself in the roots of the set of values, meanings and patterns of behaviour that sustain social life in such places –all of which I detect as part of a social identity that is caused and reconfigured by disaster events-.

Therefore, this understanding is based of four components of social life. Each of them has their own internal logic, and when in combination with each other they complement the in-depth understanding of meaning construction in disaster-prone places such as Valparaíso.

1.4.1 Social Memory as the reservoir of the set of values and mentality of a particular identity – porteñoness

For communities that carry on with day-to-day life in disaster-prone places, the uncertainties of living, planning, mitigating and expecting extraordinary events evolve into real everyday life. Thus, in a disaster-prone place such as Valparaíso, this particular way of life –where cohabitation with risk and/or hazards is part of the population’s context- identity is crafted by the relentless spirit of survival and adaptation *to* and *from* such a (risky) context.

As Valparaíso’s identity, *porteñoness* has become the sociocultural construction upon which city dwellers test, time and again, their ability to rise up to the challenge and survive. In social memory, therefore, is stored this way of life that has continues to survive due to the fact that with every disaster – here understood as true *social* stepping-stones– identity re-signifies and re-validates again for that particular community through the development of topophilia as a by-product of identity and place making in disaster-prone places.

1.4.2 Communication of political disaster management affects identity and place construction in disaster-prone places

For the communities that actually experience disaster frequency, mass and social media became a way of communicating to decision-makers regarding

different aspects of mitigation or reconstruction phases⁷. The media's capacity to *make visible the invisible* vulnerable realities has become a socially valid accountability skill, which is presently a tool of common access. As a common tool, it can show the political use and abuse of emotions which have become part of disaster recovery and are recurrently entwined into reconstruction plans.

Thus, disaster reports communicate the spectacularisation of a unique, extraordinary experience. Along this line of thought, the concept of Guy Debord's '*commodity of spectacle*' is applicable to a society that *has had to change* its topophilia capabilities. Culturally, a '*commodified*' society is one that has no regard for cultural production. Instead, it facilitates the decomposition of its original bonds –in this case, *porteño*'s sets of values, meaning and patterns of behaviour-. In many ways, the spectacularising of the visually communicated disaster phenomena has had the impact of both change and support of society's original cultural ways of life. As Debord proposes, and as I will develop through this thesis, the fact that *porteñoness* has been slowed down, self-limiting and self-imposing a new mindset is an example of "*frozen societies*", which eventually solidify in its new social practices through cultural conformism.

Porteño decadence, over the decades, has permeated Valparaíso's disaster response, increasing its own social and environmental vulnerability parameters because identity and place making had to evolve to accommodate new reconstruction plans, that do not safeguard previous ways of life, into current reality.

1.4.3 Political patterns of behaviour in a disaster-prone place relate to the notion of 'resistant resilience'

The patterns of behaviour of a social life in emplaced communities in disaster-prone places configure a different kind of resilience. This phenomenon, which I call *resistant resilience*, configures behaviours that are constantly tested by disasters, from which contestation and resistance to political populism and

⁷ For an illustrated summary of disaster phases models, please refer to Appendix A, p. 219.

governmental policies surface in disaster reconstruction phases. In my case study, Valparaíso came to be known as the place where political resistance had a *safe space*⁸ to develop – especially for social movements and for the socialist party – which was paired with a diverse and bohemian social life. In 1973, neoliberal policies destroyed communal socio-political life, allowing individualism to rise as the new valid social paradigm, which has been consolidated in the democratic governments since then.

However, with the 2014 Mega Fire, the remains of communal life and collective thinking arose in the new '*Citizens' Movement*', from which the Reconstruction plan was contested, the Municipal Elections were won in 2016, and future representatives were elected to National Congress during 2017. Valparaíso's case shows that living in a disaster-prone place can, in fact, impact in the development of political patterns of behaviours, which are *both resistant and resilient tophilia* due to *normalised uncertainty* of potential disaster events.

1.4.4 Failed reconstruction plans affect identity and place construction in disaster-prone places as future social crises

Commonly, in the aftermath of a disaster, involved communities tend to try and recover what was lost; public institutions try to use the latest disaster as a unique opportunity to change the life of the place involved; and experts and other voices try to meddle between these two powerful voices. Ultimately, decision-makers, involved with stake-holders, take decisions that are implemented by a (distant and foreign) central power. In a context where disasters become normal events, urban expectations within reconstruction phases are also normal to develop.

⁸ The safe space characteristic is particular to Valparaíso within the Chilean historic development since the 1600s. Due to its port quality, and its closeness to Santiago - which would become the Chilean capital-, it was physically the gate way for commerce, as well as for cultural diversification. In the port-city national and immigrant merchants and industries started to settle, and with them, other types of work (other than agricultural), traditions (languages and clothing), politics (relating to labour legislations and work safety) and religions (protestants, jewish and arabic) which, for an initial catholic republic post-independence, were allowed to stay in favour of a thriving economy. Thus, no matter the origin, communities that settled in Valparaíso were welcomed, tolerated and respected through the decades.

Thus, reconstruction phases become highly contested in areas where disaster management does not take into account these and other factors. The promises of such reconstructions are not completed, therefore assuming its own socially expected non-functional stereotype of government, embedding and furthering feelings of social injustice. In Valparaíso's case, social apathy and frustration, caused by false expectations of any reconstruction plan in the past, have deepened the commodification of *porteño* political behaviour. This process, in turn, impacts the crafting of topophilia, both in identity and in place making constructions; thus, socially detaching *porteñoness* meaning from its core sense of belonging.

1.5 Presentations of Chapters

In what follows of Part I, in Chapter 2 I explain the mixed methods approach designed for this research. In Chapter 3 I discuss the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that were selected to support and contextualise this thesis' data gathering and analysing.

In Part II, I have organised the empirical chapters of this thesis according to the four main arguments explained above. This allows me to discuss one argument per chapter, which is also paired to its research question, in a continuous feedback structure.

Chapter 4 explores Social Memory as a key factor of social life in disaster-prone places. This implies the contextualisation of this social memory in the presence of vulnerability, risk and disaster events. To accomplish this, interviews, archival sources and theorisations of historians, geographers, and urbanists will be key for shedding light on Valparaíso's hermeneutical disaster records, up until the event of the 2014 Mega Fire itself.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to the role of spectacle in communities that face disasters in everyday life. Two meanings of the '*spectacle*' concept will be used. First, I describe how society's evolution towards Debord's commodity of spectacle has created and embedded a culture of un-engaged communities that explains and sustains the evolution of *porteñoness*, and in doing so, depicts its own decay process from centuries of communal knowledge of collective solidarity towards the crafting of *porteño* (reactionary) individuals. In

a second analysis, I consider how mass and social media have affected communities, by spectacularising their everyday (disaster) life conditions.

Chapter 6 frames what I call *Resistant Resilience*. This analysis is organised by the evolution of *porteñoness* and its involvement with social and political movements, and its reactions to the political establishment. I argue that the socio-political behaviour of the *porteño* is also the manifestation of this identity's patterns of behaviour. I consider how the politically-involved figure of the *porteño* was transformed into a silent receiver instead of a proactive leader; and how *porteñoness* evolution was interrupted by the Mega Fire to explain how disaster events not only develop social resilience, but also impact their political behaviours too.

Chapter 7 discusses of all the previous arguments as the background to understand the role of urban frustration in communities that have developed disaster identity. More importantly, in this chapter I explore how social frustration can embed itself in the form of '*false (betrayed urban) expectations*' in reconstruction phases. Also, and across the generations, false expectations create an alterity-driven collective culture that defies communal resilience and questions collective knowledge that deepens neoliberal individualistic logics.

Finally, Chapter 8 offers a critical evaluation of the importance of considering the sociocultural approximations to disasters studies as a way of comprehending what lies beneath the statistics of a particular disaster –in doing so, I evaluate just how relevant the entwined articulation of disaster, identity and place-making can be in disaster-prone places-.

Chapter 2

Methodology

This thesis presents a qualitative, intersubjective, exploratory, and inductive case-study of the identity construction process that is situated in Valparaíso, Chile. As my object of study regards a new approach to collective perceptions of a distinctive reality, this research is located within the *qualitative research* realm. Agreeing with Sheedi (2005), it is through qualitative methods that the world or reality become visible, turning into a series of interpretations and representations of everyday lives⁹.

Relating the importance of interpretation and representations in research, Ricœur (1991) has argued that *intersubjectivity* -understood as the knowledge that can be extracted from individuals that are themselves-in-relation-with-others- has positioned itself as a vital approach in academic research. As a case study located within qualitative research, this thesis' object of research - identity based on collective disaster experiences-, whose uniqueness is based on its capacity to offer a more general understanding of a phenomena, depicts its *exploratory* quality. and inductive logic.

Thus, in this Chapter I will present my data gathering and data analysis plan based on a mixed-methods approach. The logic and the selection of methods, as well as their application during fieldwork, were planned to reach collective perceptions with deep meaning, as signalled in my research questions. Therefore, my methodology focused on regular day-to-day *porteño* activities (observation); *porteños* in participation with other *porteños* and non *porteños* (participative observation); researcher's interpretations of *porteño* activity (research diaries); talking and gathering explanations from present and past *porteño* experiences with disasters (interviews); capturing *porteño* moments, artefacts, experiences, texts (visual data); plotting of *porteño* explanations and

⁹ The cartesian separation of subject(ive) and object(ive) analysis has presently evolved through reflexive-based research methodologies. Ann Cunliffe (2009), Denzin and Lincoln (2003), and Geertz (1973b) have put forward the notion of merging the subjective and objective analysis into a new epistemological methodology, that of *intersubjectivity*. For more details, see Flick (2013), Flyvberg (2002) and Stake (1995).

characteristics (mapping); and, finally, gathering the impressions of past *porteños* (archive material).

As described in the above paragraph, my data gathering plan employed seven methods to be applied simultaneously throughout my fieldwork. The fieldwork itself was planned as a two-period in situ data gathering, each of them lasting three months, with a six-month inter-period. This corresponds to Fieldwork 1 (October to December 2015), and Fieldwork 2 (July to November 2016). The logic behind this decision was to allow a dialogical approach/distance in the process of data gathering, to test the research questions and to learn from first conclusions from the field; thus, allowing me to take informed decisions in preparation for Fieldwork 2, as well as providing me with the possibility of adjusting my research questions and my interview protocol (if needed).

To reach the most-thick descriptive data¹⁰, this research was designed as both exploratory and inductive. By *exploratory*, I mean that this research was not put together to fit a reality known beforehand. In this sense, and as Patton (2014) advises, data gathering was sensibly designed to capture all forms of collective perception manifestations. By *inductive*, I mean that the data gathered aims to offer patterns and relationships in an effort to theorise about the object of study.

Once analysed, the discovered relationships that emerged from the data configured the results of my investigation, determining both dimensions and categories that filtered the primary and secondary data used in this thesis to answer my research questions detailed in the Introduction.

2.1 Data Gathering: Mixed Methods¹¹

In the subsections that follow, each method is empirically and theoretically explored. This will allow the reader to obtain the general picture of the

¹⁰ As Geertz (1973) highlights as the main aim of any research that seeks a profound understanding of human activities.

¹¹ This research design was approved by the University of Leeds Ethics Committee, number AREA 14-156. See Appendix J for a view of the document, p. 253.

research design of fieldwork implementation, as well as the precise kind of data that was gathered.

The selection of these seven methods -observation, participant observation, research diaries, interviews, visual data, mapping and archival data- was based upon each method's capability to make visible interpretations and representations of a particular reality. Working together, these seven methods complement each other by offering the possibilities of interpretation and critique to the researcher in fieldwork in situ situations¹². In many ways, these methods work together in a similarities/differences contrast opposition exploration, which, in the end of data analysis, offered the concrete possibility of inductive complementation in the intersubjective process of interpretation of qualitative data.

2.2.1 Observation

During Fieldwork 1, four *formal fieldtrips*¹³ were undertaken, two to *Cerro Merced*, one to *Cerro El Litre – Las Cañas*, and one to *Cerro Panteón* (which is geographically adjacent to *Cerro El Pajonal*). The main purpose of such formal fieldtrips was to explore the urban and environmental conditions of life up-hill; obtain visual data and mapping data for later analysis; and to evaluate risk and vulnerability conditions of housing in the city.

¹² For example, ideas that emerged in Fieldwork 1 from participant observation work, such as that of “the Municipality does not know how to handle disasters because they do not live in the upper-hills” (Participant-17, 2015), were tested against the historical tendencies that may or may not show the roots of said idea (historic Municipal reports and newspaper outlets).

¹³ The term *formal fieldtrips* is used here to explain and differentiate such activities from other fieldtrips to the research site, which could be going up-hill up to 3 or even 4 times a day (during the 90 days of Fieldwork 1), for interviews and to coordinate agendas with possible interviewees. In this sense, *formal fieldtrips* have a clear purpose (i.e. appreciate risky conditions related to gorge living), mapped route and activities (such as GIS mapping). It intends to be a ‘*meaningful experience*’ of discovery. For more details, see Darling-Hammond and Adamson (2014).

Three of the four fieldtrips took place on two of the four hills that this research explores, where I used a GPS device to keep track of my journey and record the exact whereabouts of these walks. During these walks, photographs, videos, impromptu conversations with local hill-dwellers and historic comparisons¹⁴ helped to envision and contextualise the main characteristics of the Mega Fire, both in the event itself and in its aftermath, as shown in Image 2.



Image 2: (L-R) Cerro Merced; Cerro El Litre-Las Cañas mural; Cerro Panteón looking to Cerro El Pajonal. These three images represent three of four fieldworks. **Source:** Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

Observation, then was selected for its description quality. The act of observing is done from an analytical perspective by the researcher, and as Flick (2013) establishes, it involves a relationship between observer and observed, that

¹⁴ See Document Insertion 1, p. 38.

can be established through ethnographic techniques. For Gehl and Svarre (2013), observation is the primary source of description of a site, which is usually accompanied by image support, mapping in various formats, and/or by research notes.

2.2.2 Participatory Observation

As this research is structured to the understanding of the 2014 Mega Fire as a sociocultural complex that is embedded in identity construction in Valparaíso, the research design carefully considered the contingent 2014 Reconstruction plan as the first process to investigate. Both in Fieldwork 1 (2015) and 2 (2016) many meetings were held with participants and social and political *porteño* organisations. It is within these meetings that my participation with my interviewees begin, particularly regarding initial evaluations to the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.

Therefore, through my participants who were Municipality of Valparaíso's employees (Participants 4, 36, 43 and 50), I became involved in the municipality's efforts to socialise the Reconstruction Plan via a newly-institutionalised political organisation called *Mirador para la Reconstrucción*. The main aim of this organisation was to get affected neighbours to participate in the decision-making process of the reconstruction plan. I attended the first two of three Mirador meetings in 2015, participating in Q&A sessions with those present, and assisted affected communities with some of their difficulties, such as clarifications on the concepts being used in the discussions.

On another occasion, and through the meetings with the Mirador, I came in contact with Participants 8 and 9, who then asked for help in organising a new social organisation that aimed to resist the decisions made in the Mirador. The new *Coordinadora de Junta de Vecinos de Valparaíso* became a social organisation that not only contested but defiantly resisted any municipal proposal, based on the assumption that grassroots associations could create better plans than the top-down plans any public institution could have. In both instances, I helped in the organisation of key speakers and all the activities related to such purposes.

Participatory observation was selected because of its ethnographic quality that positions the participation of the researcher in the everyday life of the culture that he or she seeks to investigate. DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, and McDowell (2009) propose it involves the researcher, the researched and the research at the same time in a relationship that provides enhanced data and interpretation quality. As DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) discuss, participatory observation is midway between pure observation (where the researcher is taken from the studied environment) and pure participation (*'going native'*).



Image 3: (L-R) First meeting of *Mirador de la Reconstrucción*; first meeting of *Coordinadora de Junta de Vecinos de Valparaíso*. Source: Otero-Auristondo, 2015f.

2.2.3 Research Diaries

I maintained a research journal for both fieldwork periods, to keep track of reflections about my research questions and the ongoing fieldwork process. However, because of its uneven depth in the description of every day's entry, I did not use this material for data analysis. Rather, it was used mainly to orient the decision-making process in the six-month inter-period, in preparation for Fieldwork 2, and to clarify, with my notes, unclear comments in the transcriptions of my interviews.

Although diaries are thought as an organised form of taking research notes about the experience of the study itself, it has the tendency of providing uneven descriptions of research situations. It is important to notice, as DeLyser et al. (2009) argue, that diaries not only function as the researcher's administrative tool, it can also fall into descriptions of minutia. This is what Flick (2013) explains as the drawback of this particular method, caused by the variety of depth in the gathered material.

2.2.4 Interviews

The interviews were designed¹⁵ as *situated sampling* of Valparaíso's involved communities during the 2014 Mega Fire. These communities were: hill dweller communities; voluntary people that responded to and assisted in the breakout of the event; Firefighters and other military response agencies; municipal government and national government representatives; risk management assessors; and geographical, urban and historian academics. This decision was based on what Stake (2013) proposes as selection criteria for participants within a case study, which are:

1. Are they relevant to the object of study?
2. Do they provide diversity across contexts?
3. Do they provide good opportunities to learn the complexity and contexts of the object of study?

The criteria for participants' selection was a research design process that was based before fieldwork and that evolved with the reflections that intersubjectivity demands from the researcher. Whilst in the research design phase (or pre-fieldwork preparations) and sifting through the first newspaper clippings that I was able to investigate, many opinions were printed from many sources, such as emergency response agencies, politicians or community leaders. This initial approach, ultimately, detected six main-tendency groups which, eventually, would guide the initial contacts with potential participants. However, as snowballing took place as quickly as the interviews were taking place, these six-group tendencies became the six-participants criteria. This decision was based upon in situ fieldwork review and transcription, where self-categorization took place immediately: as I started the interview with my introduction of "Please state your first name and your relation with the Fire", the answers to this descriptive question were, apart from the first names,

¹⁵ To validate my interview protocol, I consulted with Wändi Bruine de Bruin, on the 21st July 2015. She is an expert ethnographer, who is currently a Professor in Leeds Business School. She is also University Leadership Chair in Behavioural Decision Making, Director of the Centre for Decision Research, Subject Group Leader of Decision Research, Management Division and Deputy Director of the Priestley International Centre for Climate in December 2015. For more details, please refer to her University of Leeds's profile in <https://business.leeds.ac.uk/about-us/our-people/staff-directory/profile/waendi-bruine-de-bruin/>

offered in a self-categorization, such as “I am Inés, and I was a fire fighter in El Litre”. The participant selection criteria, then, was data based and developed through fieldwork and snowballing procedures, whose output is detailed in Table 1¹⁶.

Table 1: Descriptive data relating to interviews.

Participants Criteria	Number of Participants	Gender		Age Groups			
		M	F	21-30	31-40	41-50	51+
Hill Dwellers	20	6	14	/	3	14	3
Academics	6	6	0	/	/	4	2
Volunteers	5	5	0	1	3	1	/
Fire Fighters/Military	7	7	0	/	4	2	1
Government: local or national	6	2	4	/	1	3	2
Others. Press, Churches, NGO's, etc.	2	1	1	/	2	/	/

Source: Own Crafting.

The recruitment process had two phases: an informative phase and a formal recruitment. Firstly, there was an initial collective information meeting in the *Institute of Geography of Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso*, Chile, with interested parties. Initial contacts with the main community leaders and volunteers were done by email or telephone through a network created by my colleague and former employer, Director of the Institute of Geography, Luis Álvarez Aránguiz, who was one of many affected by the Mega Fire. Through his initiative, the website www.vergel439.cl was setup as a connection between community leaders and groups of volunteers that worked and continue to work on the contingency and recovery phase of this disaster¹⁷. Further contacts were obtained through snowballing with communal leaders, especially in instances like the one related to the *Mirador para la Reconstrucción*.

¹⁶ Importantly, it is relevant to depict that one participant can fit in many categories -by being, for example, a hill dweller, a fire fighter and a priest at the same time-, but the information shown here in Table 1 was based strictly on the participants' self-recognition through the course of the entire interview, respecting, therefore, what they themselves signalled as their most important connexion to the disaster of the 2014 Mega Fire.

¹⁷ For an illustrated summary of relevant disaster phase models, see Appendix A, p. 219.

As the second phase of recruitment, an individual meeting was held with those interested in participating, during which the participants signed the consent form¹⁸. Once official, the application of the methods started at the convenience of the participants, including arranging an interview schedule.

Participants (interviewees) were asked to engage in the following:

1. One semi-structured and open-ended interview: 20 minutes
2. One image analysis¹⁹: 20 minutes
3. One focus group discussion (optional²⁰, depending on the depth of the interviews): 60 minutes

Each interviewee was involved in a 50-60-minute-long interview (with approximately 10 minutes for any emerging situation), with the possibility to extend this engagement to two hours, dependant on the level of engagement of the participant. Six questions were asked, followed by a historical memory exercise, in which I showed the participant a series photographs of the city on my smartphone, which is shown in Document Insertion 1 (p. 34). This exercise consisted on showing both historical and current photographs of the city and the up-hills. This was planned to elicit data through the '*awakening*' of personal experience and memory²¹ of their experience of life and disasters during their inhabiting of Valparaíso. In this exercise, a natural comparison was made by my participants, based upon a before and after (past-present) analysis; where different emotions emerged through the recalling of family stories, social myths and own life experiences. With the by-product of provoking emotions through memory, this visual analysis both complemented and/or contradicted the narrative that my participants elaborated through the interview protocol.

¹⁸ To view the Informed Consent Protocol, please refer to Appendix H, p. 250.

¹⁹ See Document Insertion 1, p. 38.

²⁰ Focus groups were intended to further the discussions held with participants during the interview process around certain topics that were unclear, or for the possibility of gathering and confronting two extremely and directly contradictory positions between participants. However, this method was not applied because none of the two reasons here described took place.

²¹ A collage of these photographs can be viewed in Document Insertion 1, p. 38.

In these sense, as Darling-Hammond (1994), Hibbert, Sillince, Diefenbach, and Cunliffe (2014) and Lunn (2014) explain, interviews provide a primary cognitive connection towards the understanding of the social world and the complex situations that are being investigated. Charmaz (2006) observes that interviews, as well as focus groups, offer a dialectical possibility for the researcher to experience a world in which he or she has not lived or observed. However, as Emmel (2013) and Flick (2013) argue, the selection processes for the participants depend necessarily on the researcher’s first-hand experience of the studied situation.

Therefore, in a qualitative research, and depending on the scope of the research and the deepness of the object of study, a priori, it is estimated that interview sampling should approach those layers of society that were deeply involved with the phenomena (Patton, 2014). Thus, my participants were selected because of their involvement with the Fire, whether as affected dwellers, fire fighters, political authorities, academic experts, volunteers and other representatives of communities that lived through this 2014 disaster. This criteria-based selection of participants complies with the creation of a *purposive interview sampling, which offers* maximum variation that reaches both diversity and contextuality (Flick, 2013; Patton, 2014).

Table 2 shows a summary of the interview protocol of the six asked questions, their correlation to my four main arguments, and an overall vision of the results of the 50 interviews²².

Table 2: Interview Questions and General Perceptions summary of porteñoness.

Interview Questionnaire Example²³	Questions regarding	Correlation to Four Main Arguments	Overall Perception of the entire sample (50 Interviews)
What are the characteristic of <i>porteño</i> life? How does a <i>porteño</i> speak? Why is it different? What makes being a <i>porteño</i> different from other identities?	Identity	Social Memory	Across the board a recognition to micro identities which are more important than the city’s. however, they all acknowledge and self-identify as <i>porteños</i> , and

²² This overall assessment is the first stage for the establishing of Dimensions and Categories. See Data Analysis, p. 34 onwards.

²³ To make it easier for my participants, the questions were expressed in this variety of fashion, and I discussed with them whether they had any doubts regarding what the questions were really about.

			<i>porteñoness</i> as the macro city identity structure.
What are the characteristics that make this place something special? What makes this city special? Why do you live here?	Place	Social Memory	Recognition that “ <i>my own space</i> ” is more important than the city, but the scenery of the city’s place is important to give sense to that same space.
Where were you at the time of the Mega Fire? How did the Mega Fire affect you in particular? What happened to this place after the Mega Fire? How was it before?	Disaster	Social Memory	Two issues arose while talking about disasters in general, and about the 2014 Mega Fire in specific: why this happened and whose fault is it.
Why does this community held demonstrations against the government? Are there any organisations that have emerged from the protests to local policies in and after the Fire? What is wrong with the government’s proposals? What do you propose?	Reconstruction Plan	Resistant Resilience / False Expectations	Answers present an inner contradiction with what is understood as current <i>porteñoness</i> : the stereotype of <i>porteño</i> renegade opposed to a passive (faded) <i>porteño</i> .
Regarding the news of mitigation protocols implemented by the government, do you feel they are adequate? Why? What do you think about the new housing scheme, which means that you would have to leave this dwelling space? Do you want to leave this place or find another place to live?	Resilience or Reincidence in Disasters	Resistant Resilience / False Expectations	Answers also present an inner contradiction: does the <i>porteño</i> get up after disasters or does he/she simply live from one to the next, not preventing?
What do you think of the media coverage of disaster events? How do you feel of the reactions of other people regarding the Mega Fire? How do you feel about news of other disasters in the country?	Spectacle	Spectacle Commodities and Spectacularisation / False Expectations	Across the board agreements on how the press impacted on disaster perception, but not one mention of manipulation through mass or social media.
I want you to look at these pictures, there are a selection of photos of Valparaíso from the 1830’s onwards. What ideas go through your mind when watching? Do they relate some of the themes that we discussed during the interview?	Photo Comments: Memory	Valid for all four main arguments	Both hill dwellers and academics layers had the same reaction: a prepared discourse for the interview, but with the memory exercise, contradictory entries were discovered: personal experience with space matter and can change what we think of it rationally.

Source: Own Crafting.

2.2.5 Visual Data

The main purpose of gathering visual data was to obtain the *representation* of my four main *arguments* through *images* in the location of the four hills of my study. Thus, in every formal fieldwork and in every informal outing to these hills, I photographed²⁴, filmed and GPS-tracked my whereabouts, to achieve an accurate visual representation of in situ field-working.

Visual material, as Gehl and Svarre (2013) propose, was selected due to its power of representation. As such, there has to be a dual focus effort, to gather the information from both the producer of the image and the context in which the image was produced (DeLyser et al., 2009). Because of this, it has two analysis strategies, of content and of semiotics, and they can respond to quantitative or qualitative analytical perspectives. For me, the power of this method lies in the ability to make visible to the researcher those elements that for the participants may seem routine or every day phenomena.

2.2.6 Mapping

As mentioned before, I used a GPS tracking device in my formal fieldtrips. With this data, it was possible to map not only my whereabouts, but key situations in the studied four hills of my research, such as vulnerability and risk areas. This information, using both Google Earth and Arc View 9.x, was incorporated into maps that are later presented in Chapter 6.

Because of its capacity to represent a reality, Ripamonti, Galuppo, Gorli, Scaratti, and Cunliffe (2015) consider that by using maps, this method makes the researcher appear '*theoretically sensitive*' to the preconceived realities that can exist in case studies. Therefore, this awareness identifies both the collectively-sanctioned, such as mind-mapping, as well as physical representations of the site of study (DeLyser et al., 2009).

²⁴ In support of my photographs, other images are also considered, which I extracted through web sites. The primary consulted web site is the Facebook Profile entitled '*Fotos Históricas de Valparaíso*'. The provider accepted to participate fully in this thesis, permit which can be viewed in Appendix J, p. 251. The other images that come from diverse web sites are fully referenced throughout this thesis.

2.2.7 Archive Data Gathering

I used archival work as a resource to make visible the historical roots of *porteñoness* as an identity and place construction based on disaster events. To achieve this, I selected the 19 most powerful natural and social disasters lived by Valparaíso²⁵; all of which share the characteristic of impacting how *porteñoness* is lived (experienced) and how the city is made (through the successive reconstruction plans post-disasters).

Table 3 lists these disasters, spanned 1851 to 2014. 1851 was used as a starting point because it conveys the first big disaster event in the city, and the 2014 Mega Fire was chosen as the last big disaster in recent years. From this list, I have carefully chosen to work with three main disasters throughout the empirical chapters of Part II, which are the 1866 Bay Bombing, the 1906 Earthquake and the 2014 Mega Fire. As I argued in the Introduction, to deeply understand the 2014 Mega Fire as a sociocultural historic complex, it was necessary to review previous disasters as a primary foundation to contextualise the happenings in 2014. Thus, 1866 and 1906 are two of the three disaster milestones of Valparaíso's history (with 2014) that imply general destruction for both the plains and the upper-hills areas of the city, they each involve most of the city's communities and they each required a major reconstruction plan to revitalise and recuperate the city as a whole (destroyed) region.

Importantly, each of these 19 disaster events were analysed from four different primary sources: two nation-wide newspapers (*El Mercurio de Valparaíso* and *La Unión de Valparaíso*), one local newspaper (*La Estrella de Valparaíso*), and a nationally distributed magazine (*Revista Sucesos*). These sources are located in the National Archives in Santiago, the Public Library Santiago Severín of Valparaíso, and the Archival Historical Fond of Chilean

²⁵ The other 16 disasters were used, nevertheless, within this thesis, both as a historical comparison tool as well as for background in determined parts of data analysis. It goes without saying that, apart of the 19 disasters listed in Table 3, many more minor disasters have happened throughout the city's history, that only affected singular streets/communities/spaces and who did not make an impact city-wide.

Navy (in Valparaíso). In each one of these institutions, I worked on each disaster in the following manner:

1. Reviewing the date of the disaster and gathering data one week prior and six weeks following the disaster event in question, to bring forward, as far as possible, a *before and after* picture of the city and its happenings.
2. Taking photographs and notes accordingly and chronologically of the disaster in question.
3. Sifting through the gathered material and rearranging according to my main four arguments, organised by my Dimensions and Categories in data analysis.

However, and especially relating to the earliest 19th century events, printed newspaper records were not always available. Thus, if one disaster was not available in any of the four primary sources listed above, I would refer to secondary sources, such as historiographic material and/or other available primary sources (such as other local magazines, old maps, and so on).

Table 3: Major Disasters of Valparaíso.

N°	Date of Disaster	Disaster Event	Area of the city		Communities			Disaster	
			Plains	Hills	Bourgeoisie	Working Class	Middle Class	Human made	Natural
1	1850/12/15	Fire in the plain areas. Origin of the Firefighter Brigades in Chile.	X	/	X	/	/	X	/
2	1866/03/31	Bay Bombing, War with Spain	X	X	X	X	/	X	/
3	1888/08/11	Flooding of the Mena Basin dam	X	X	X	X	/	/	X
4	1906/08/16	Earthquake in Valparaíso	X	X	X	X	X	/	X
5	1914/05/03	Ross Alley Fire	X	/	X	/	X	X	/
6	1919/07/11	Heavy rain, Storm flooding	X	X	X	X	X	/	X
7	1953/01/01	New Year's Eve Fire in Brasil Avenue	X	/	/	X	X	X	/
8	1965/08/10	Heavy Thunderstorm in centre Chile	/	X	X	X	X	/	X
9	1968/10/31	Great Draught (until 1969)	/	X	/	X	X	/	X

10	1980/03/05	Sinking Shipwreck of Dique Valparaiso II	X		X	X	X	X	
11	1985/03/03	Santiago Earthquake	X	X	X	X	X		X
12	1993/09/04	Homophobic arson attack and to 'Divine Discoteque'	X			X	X	X	
13	2000/01/01	New Year's Eve Bridge Collapse in España Avenue	X		X		X	X	
14	2000/09/09	Shore grounding of the 'Avon' ship.	X		X	X		X	
15	2006/05/28	Heavy storms in central Chile	X	X		X	X		X
16	2007/20/03	Underground pipping explosion in Serrano Street	X			X	X	X	
17	2009/08/19	Wastewater matrix explosion and subsequent flooding	X			X	X	X	
18	2014/06/03	Heavy storms in central Chile		X		X	X		X
19	2014/04/12 -13	Mega Fire in the up-hills of Valparaiso	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Source: Own Crafting.

During archival work I also gathered secondary sources. This involved consultation of a diverse nature, including historiographies, sociologic and anthropologic work; and specific literature regarding visual data, women's studies and social movements in Chile. This (meta) data gathering was conducted in the same institutions as the primary sources were gathered. More than a hundred volumes were consulted, scanned and noted in my research diaries, of which a list of topics is as follows:

1. General bibliography referring to Latin American and Chilean historic context

2. General historiographic studies of Chile, in both the right and left political interpretations of historical happenings in the Chilean context
3. Specific historiographic studies of Valparaíso
4. Specific studies conducted in Valparaíso, such as environmental studies, risk assessment studies, and socioeconomic studies of Valparaíso population in historical comparison
5. Official reports of the Ministry of the Interior and Security, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism
6. Official law indexes, specifically those regarding Valparaíso in historic comparison
7. Official Municipal reports of Valparaíso, involving:
 - a. disaster management acts and emergency protocols
 - b. social care, poverty and socioeconomic vulnerabilities
 - c. housing schemes and informal housing and/or land seizure solutions
 - d. the context of the use of land and right of view issues
 - e. segregation and gentrification issues
 - f. cultural development
 - g. patrimonial management

2.2 Data Analysis

Once my data was gathered, I employed the method of Dimensions and Categories to sort, label and interpret my data in relation to my research questions. In specific, this codification was based upon the categorization of my interview data, as shown in Table 1 (pp. 26-27), where an overview of themes emerged from the answers to the question '*what is a porteño?*'

Taking into perspective 50 interviews, I started my focus on the themes of *porteñoness*, such as: repeated experiences of family/friends with business and disasters (social memory), which is connected to how the *porteño* is capable to survive and stand again after a disaster event (resilience); how the *porteño* was strong and defiant -when *porteños* were recognized as the '*choro del puerto*'- to (political) authorities and how this facet has changed through the years (commodification of society); and, finally, how and why reconstruction plans are part of daily life.

As Flick (2014) proposes, when data analysis allows the identification of strong themes, theoretically, these themes become the structuring dimensions of a case study. As I explained above, from a focus of *porteñoness*, four main themes were detected, which have henceforth

become my four main arguments. This allowed me to organise my data accordingly, as well as to identify subthemes that characterise my dimensions (themes), as Table 4 illustrates. From Table 4's mapping, my research questions were first configured.

Table 4: Dimensions and Categories for Data Analysis.

Empirical Chapters	4	5	6	7	
Dimensions / Categories	Social Memory	Commodity of Spectacle	Political Behaviour	False Expectations	Research Questions
Place and identity making through tophophilia	Commerce and foreign languages education and business	Urbanization through marginalization and segregation	Mutualism and resistance societies	Precariat urbanization of the up-hills	How is tophophilia and sense of belonging developed in disaster-prone places?
Resistant Resilience	Mandatory elementary education and importance of culture	Neighbourhoods according to hills' inhabitants	Foreign ideologies and philosophies through cultural exchange	Extensions of hygenism and the right to water city-wide	How does the process of commodification of spectacle impact both tophophilia and sense of belonging of communities that are emplaced in disaster-prone places?
Dual Vulnerability condition	Collective solidarity and social networks of support	Seizure of land and informal housing in risky up-hill areas	Female, youth and sports associations	Care of surrounding environment, specially gorges	How does living in the uncertainty of potential and future disasters generate particular forms of political behaviour within communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?
Dual Porteño Culture	Industrialization consequences	Investor Immigrant	Women, workers and immigrants' rights to organise	City of the plains and city of the up-hills	How do failed reconstruction plans affect both tophophilia and sense of belonging in communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?
<i>Transversal relationship with disasters</i>	<i>Freedom of speech, religion and thought; right to the city, importance of the port and the sea, importance of cultural exchange through port business, tolerance through and for business, space for innovations through modernization and modernity</i>				

Source: Own Crafting.

Once the panoramic coding of the 50 interviews proved consistent in both dimensions and categories, I then proceeded to code the rest of my gathered

data in the same manner. Following this analysis method, Flick (2014) argues, dimensions and categories organise content in an effort to reduce the complexity of the studied phenomena, and, at the same time, start to develop a theoretical model from the interpretation of data. The use of concepts from the field and from social science can help to code data²⁶, and find easily the examples of meaning from the thorough examination and questioning of raw data (Flick, 2014; Flick, von Kardoff, Steinke, & Jenner, 2004).

Also, following Braudel (1982), Foucault and Faubion (1998), and Braudel and Wallerstein (2009), it is important to distinguish the dialogue that different forms of data can take, especially when different pieces of data are put together to conform a consistent research narrative, such as using quotes extractions of one interview, images, and extracts of a song to illustrate one category. In this sense, flexibility and reflexivity in data analysis are paramount, in particular, when *research and researcher* are caught together in the construction of knowledge and of the research narrative. Thus, this thesis is positioned within the *intersubjective* methodological analysis canvas, because this type of research narrative aims to achieve the meaning underlying the raw data that emerged from a case of study itself (Cunliffe, 2003, 2010).

As Table 4 depicts, many categories were identified within the four dimensions detected in my data analysis. These dimensions -which would later give way to my four main arguments, and later precised through my four research questions- were tested and fine-tuned by the participation in different conferences throughout this four years of research, as seen in Table 5. With each participation, my arguments were put to the test. And, in return, they obtained valuable criticism, feedback and validation, which allowed me to better focus my arguments and pinpoint my research questions; all of which, ultimately, helped in the development of each one of these four arguments in the structure of the following empirical chapters contemplated in Part II of this thesis.

²⁶ From this perspective I have put together an operational conceptual framework, one of three layers of theoretical analysis that will be used in this thesis. This notion is further explained in Chapter 3, p. 39 onwards.

Table 5: Research and Conference Participation

Location	Dates	Conference
University of Leeds	04/12/2014	5 th Postgraduate Researcher Conference
University of Leeds	28-29/11/2014	Reframing Disaster in Postcolonial Studies
University of Leeds	16/02/2015	Global Urban Justice: Voices and Struggles from Latin America
University of Leeds	17/03/2015	Cities of Culture Conference
University of College London	13/04/2015	International Geographers Union
The University of Manchester	14/04/2015	International Workshop on Urban Informality
University of Leeds	14/05/2015	6 th PGR School of Geography Conference
University of Glasgow	04-06/06/2015	AESOP Public Spaces and Urban Cultures: the power of places and places of power
University College London	06-08/07/2015	7 th International i-Rec Conference and Student Competition: Reconstruction and Recovery in Urban Contexts
Universidad Academia Humanismo Cristiano	09-10/10/2015	XXXVI National and XXI International Geography Congress of Geographical Science Chilean Society (SOCHIGEO): "Traced Routes and Possible Geographies",
Universidad de Valparaíso	09-10/11/2015	Citizen's Forum 2015: "Public Politization: territory, emergency and creation",
Universidad Diego Portales and Pontifical Catholic University of Chile	17-20/11/2015	Annual Conference of the Centre of Conflicts and Cohesion Studies (COES) 2015: "Urban Conflicts: defying social cohesion?"
Universidad de Antofagasta	14-16/01/2016	3 rd National Encounter of Universities of Latin-American and the Caribbean for the Reduction of Emergency Risk and Disaster (REDULAC),
Newcastle University	17-18/03/2016	PGS – IBG Midterm Conference
Wessex Institute of Technology	15-17/06/2016	Course in Disaster Management
Universidad de Talca	11/10/2016	9 th National Congress of Sociology
University of Leeds	15/02/2017	Futures of Memory Workshop
University of Leeds	11/05/2017	Waste Workshop
University of Leeds	16/05/2017	7 th PGR School of Geography Conference
University of Leicester	12/06/2017	The Money Shot Workshop
King's College London	13/06/2017	Cultural Resiliencies or Resilient Cultures
University of Lisbon	23-27/10/2017	IGU International Conference

Source: Own Crafting.

Document Insertion 1: 'Photo Awakening' Collage Exercise



Because of my background as a teacher, my experience has taught me that to better recollect certain issues that are not usually discussed, such as Valparaíso's history, it is relevant to aid those who are remembering with visual aids. As such, I compiled a selection of 96 images of 'old' Valparaíso, and presented them on my smartphone to participants in a slide show of approximately 3-4 minutes long. There are common pictures, such as children flying kites or playing in 'chanchas' (little boggie-karts that were made of one sheet of spare metal, 4 wheels, and one stick to give direction). Many participants were touched emotionally, asking me the dates of each one, associating our talk with the images. Participant-25 (2015), for example, fondly remembered his scraped and bloody knees, while saying "no kid now would be allowed to use this anymore. We had freedom then, and safety in our neighbourhoods". Most of my participants would immediately recognise the 1906 event, but when faced with others, like the big storm of 1919, they would ask me why I had put that there: "we always have this events, it is nothing different, that's what it means to live in Valparaíso" (Participant-24, 2015). All 96 photographs were extracted from *Fotos Históricas de Chile* (2015).

Image 4: Collage of photographs used in the interviews.

Source: *Fotos Históricas de Chile* (2015).

Chapter 3

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Developed systematically since World War II, disaster studies as an academic field has a wide range of topics of research, both in reach and in scope. Its approaches to disaster events crosses from environmental sciences to physical geography, passing through risk assessment and risk management, social interpretations of risk and public policy decision-making relating disaster. The above depicts its multidisciplinary character and its connection possibilities to other academic literatures, such as geography, law, or social sciences; as well as the connection between other sciences to disaster studies when engaging with disaster events as case studies developments.

As E.L. Quarantelli (1987) acknowledges, disaster studies started to emerge as an independent field from its beginnings as a 1960s subfield in geography dedicated to natural hazards, which in turn became a 1970s part of risk analysis studies before converging into the social sciences as a research field of its own in the 1980s.

However, despite its vastness and its multidisciplinary characteristics, disaster studies has not developed sufficiently on the relationship between disaster, identity and place as a *conceptual articulation triad* that carries deep meaning *when* its *three* components are *entwined* and happening in disaster-prone places. Considering my research questions, summarised in Table 6, I will not *only* delve into disaster studies. Rather, I have to draw from identity and place studies and other literatures that are not necessarily related to the study of disaster events. Thus, a new approach to theory was needed to understand what I propose as Disaster Identity as a new analytical tool for disaster studies; all of which emanated directly from the analytical necessities detected in my empirical data. In all, this innovative approach to theory acts as a three-tier theoretical analytical tool, which aims to provide a way to satisfy the theoretical gap detected in disaster studies, but it also provides conceptual support for Disaster Identity.

Table 6: Research Questionnaire Summary

Arguments/Processes	Research Questions
Social Memory	How is topophilia and sense of belonging developed in disaster-prone places?
Spectacle in everyday life	How does the process of commodification of spectacle impact both topophilia and sense of belonging of communities that are emplaced in disaster-prone places?
Resistant Resilience	How does living in the uncertainty of potential and future disasters generate particular forms of political behaviour within communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?
False Expectations as 'new' social disaster	How do failed reconstruction plans affect both topophilia and sense of belonging in communities emplaced in disaster-prone places?

Source: Own Crafting.

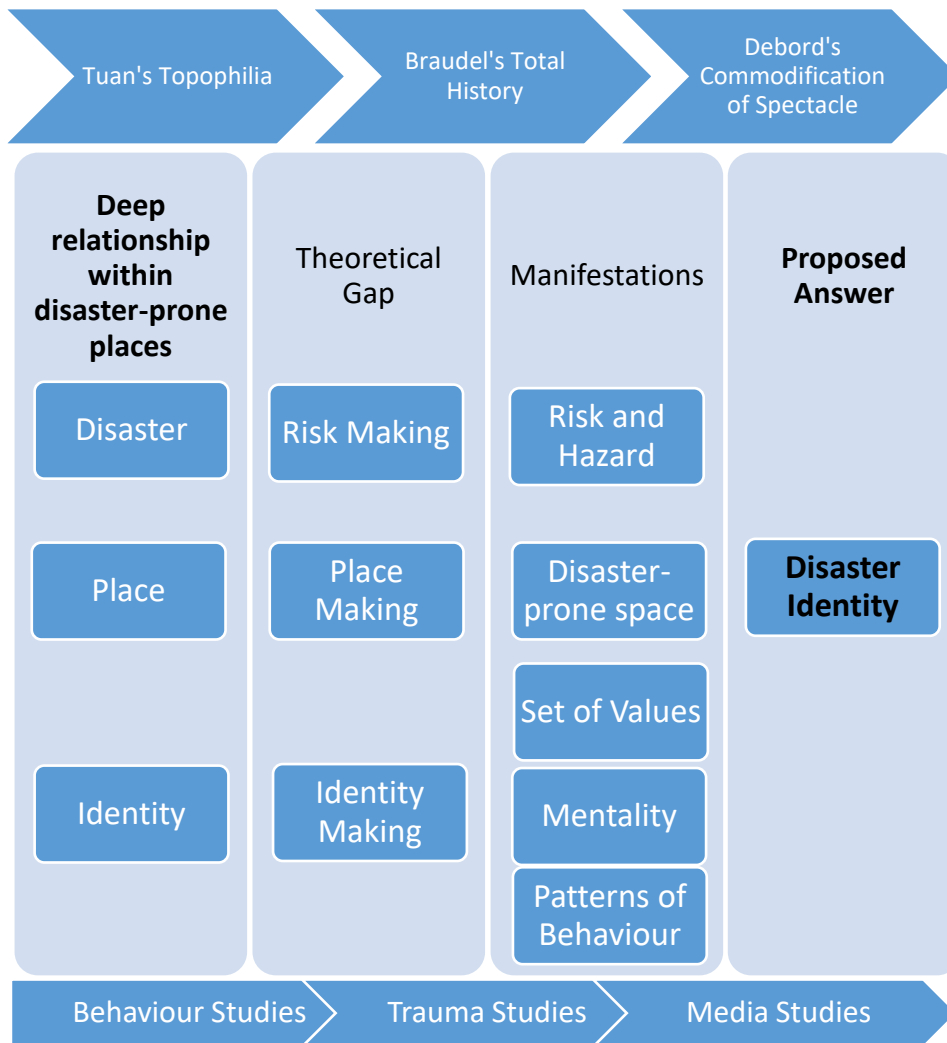


Image 5: Disaster Identity Theoretical Model.

Source: Own Crafting.

Thus, I have organised this Chapter in three sections, each developing one of the three levels of analytical tools illustrated in Image 5. First, in the middle

section of Image 5, I have highlighted the process of this thesis' problematic, through its theoretical gap, its concrete manifestations in Valparaíso's day-to-day life, and my proposed answer in the form of Disaster Identity. This will become the first section of this Chapter, that reviews disaster, identity and place literatures seeking their approximations to the analysis of disaster events to identify the precise elements that are consistently present in this conceptual articulation triad present in communities that live in disaster-prone places.

Above it, I have depicted three theoretical concepts that are the structural support for the *conceptual articulation triad* that is the focus of this research. *Topophilia*, *Total History* and *Commodifying Spectacle* are my second level of analysis and are developed in the second section of this Chapter. These three concepts were selected to provide a structural guidance for Dimensions and Categories analysis, and thus they have a transversal analytical role throughout this thesis: they guide the reader to not only appreciate the entwined relationship of the conceptual articulation triad through the disaster history of Valparaíso; but they (topophilia, commodifying spectacle and total history) also provide the analytical tools that achieve deep understanding of the disaster, identity and place phenomena relationship in its core meanings.

Finally, my third level of analysis are nine concepts selected from behaviour, trauma and media studies, localised at the bottom of Image 5. These nine concepts -helplessness, alternation mechanism, representations of trauma, intersubjective representations of trauma, trauma, disaster marathon, disaster citizenry, disaster geopolitics and perceived injustice sufferers- and their explanations conform the third section of this Chapter. They were selected because they help me understand surrounding and contextualising issues that impact indirectly my conceptual articulation triad phenomena. They were also selected because of their capacity to enlighten particular issues that emerged in particular moments of data analysis, thus creating an operational conceptual framework, whose use is strictly utilitarian in the empirical chapters.

3.1 Disaster, Identity and Place Studies Literature Review

In this section, I will engage with important conceptual issues within disaster, identity and place studies. Subsequently and critically explored in three subsections, I will depict and draw from each of these academic literatures concepts and understandings that both contextualise and support the emergence of disaster identity as a new analytical tool. These three literatures, also, help me assert precisely the theoretical gaps that I have detected as the niche for disaster identity that are the theoretical foundations for my research questions, in particular my fourth research question, summarised in Table 4. From these literatures, then, the most critical concepts for my thesis will be summarised in three Toolboxes, which will show precise definitions that will be useful throughout this dissertation as conceptual reminders for the reader to consult.

3.1.1 Disaster Studies

Exploring disaster literature, Vose (2008) proposes three analytical perspectives that develop within disaster studies: objective, subjective and psychological. Each one of these perspectives works *differently* the key concepts of hazard, risk and vulnerability. However, all three perspectives acknowledge that, within any one disaster, the concepts of hazard, risk and vulnerability entwine accordingly with the context of a particular disaster event. In this subsection, I will summarize each analytical perspective from their subsequent operational definitions of hazard, risk and vulnerability intertwine.

From the **objective perspective**, *hazards* are mainly related to geophysical events, and studies related to the spectrum of infrastructure and control of physical structures. *Risks*, on the other hand, have been related to human behaviour at times of community crisis (K. Smith, 2013 [1991]). Environmental hazards can be conceptualised as having both natural and human components and are studied mainly by human ecology researchers. However, for Barrow (1997), a hazard is a perceived danger to life and/or property, and *disaster* is the realisation of such danger in reality, connecting hazard to risk, in the sense of perception, which diverges from risk's potentiality nature.

It seems plausible to think that the idea of frequency in this perspective is thought of not only in the temporal spectrum of analysis, but also in the diversity of possible outcomes; all of which impacts on the perception of *vulnerable* environments, as Barde and Pearce (2013) suggest.

The **subjective perspective** frames disasters as a characterisation of a future state, a potential reality. Therefore, a disaster event presents itself as an *uneasy sense* of what the future can hold as an *undesired possibility*. Further, and as Barrow (1997) argues, *disasters* presents an uncontrolled potential reality which underlines the *vulnerability* of social environments.

Along this critical path of vulnerability understanding, Castree, Demeritt, Liverman, and Rhoads (2009) propose the notion of a *subjective perception of risk*, because it “involves deciding with a lack of confidence, where the precise outcome is unknown, but one or more possible outcomes may cause harm” (p. 81). This implies that *risks* or *hazards* are viewed as a *perception* issue, about which communities have a determined ‘*feeling*’. In this sense, and as a social perception, risk has characteristics that can be identified in Table 7.

Table 7: Characteristics of perceived disaster situations

Characteristic	Condition Associated with <i>Feelings</i> of High Risk	Characteristic	Condition Associated with <i>Feelings</i> of High Risk
Severity	Adverse effect	Understanding	Large uncertainty
Probability	High probability	Dread	Situation evokes fear
Catastrophic	Effect clustered in space/time	Voluntariness	Involuntary exposure
Reversibility	Irreversible effect	Controllability	No known control measure
Age	Effect appears in children	Equity	Uneven distribution of effect
Victim Identify	Able to specify sufferer	Trust	Lack of trust in source
Familiarity	Effect unfamiliar	Personal Stake	Effects highly personal
Attribution	Can't attribute blame	Attention	High media attention

Source: Own Crafting based on Crawford-Brown (1999, p. 10).

Finally, the **psychologist perspective** puts forward rational scenarios relating the impact of a disaster event in any social environment. This can be

defined as “the set of all adverse outcomes which a rational person might believe to be possible when confronted with evidence about frequency, severity and variability of effects” (Crawford-Brown, 1999, p. 10). The new input of this definition can be identified in the aspects of *knowledge* and *rationality*.

As seen above, discussing vulnerability, as well as hazard and risk, there is no one definitive conceptualization, thus definitions depend upon the researchers one consults. Taking *vulnerability* as a case without definitive conceptualization, it is sometimes used as the *opposite of capability* (M. B. Anderson & Woodrow, 1989), the opposite of *security* (Burby, Deyle, Godschalk, & Olshansky, 2000) or as the *global condition of people* which correlate with their *socioeconomic position* (Carr, Abrahams, de la Poterie, Suarez, & Koelle, 2015).

Along this critical path of vulnerability understanding, Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, and Wisner (2014) propose:

By “vulnerability” [...] the characteristics of a person or a group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural disaster. It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone’s life and livelihood is put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society.

Source: *Blaikie et al. (2014, p. 9).*

Regarding risk as another example that lacks a definitive conceptualisation under the psychologic perspective, K. Smith (2013 [1991]) proposes a check list to assess and identify risk in a social environment. Accordingly, risk assessment comprises three distinctive processes, which are summarised in Table 8:

Table 8: Major differences between risk assessment and risk perception.

Phase of analysis	Risk assessment processes	Risk perception processes
Risk identification	Event monitoring Statistical inference	Individual intuition; Personal awareness
Risk estimation	Magnitude / Frequency Economic Costs	Personal experiences;

		Intangible losses
Risk evaluation	Cost-benefit analysis Community policy	Personality factors; Individual action

Source:
Own
Crafting
based on K.
Smith (2013
[1991], p. 68).

In what follows, this section has two subsections. First, I will depict how disaster studies has dealt with the **relationship** between **disasters** and **societies**. From there, in a second subsection, I will particularly focus on the literature that concentrates on disasters from the social sciences. Both subsections are separated to critically explore how disaster studies has delved into the understanding of disaster events as sociocultural constructions; and how the social sciences have approached disasters as a research problem.

3.1.1.1 Disaster Studies focused on the relation of disaster and society

There are certain key studies that must be critically analysed due to the connection they poise between disaster and society, as described briefly in this thesis's Introduction. Sorokin (2017 [1942]) can be seen as the first sociological study that refers to social behaviour around the issue of 'calamity' in a 'before and after' paradigm. Although his work is considered to be very contextualised by his Soviet influence and events of the Second World War, the first paragraph of his book *Man and Society in Calamity* was, and still is, prescient:

We live and act in an age of great calamities. War and revolution, famine and pestilence, are again rampant on this planet. Again they exact their deadly toll from suffering humanity. Again they influence every moment of our existence: our mentality and behaviour, our social life and cultural processes. Like a fell demon, they cast their shadow upon every thought we think and every action we perform.

Source: Sorokin (2017 [1942], p. 15).

Following this critical path, Hannigan and Kueneman (1978) also studied the phenomenon of societies and disasters. In communities that live in areas prone to flooding in Western Canada, they established an example of what they call '*Disaster Subculture*', building on what Moore (1964) called the organised communal response to disasters. This research led Hanningan and Kueneman to three important conclusions: first, there is a real consequence

in societies that live in repetitive disaster consequences; second, such societies organise to *survive* particular perils; and third, those same survival strategies keep those societies in permanent disinterest to update their own readiness and preparedness plans due to the fact that they rely more on what they *know* rather than scientific updates and *new* readiness plans. For these theorists, such disaster subcultures are, thus, on the road to instability due to the fact that survival strategies could, in the long run, clash with each other, thus weakening this form of social structure and debilitating their own social response to the disaster itself.

Following the above relationship between disasters and societies, Weller and Wenger (1973) proposed that the existence of a '*disaster subculture*' should be analysed from four opposing dimensions, as illustrated here in Image 6. With the outcome of this eight-way analysis of one phenomenon, the *disaster salient* is calculated, in terms of communal and agent response to disaster. Then, it can be contextualised historically and compared and contrasted to its disaster history.

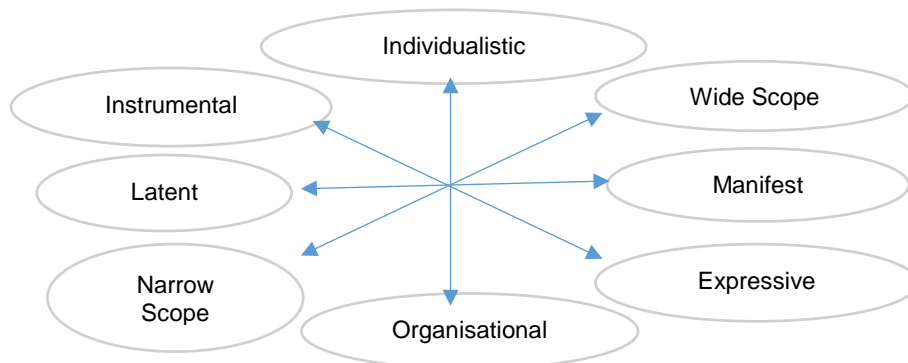


Image 6: Four Oppositions of Disaster Subculture.

Source: Own crafting, based on Enrico Louis Quarantelli's analysis (1978).

On a macro scale, Trainer and Bolin (1976) offered the relation between society and disaster in a cross-cultural study that compared a flash flood in the United States and an earthquake in Nicaragua. Their conclusions extrapolated the importance of institutions, family and individual responses to a disaster all of which implies the *interconnectivity* of an organised *response*.

Within these theoretical developments, Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* [1992 (1986)] is a standpoint for disaster studies. He establishes the social

construction of risk as a product of dominant discourse within an industrialised society, where individualism and archetypical social roles imposed by a capitalist hierarchy provoke the self(social)-harm (or own creation) of risks and perceived risks. Based on ethnographic fieldwork which showed different communal approaches regarding the involvement with political institutions, Beck *demonstrated that disasters are sociocultural constructions* as well. In specific, the data gathered from his participants highlight the mistrust, scepticism and critical voices regarding official risk management by the part of affected communities. Thus, *empirically, abstract conceptualisations* of risk, hazard and vulnerability become *unfunctional*.

In this critical path Dugan (2007) discusses the importance of rescuing what home once was to affected communities by disasters, due to the fact that 'home' represents the anchor between grief (over a way of life lost) and the need to reconstruct towards a new future. In this regard, and based on the work of M. J. Smith (2005), Dugan proposes the importance of *learning to live with risk* through a carefully planned natural environment scheme. Ultimately, this tension identified by both Dugan and Smith illustrate one of many issues that converge in Beck's *Risk Society*.

The answer to this risk society form of domination is, for Beck, *reflexive modernisation*. In his own words, "the latency of risk threats is coming to an end. The invisible hazards are becoming visible"; i.e. social critique towards the 'acceptable levels' of air pollution in any one city (Beck, 1992 [1986], p. 55). Giddens (1991), working on issues regarding modernity, risk and trust, highlights 'reflexive modernisation' as the only path that can navigate "most aspects of social activity and material relations with nature, to chronic revision in the light of new information or knowledge" (p. 20).

Ultimately, for Beck, reflexive modernisation is directly related to the social perceptions of risk. In an industrialised society, where its means of production are the very same paths of environmental risks, it is thus understood that modernisation itself becomes the systematic way for the introduction of new risks to vulnerable societies to what he calls 'not-yet-events' (future disaster events).

3.1.1.2 Disasters and Societies studied from the Social Sciences

As disaster studies have generally focused on understanding the actions and reactions of public institutions, involved communities and agencies when disaster strikes, an important issue that connects disaster studies with social sciences is disaster management. The support of law, social care and administrative management come to base the analysis of issues such as the responsibilities of internal governments and the local community facing a disaster, as well as how to organise and distribute public and private, national and international, aid.

For example, as K. Smith (2013 [1991]), Schenker-Wicki, Inauen, and Olivares (2010) and Jahangiri, Izadkhah, and Jamaledin Tabibi (2011) argue for an active role of the State (through public policy) in the mitigation and preparedness of disaster-prone areas. In such instances, the State should be involved by offering public guidelines such as building codes and education plans, zoning and urban planning -that should take disasters within future urban projects- so as to prepare for an informed public response to potential disaster events²⁷.

Therefore, due to its relevance, disaster management has become, both in funding and in journal publications, a key input for decision-makers in disaster-prone places. Bankoff, Frerks, and Hilhorst (2013), Enrico Louis Quarantelli (2005) and Vose (2008) agree that social vulnerability and general infrastructure preparedness research has been the most enhanced areas of disaster studies from the social sciences. Nevertheless, in between these two spheres -public institutions and affected communities- lies new research areas that are currently being explored.

In a quick overview, from Sociology, Wyatt (1997) establishes that not only natural disasters, such as earthquakes, can shape a determined space. Social crisis also plays a role, whilst both (natural and social) types of disasters affect that particular space, as well as the societies that are there emplaced, due high disaster frequency. Rozario (2007) furthers this path when applying the

²⁷ For an illustrated summary of the different disaster phases models, please refer to Appendix A, p. 219.

historical criteria to understand societies in construction, when researching why the United States live with a social discourse of calamity. He argues that American society has been founded upon the social consciousness of fear, which goes back to the original founding fathers and their quest of freedom against religious persecution. Understood historically, what Rozario argues as American social mania has embedded in the construction of the national social discourse which epitomizes with 9/11. From the Hollywood cultural spectra to national disasters such as the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake, up to the Bush administration and its War on Terror, the imaginary of calamity, because of disasters, provides the historical sustain to US national and foreign policy. In this path, Davis (2014) establishes the importance of imagination, specifically regarding catastrophes, in the building of cities. Having Los Angeles as case study, Davis engages in the role of disaster and fear in urban imagination and planning of ecological environment which, ultimately, nurtures disaster management from disaster imagination and human fear of catastrophes.

From Urban Planning, Schenker-Wicki et al. (2010) have stated that further research is needed to potentiate reconstruction plans that consider preparedness and reconstruction phases in pursuit of better implementation of mitigation policies in disaster affected areas. From Physical Geography, GIS risk and hazard mapping is key, as Tomaszewski (2014) and Bankoff et al. (2013) propose, highlighting the relevance of remote and virtual tools that can help precise preparedness and mitigation plans. Finally, from Law and Publicity studies, Cassar, Healy, and von Kessler (2017) tackle the issue of legitimisation of institutional management during disaster events, from the area of social trust and the impacts that such events have on public opinion.

Critically, social sciences have become vital regarding relief efforts organisation in an international scale, as mentioned above. In a historical perspective, Walker (2008) puts forward the notion that relief efforts in a disaster reconstruction phase can and has been socially questioned by communal leaders, opposing and contesting political authorities as well as disaster management policies; which Walker exemplifies with the high levels of contestation of the 1746 Lima Earthquake reconstruction plan that was planned and enforced by the Peruvian Viceroy in behalf of the King of Spain.

The fact that contestation to reconstruction plans can be proven to be a historic tendency allows Walker to understand the levels of social disengagement and unpopularity of the Katrina reconstruction plans and the also unusually high levels of contestation regarding the request, use and distribution of foreign aid. Cutter and Emrich (2006), and Esteban, Tsimopoulou, Shibayama, Mikami, and Ohira (2013), precise that International Law, Anthropology and Organisational studies have been used in relief efforts, by discussing points of comparison in between disaster-prone places regarding communal resilience in the aftermath of a disaster event. Further, Goode, Salmon, Spencer, McArdle, and Archer (2017) and Paton and Johnston (2017) argue for cases such as North-African refugees and/or *bigger* natural catastrophes, such as the Sumatra tsunami or Hurricane Katrina.

Along these lines, from Journalism and Political studies, Healey (2011) argues the key role of a disaster in the political configuration of an entire country. By analysing Perón's reconstruction plan for San Juan after the 1944 Earthquake, the author positions future national public policy made by Peronists since as a political divide that acquired disaster mitigation perspectives and made them part of national political discourse in Argentina.

In the case of the United States of America, Klinenberg (2003) explains social inequality, class struggles and social discrimination of vulnerable population, such as seniors and poor neighbourhoods, as part of the '*human factor*' ingredient that potentiated the deadly scope of a heat wave in 1995 Chicago. Klinenberg demonstrates how a disaster can uncover the veil of social ignorance, only to discover that decades of social, racial and economic discrimination left most of Chicago's population in such a vulnerable state that made some neighbourhoods ecologically riskier to natural hazards. Thus, Klinenberg connects politics, public policies, political agencies to social crisis at the heart of a disaster event.

Working on the connections between disaster, society and politics, Naomi Klein's study regarding the *disaster capitalism complex* stands out as a comprehensive approach towards understanding disaster as a sociocultural construction. It is based on the notion of disaster as a connection to global happenings through political ideology and international organisations and their

particular political agencies. In *The Shock Doctrine* (2014), Klein analyses the evolution in the privatisation of public institutions -like the ‘*first emergency responders*’ in the United States such as the military or Red Cross- into institutions which exploit public crises as a path to disseminate a *shock doctrine* that could ensure public control through political power and political ideology.

This path was followed by M. D. Anderson (2011), when he acknowledged the importance of hegemonic culture construction in disaster-prone spaces that are based upon political hierarchies and social elites in an effort to maintain political power. Furthering this understanding, Bukvic and Owen (2017) aimed to acknowledge the importance of *place attachment* within Stately-displaced communities post disaster. Most recently, Lin and Lin (2016), Lewis and Lewis (2017) and Jarman (2017) have discussed the importance of communal resilience harvested through the political use of a disaster events within a one society; and in what ways this political use of disasters create and reflect in cultural narratives.

Table 9: Toolbox 1 - Key Disaster Studies Concept Selection

Concepts/Authors	Definitions
Risk, Hazard, Vulnerability and Disaster (Blaikie et. al. 2014)	Risk becomes the knowable appreciation of vulnerable communities who are exposed to natural hazards from time to time. Thus, disasters occur in the extreme happening of severe disruption to the social structures of vulnerable communities by natural hazards.
Risk Society (Beck, 1992 [1986])	Social construction of risk as a by-product of dominant discourse within an industrialised society, where individualism and archetypical social roles imposed by a capitalist hierarchy provoke the self(social)-harm (or own creation) of risks and perceived risks.
Reflexive Modernity (Beck, 1992 [1986])	Emphasises the importance of social reflection as a vital part of human adaptation to its vital environment and its cultural productions. In turn, reflexive modernisation helps to sustain institutional legitimisation and the social distribution of risk because it is directly related to the social perceptions of risk.
Disaster Capitalism Complex (Klein, 2014)	A disaster ideology which is used as the basis for public legitimisation of national (internal) political decisions; under the notions of preparedness and readiness. Its implementation requires vast connections within governmental agencies; and it has the potential to connect globally through political ideology and international organisations and their particular political agencies.
Disaster Subculture (Hanningan and Kueneman, 1978)	Relates the direct impact on social life which is emplaced in disaster-prone places. Highlighting the proclivity of disasters, communal knowledge is crafted upon the survival strategies tested through the generations. Eventually, such social organisation, catalysed by disasters, creates the foundations to a divergent culture, which defines as unconventional and/or disruptive regarding its origins (or macrolevel cultural framework).

Source: Own Crafting.

3.1.2 Identity Studies

In this section, I will critically explore key concepts within Identity studies, which help contextualise the construction of social identity and social memory in its inner workings and concrete manifestations. Within identity studies, focus on catastrophic experiences is appreciated on a scale of individuals/group of individuals, who have partaken in similar experiences; all of which carry the capacity to change the performativity of a social identity:

Other situational changes that have profound effects would be winning the lottery and becoming instantaneously very rich, or conversely, suffering a robbery, a home burning down, living in a city like New Orleans that is devastated by a hurricane, or being removed from the city and not being able to go back. In each of those cases, people's behaviour patterns are altered. The decisions they can and must make have important consequences. People may be uprooted from family, friends, and job and lose their normal means of verifying their identities [...]. As a consequence of these type of occurrence, people's identities change, sometimes in unexpected ways.

Source: *Burke and Stets (2009, p. 182).*

Using Stryker's (1980) concept of '*structural symbolic interaction*', which explains the relationship between individuals and society, and between roles and social situations, the notion of '*hegemonic culture*' configures as the environment that constructs social identities. Through acculturation and cultural synthesis processes in one space, where different world views coalesce and restructure towards the making of a social consensus which is valid for all participants of that same social situation. It is in this acculturated context where these synthesised symbols become more important than the particular originally diverse symbols, thus achieving prominence through social validation (Erll, 2016).

Burke and Stets (2009) argue that society organises itself through varied '*social structures*', which represent the necessary and primal interface between patterns of behaviour and meanings. As different sociologists (Coleman, 1990; Cook, Cheshire, Rice, & Nakagawa, 2013) and social psychologists (E. R. Smith & Conrey, 2007) explain, individuals who select determined patterns of behaviour and meanings during the symbolic interaction with their environment become *social agents of those social*

structures. By becoming social agents, individuals activate a determined identity, where behaviours and meaning relate to individual and collective expectations of how oneself is recognised within a hegemonic culture.

Therefore, when shared meanings fuse from a social base, they become objectivised *symbols*, which can be read and understood in social interactions by the use of common language, such as body, written, graffiti and/or slang-based languages. This is why, for Sennet, symbols offer a sense of security within a community that shares hegemonic culture (2008, p. 25). The development of symbols, meaning and signs can be traced back to the vast work of George Mead (1934), when he established that meaning relates through society by imitation of patterns of behaviour, where individuals react in ways that are socially accepted or denied. Mead proposed that identity is constructed by socially acting and perceiving. Therefore, role-acting is a consequence of meaning understanding and *self-construction* in a social environment with a determined culture (Mead & Morris, 1934). Mead's approach was, in turn, based on the work of Cooley in 1902, who first put forward the notion of self-recognition based on the perception of others by doing a reflected appraisal; which he called the '*looking-glass*' (Jacobs, 2006), where (*self*) recognition and (*others*) perception are key for identity construction. Both notions -Mead's meanings through social imitations and Cooley's *looking-glass*- are in many ways the base for what Stryker developed as the structural symbolic interaction, where context hierarchically organises, within a hegemonic culture, its social structures and their meaning.

Although Stryker's original concept (1980), Burke and Stets (2009) deepen the concept of '*structural symbolic interaction*' by establishing that individuals seek meanings through different actions, and when such meanings match their sets of values, then individuals feel *self-validation*. Burke and Stets (2009), based also on the work of Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), propose that symbols, meanings and signs are key for understanding the interface between an individual and its context. *Symbols* are actions that obtain meaning from social convention, culture and societies. *Meaning* is constructed as a response to particular stimuli, which at the same time causes further meaning at both personal and collective ways of life.

Sennett (2008) argues that unconscious recognition of a determined way of life has basis on a type of memory that is based on experiences, which can then evolve into culturally decoded *symbols*. Accordingly, sense of *security* is rooted in a common past, where its members consolidate knowledge that activates when faced to different, but similar, stimuli (Corballis, White, & Abraham, 2014).

Building on Sennett's '*symbolic system*' (2008) and Berger and Luckmann's '*symbolic universe*' ([1966] 1991), Heise and MacKinnon (2010) have highlighted the importance of a community's reaction to stimuli (such as disaster events) and its implications. When similar situations present themselves to a community that shares social memory, its members will react in the sanctioned and socially *validated* manner, meanwhile reflecting, comparing and contrasting on the particulars of current and past events. In doing so, they are willingly merging their collective experiences into one broader objectivised experience (Znaniecki, 1986).

The process of objectivising individual experiences into a single collective one happens through the social use of a '*matrix of resignification*'. Said matrix, as Heise and MacKinnon (2010) propose, orders phenomena according to a set of values attached to the original meaning obtained back in the original meaningful social situation. With time, the social institutions involved in the matrix of resignification, transform into what Thoits and Virshup (1997) call social '*role models*'.

Hogg and Reid (2006), when discussing social role models, argue that a social group should be understood as a gathering of individuals who share sense of belonging to the group label, provoking uniformities in thoughts, actions, and feelings, such as a political party. These authors consider that these and other elements can cause similar sensations within group members, by activating self-identification and alterity. However, Heise and MacKinnon (2010) argue that it is in a changing environment upon which '*stereotypes*' are crafted, especially in societies that drift far from the values and behaviour that it once had as an original feature. Therefore, the past ends up as an idealised reality, and referred to, with nostalgia, as the '*good old days*' (Hall, 2005; Heise & MacKinnon, 2010; Hetherington, 1998).

To understand more precisely the collective construction of experience-based social memory, it is helpful to approach this discussion through three conceptual models: Fivush & Haden's '*episodic memory*' (2003), Moscovici's '*social representations*' (Moscovici, 1988) and Deleuze & Guattari's (1988) '*spaces of relation*'. I have selected these three conceptual models because they intend to explain the happenings within a society that is faced with constant change.

As various theorists agree (B. Anderson, 2006; Eade, Jahjah, Bechler, & Sassen, 2004; Fivush, Habermas, Waters, & Zaman, 2011), on an individual scale, the most significant memories can be recalled by their meaning and their impact on a person's life. Therefore, Fivush and Haden (2003) argue that such significance will become an intricate part of personal autobiographies, in the form of '*episodic memories*'. Applying this at a community level, a circumstance or a determined social situation can cause episodic memories in the core behaviour of its members, modifying its social structures to incorporate significant experiences.

A second analytical perspective is offered by Moscovici's '*social representation*' concept (1988). It considers the social knowledge of a community as a function of both behaviours and communication of those who participate within a social situation. It involves a path of understanding towards the social thinking of communities, where *common sense* is at the core of this '*conscious collective imaginary*'. As an emplaced and shared knowledge, common sense converts reality to familiarity, and meaning can be thus shared in a valid way (Moscovici, 1988).

As a cognitive approach, Moscovici (1988) tries to merge what is significant to what reality the signifies. Therefore, for example, local lingos and their particular use provide a stable cultural framework which, in turn, guides what individuals' behaviours should be in a determined social situation. This process, called the objectification of reality, allows communities to separate individual subjective perceptions and turn them into a collective social representation that is meaningful and valid within their particular contexts: *a way of life that is based on common sense within a particular context*.

Moscovici, thus, intends to understand a way of life that, elsewhere, would be incomprehensible (Moscovici, 1988).

Finally, grasping the geo-cultural context of a research case, Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) work relates why space is important for a community that is pressured for and by powerful changes. Categorized as *smooth* (spaces with ideal coexistence situations) and *striated* spaces (spaces with many challenges and possibility of conflict), space becomes *space of relations* when a community has a divergent development. This model explains how a community can coexist until a change impacts the roots of its coexistence. Such changes are so powerful that, according to Deleuze and Guattari, they can embed into how communities interact through tolerance, respect, and/or marginalization

Table 10: Toolbox 2 - Key Identity Studies Concept Selection²⁸

Concepts/Authors	Definitions
Hegemonic culture (Castells, 2011)	Consolidated culture of any social life. It can be crafted through time by syncretism and acculturation processes; or be imposed through narrative discourse which underlines its political and/or ideological agenda.
Metacontrast Principle (Hogg and Reid, 2006)	Mechanism through which the 'us and them' equation services the normative aspects of social structures, both to members and outsiders of a hegemonic culture
Systemic Fields of Memory (Heise and MacKinnon, 2010)	When similar situations present themselves to a community that shares social memory, its members will react in the sanctioned validated manner. This means that its social validation happens when community members willingly merge their collective experiences into one broader objectivised experience.
Matrix of Representation (Heise and MacKinnon, 2010)	Mechanism which orders 'new' phenomena according to a set of values attached to the original meaning obtained back in the original meaningful social situation.
Stereotypes (Heise and MacKinnon, 2010)	Sociocultural archetypes that emerge especially in societies that drift far from the values and behaviour that it once had as an original feature. Therefore, the past ends up as an idealised reality, and referred to, with nostalgia, as the <i>good old days</i> .
Social Representation (Moscovici, 1988)	Objectification of reality which incorporates individual opinions and integrates them into a collective social perception.
Spaces of Relation (Delleuze and Guattari, 1998)	Explains the diverse processes of social life development in a space, consolidating smooth (low divergence) to striated (high divergence) places according to different levels of city-making.

Source: Own Crafting.

²⁸ For *porteñoness* examples regarding the key identity concept reviewed in this subsection, see Appendix B, p. 222.

3.1.3 Place Studies

Various areas of research have interpreted the dialectical relationship between humans and space. In many ways, thinking of this dialectic is to think about the diversity of ontological responses and reactions of humans towards their environment, and how much humans are entwined with it. In the following subsection, I will discuss different approaches and concepts related to place studies, in an effort to deeply understand the process of place making as the connection between space and society.

Santos and Silveira (2000) establish that *space* is a contributory exchange system of fluids and fixed elements; all of which is gathered in the unique context of the making of history. Through technology, as Susser (2002) proposes, space evolves, conditioning Santos and Silveira's system of exchanges by integrating *objects* into that system. Objects interact whilst in use and/or whilst as product of society as well as a symbolic representation with meaning. Understanding space as the relationship amongst environment, society and objects, positions *space as a social construct*.

In this sense, space implies a *spatial practice* by society in order to *exist*. A key author that builds upon the notion of space as a sociocultural construction is Henry Lefebvre, who proposed that culture, representations and imaginations are entwined with society's notion of space. Furthering this notion, Merrifield (2014) and Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine (2004) have articulated that space is a multi-layered construction of human experiences, relations, perceptions, imaginations and meanings.

From the humanities, the transition of space as natural environment to a socially and culturally built one is signified when space becomes *place*. When historical time is applied to a specific space, human experiences emerge contextualised in their inner structure, presenting thus symbolic meaning (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Lefebvre, 2004; Susser, 2002). As such, '*place*' is a type of *object* that offers stability, security and a sense of permanence; all of which humans acquire through the experience of a lifetime (Lewicka, 2011). Further, as Main and Sandoval (2015) argue, if human experiences with place are officially institutionalised, sense of attachment and sense of belonging can evolve into social identities that take the form of nationalities.

As a space with symbolic meaning, places can impact the construction of culture within a one society as well. Using an '*in/out*' dichotomy, Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2004) argue that the use of determined type of *architecture* within a particular place represents a symbolic interaction between what is permanent and what is not in a particular culture. Along this line of thought, Kostof and Tobias (1999) position architecture and its conscious use since the first historic urbanisations, as an *educational* tool whose purpose is to impact on communities senses and feelings through the idea of safety in what is permanent for a one community.

'*Cities*' are examples of place because they are spaces of shared meaning, with historic traditions and future projects. As K. Lynch (1960) explains, cities can visually manifest its sense of attachment in a form of social sentiments, such as proximity, density and closeness to urban emplacements. Building on Lynch's approach, Rama (1996) proposed that cities are designed through cultural symbolic languages that are bound within rational conceptions. Building on Rama, Merrifield (2013) furthers the term *urban fabric* to characterise the complex phenomena of society and space within a city that shares symbolic meaning, and which can be summarised in particular images.

The '*image of a city*' is a construction of dialectical relationships of identity, structure and meaning. This imageability is understood as a quality of a physical object which gives the probability of evoke-ness, impacting in an individual level on the sensibility orientations and expressions at the moment of boarding an urban environment. For K. Lynch (1960), it implies a cognitive approach to a visual memory of an urban environment that can communicate meaning, specially through the media and discourse. For Amin and Thrift (2002), the image of a city can also uphold the '*dream of a city*'; all of which, eventually, ends up manipulating social narratives as well as everyday life. As Rama (1996) proposes, the image of the city can be also a '*lettered and written city*', in the way that it is charged with signs and symbols that impulse social order in a society's evolving symbolic system, especially in 1800's Latin American context that involved future urban projects (Rama, 1996).

There is no *one* image to a city. There may exist many that overlap and that are interrelated; which for Lefebvre (2004) means a continued flux of

constructed images and rhythms that depend entirely on the city-maker as well as on local authorities. In this sense, images are not precise models of reality; however, in different levels, images can accurately get a message across to a foreign community, because they represent determined urban lives based upon the social construction of deep cultural meanings.

However, there are places that in contemporary society have lost their meaning, or more straightforwardly, have been constructed *without* meanings. 'Non-places', as Marc Augé (1995) argues, can be viewed as a globalisation output, process that has had an accelerating effect in individuals and communities lifestyle. 'Supermodernity', in Augé's view, has had two main consequences: one, to transform traditional constructions of space meaning; and two, to bluntly erase this ability from human condition, thus creating non-places that lack cultural narrative and communication.

The lack of meaning or meaning fading processes in urban dwellings has become part of the current city environments. As Sassen (2013) depicts, with capitalist values, the city exchanged its traditional significations and symbolism for *efficiency*. Agreeing with D. Harvey (2012), Sassen highlights the new urban infrastructure of the new *global city* as a sign that efficiency has taken over the policy making processes that had to deal with urban issues such as overcrowding, slumming and blight; which, finally, acknowledges supranational factors that define its city life within global scale networks. Susser (2002) poises this development of urban dwellings that lack meaning as the main consequence of neoliberalism, such as the search of land as a pursuit of profit and the role of the state in the perpetual reproduction of social labour force.

As David Harvey (2001) and Manuel Castells (2008) have long discussed, economic dialectics are changing structures, organisations, symmetries and hierarchies of distributions of benefits and rights within urban systems. In satisfying the need of the global market, as Brenner and Theodore (2003) indicate, the global city's design is left up to transnational economic systems by incorporating producers and consumers logics into the urban scheme. Merrifield (2013), based on Harvey and Castells' argument above, highlights a relevant duality regarding the relationship between the city and capital: are

cities reproducing labour-power, neighbourhood public services and housing dilemmas under the dynamics of social reproduction of capital; or is urban land a commodity in itself, a coveted appropriation scheme that can be an equal standpoint for economic cumulation?

For Merrifield, either option leaves the door open to further social exploitation schemes in the understanding of the city as a space for production of capital (D. Harvey, 2010, 2012; Merrifield, 2013). As a possible solution, both Harvey and Castells argue that urban design should collect city perceptions, receptors and functions. Building upon the seminal work of Lefebvre (2003) and the 'right to the city', 'citizenry' participation creates a sense of collective urban identity on the body of the city; which, for Tajbakhsh (2000), is under constant threat of neoliberal forces and visible and invisible tensions of change.

Table 11: Toolbox 3 - Key Concepts from Place Studies²⁹.

Concepts/Authors	Definitions
Place (Amin & Thrift, 2002)	Place is the output of spatial transition from a space as natural environment to a socially and culturally build one. When historical time is applied to a specific space, human experiences emerge contextualised in their inner structure, presenting thus symbolic meaning
Non-places (Augé, 1995)	Places that lack meaning because they were planned as places of transit. The impacts of supermodernity, provokes that such places do not create the sufficient urban fabric that can craft a cultural construction of meaningful social narratives.
Image of the city (Lynch, 1960)	The image of a city is a construction of dialectical relationships of identity, structure and meaning. It summarises and symbols what a city wants to transmit in a communication to its dweller and to its visitor, due to its evoke-ness quality.
Lettered City (Rama, 1996)	Within the urban planning and the urban materiality of an urban dwelling, concepts, signs and symbols are built among street names, grid planning and/or location of monuments and objects that carry meaning. Thus, any dweller or visitor of such a place can elucidate this attached meaning by reading the lettered semiotics of a city.
Right to the city (Lefebvre, 2003)	Is attributed to the power and significance of a city's dweller, a city's social movements, and a city's political participation process. It implies the sense of collective urban identities that relate sense of belonging to the corporeal complex place of a city.
Global City (Sassen, 2013)	Is the process that depicts the transition of a place with meaning to a space of organised by the capitalism approach to urban efficiency; which impacts the decision-making process of city-makers.

Source: Own Crafting.

²⁹ For *porteñoness*' examples for these key concepts from place studies, see Appendix C, p. 228.

3.2 Structural Theoretical Concepts

In the following section, I will depict specifically the inner workings of the three theoretical concepts that are the structural guides of this thesis' data analysis. These three theoretical concepts provide the in-depth analysis tools I need to reach the deep meaning I propose exists in the relationship between disaster, identity and place-making in a disaster-prone place.

The selection of Tuan's topophilia, of Braudel's total history and of Debord's commodification of spectacle was based upon the original contexts that these theorists had in order to organise the construction of said concepts. Tuan writes as a second generation Chinese American in the 1970s, whose major interest is how humans relate emotions to a space that, sometimes, has nothing to do with birth right. Braudel enquires about the challenges of post-Holocaust victims, in a 1950s France that is starting to question political power and the historical happenings that led humanity onto the Cold War. Debord critiques the political outcome and human inheritance in a post Second World War, and the beginnings of the Cold War from a neomarxist perspective that helps him consider and evaluate how societies have changed historically, and what forces have been underlying and leading those changes.

Working together, this conceptual articulation triad allows a profound engagement to how place and identity are constructed, within the long-term scope of an evolving society. Thus, each concept helps me to develop the arguments framed in my research questions according to my empirical chapters. First, Tuan's *Topophilia* helps me understand how social memory achieves meaning in disaster-prone places, as poised in my first research question. Subsequently, Braudel's *Total History* helps me understand how political patterns of behaviour are constructed in a historical perspective, as framed in my second research question. Finally, Debord's *Commodification of Spectacle* helps me to deeply understand, in a long-term analysis, how societies change in the context of neoliberal pressures, identified in my third research question.

3.2.1 Yi Fu Tuan's Topophilia

Yi Fu Tuan's study of Topophilia entails the circumstances upon which a determined space *evolves* when society attaches to it feelings and *emotions*. In his words,

The topophilia concept fuses the concepts of 'sentiment' and 'place'. [...] it implies a symbolic interpretation and attribution to [...] from a metaphorical way of thought. [...] The lifestyle of a town is the sum of its economic, social and profane activities. These generate special patterns; they require architectural forms and material scenarios who, when realised, also influences the type of activity that it carries. The ideal is an aspect of its total life. We know the ideal because it often expresses itself through words, and, occasionally, it makes itself concrete through perdurable works. The social and economic forces contribute decisively to create lifestyles [...] but also] symbols and metaphors of a civilisation can make [lifestyles] which can be later examined through its inhabitants attitudes [...].

Source: Tuan (2013 [1972], pp. 92-200).

As seen above, Tuan's focus is what happens when society and environment interact. Through this relationship emerge a series of *interpretative images* which encapsulate the lived environment. Each one of these images represent moments in a social life, where the involved communities of a society pour their attitudes and values into those images. This means that every type of human interaction and experience; whether individual or collective, in every culturally crafted gender, in every class relation, from any religious values; can be perceived within the images that a society creates of its environment.

It is through *interactions and experiences with its environment*, Tuan proposes, that humans are provoked to expose their emotional developments and *attach meaning* to them through their perception of the inhabited space:

'Topophilia' acquires diverse forms and varies considerably both in grade and intensity of its emotions. To describe these feelings is, at least, a start: the fleeting of visual pleasure; the sensual delight of physical contact; the love for the place which is for us familiar, because it is our home or because it represents our past, or because it provokes pride in property or creation; the rejoice in things for simple reasons of health and animal vitality.

Source: Tuan (2013 [1972], p. 246.)

3.2.2 Ferdinand Braudel's Total History

Ferdinand Braudel, as member of the *French Annales School of History* and the *Mentalities History* approach, relates the importance of deep meaning when researching a case study. To achieve this goal, he proposes the application of historical method in a long-term perspective, in a dialectic he calls *total history*.

Advancing the understanding of total history later on, Braudel and Reynolds (2002) establish that diachronically guided analysis, with the help of the broad spectra of social science's theoretical conceptualisations, is preferable to reach deep meaning of the object of study and its happenings; which in this case is based upon disaster events. Within this new structure for historic research, he proposes the relevance of distinguishing archetype processes that affect the communities that are involved in one investigation. As such, long-term issues (geographical and environmental), mid-term issues (economy and society) and short-term issues (politics) have to be considered in order to obtain deep meaning of human experientiality. By separating these archetype processes and making visible new conclusions that were otherwise buried to just a political appreciation of a historic period, tendencies of the permanent and issues that inflict change can be identified within a one society, uncovering the deep meanings that are underlining life in that investigated society:

[talking about periodisation's in decades, such as historical cycles of 20 to 30 years] Below these small waves, in the domain of the phenomena of tendencies ([such as] the century-long tendencies of economists) there stretches out, with almost invisible ups and downs, a history which unravels only slowly, and by that token only slowly reveals itself to our gaze. It is this which, in our imperfect language, we call by the name of **histoire structurale** ('**structural history**'), less in opposition to the history of events (**événementielle**) than to the history of conjunctures (**conjoncturale**), to relatively brief waves [...].

Source: Braudel (1982 p. 87. The highlights are from the author).

3.2.3 Guy Debord's Commodification of Spectacle

Guy Debord's *Society of Spectacle* explored how the relations within a society can change, and how this change is perceived through *images* of collective

perception. Society, as an object of contemplation, has a tendency to express itself through a language that carries meaning, and which is commonly understandable to all those involved in a society.

However interpretative the previous statement is, Debord explains that such communication is an imposed one. The dialogue amongst communities, and the narratives which they can create, are buffered by deliberate distortion caused by the means of production; which, ultimately, can change previous social values by the imposition of new social needs.

When the values change within a society, Debord sees the incorporation of a foreign belief system upon a particular society. This changing process, then, depicts the commodification of that particular social life when *change affects directly* prior *meanings* in its sets of values:

[...] [both the changed society and the society that impulse change] each side therefore has its share of objective reality. And every concept, as it takes place on one side or the other, has no foundation apart from its transformation into its opposite: reality erupts within spectacle, and the spectacle is real. This reciprocal alienation is the essence and underpinning of society as it exists [...]. The concept of spectacle brings together and explains a wide range of apparently disparate phenomena. Diversities and contrasts among such phenomena are the appearances of the spectacle—the appearances of a social organisation of appearances that needs to be grasped in its general truth [...].

Source: Guy Debord (2012 [1967], paragraphs 7-10).

3.3 Operational Concepts from the Social Sciences

In the following section, I will present nine concepts that enable me to understand the peripheral phenomena associated to the relationship between disaster, identity and place making in a disaster-prone place. Therefore, this section is strictly focalised on the behaviours, emotions and communications that surround a disaster event and its happenings from behaviour, trauma and media studies. As such, these nine concepts are organised as a pragmatic conceptual framework, whose function is to help me understand delimited issues within this research.

3.3.1 Behaviour Studies

Regarding behaviours in uncertain contexts, Peterson, Maier, and Seligman (1993) signalled that societies often can deploy ‘*helplessness*’ emotions can change, inadvertently, established patterns of behaviour. They also depict this phenomenon as time-restricted and relate it to what humans cannot control in the midst of extreme change. Thus, helplessness research aims to signify behavioural processes *in order to understand* social change.

Relating to non-verbal behaviour, Berger and Luckmann (1991 [1966]), discuss the significance of communal knowledge, language, behaviour and values. As all these are reality-maintaining elements, these authors propose that individual abstractions can be objectivised, and later consolidated, by the use of the ‘*alternation mechanism*’ (pp. 176-177). This mechanism refocuses social feedback into a re-socialisation of social changes within a society, modifying behaviours and maintaining the set of values and meanings.

Although individuals in general try to control their behaviours according to a determined social situation, it is possible to ‘*read*’ facial expressions and interpret different emotions as they become social signals (Philippot, Feldman, & Coats, 1999, pp. 213-313; 293-297). Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1993) propose that non-verbal behaviour can be identified in between individuals; to which I consider that this notion further interprets collective behaviour as well, by understanding social learning, self-experiences and vicarious empathy as part of behavioural and emotional learning within a determined social identity.

Table 12: Toolbox 4 – Key Behavioural Studies Concept Selection.

Concepts/Authors	Description
Helplessness (Peterson et. al. 1993)	Time-restrained extraordinary events who have the capacity to make reality uncertain to those who live in it. Such uncertainty could eventually release helplessness emotions in those communities; emotions that could change, inadvertently, established patterns of behaviour.
Alternation mechanism (Berger and Luckmann, 1991 [1966])	Reality maintaining mechanism that tries to incorporate disruptive elements into socially validated patterns of behaviour; in an effort to objectivise particular experiences and integrate them to the social collective experience.

Source: Own Crafting.

3.3.2 Trauma Studies

Within social sciences, the works of Caruth (1995) and Felman and Laub (1992) came as a breakthrough regarding the issue of ‘(traumatic)

representation'. Subjectivity, thus, comes through as a negotiated answer of affected individuals (or communities) in the aftermath of a catastrophic event; where the autonomy of self-understanding is surpassed by the need of social mimetics. This portrays the importance of the collective experience which, ultimately, will contextualise and order an individual's trauma by recognising themselves in a bigger social understanding.

Trauma, then, implies a paradoxical experience, where the register of the past goes beyond its mere description. Ultimately, it corresponds to *an experience that is not yet fully owned*, because it is not a simple memory, in the sense that it cannot be consciously recalled nor controlled. Caruth (1995) conceptualises trauma as the strange connection between "elision of memory and the precision to recall" (p. 153) on the *belated unconscious process*; where individual meaning of an event is unacknowledged and suppressed by the shock of a traumatic memory, this is also the process through which *forgetting* is at play.

According to DePrince et al. (2012) the dissociation and/or repression that takes place on an individual's psyche can be reached through the *meaning-making process of intersubjective representations* crafted between witnesses and affected individuals. Thus, repressed traumatic memories can be reached using betrayal trauma theory, which offers the confrontation of negative events by a significant, trusted other of trauma victims (affected). For example, Sidaway (2016), Salgado (2017) and Yucesoy (2014) discuss the importance of victims views of war or armed conflicts, and how trauma studies tend to focalise on the impacts of the dead before tackling the interpretations and impressions of the survivors of such kind of disasters.

Table 13: Toolbox 9 - Key Trauma Studies Concept Selection.

Concepts/Authors	Definitions
(Traumatic) Representations of Trauma (Felman and Laub, 1992)	Individual negotiation mechanism that emerges when a disruptive extraordinary event takes place. It inserts individual (subjective) real experiences into the collective experience which, ultimately, will re-contextualise and order the individual's (traumatic) representation by recognising themselves in a bigger social understanding.
Intersubjective representations of Trauma (DePrince et. al., 2012)	Individual negotiation mechanism which un-represses traumatic memories whilst in the company of others. Ultimately, this will re-contextualise the individual experience into a collective one, through the negotiation of meaning in a determined social life.

Trauma (Radstone, 2007)	Corresponds to an extraordinary event which registers both in individual and collective experiences; but at the same time, it is an experience which is not yet fully owned due to its memory and uncontrolled status in the individual's or social's psyche.
-----------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Source: Own Crafting.

3.3.3 Media Studies

According to Zagefka, Noor, Brown, de Moura & Hopthrow (2011), '*media coverage*' is an intricate part of how *disaster* events are *perceived*. In doing '*disaster marathons*', the media's aim *should* be to appeal for solidarity via the use of common cultural symbols, which emanate from the social emotion spectra that as humans we share. Theoretically, as McNair (2006) proposes, media *should* aim to inform, educate, publicise and advocate for all involved in a disaster, in democratic and liberal societies.

By streaming a disaster event, the media interject and impact the decision-making process regarding disaster management. Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen, and Cottle (2012), explore the notion of '*disaster coverage*' as part of a '*disaster geopolitics*': "when disaster makes the news, it is often the result not merely of any objective measure of the "seriousness" of the disaster, as indicated by the loss of life, but of where the disaster happened and who it affects" (p. 41).

As Boltanski (1999) and Morley and Robins (2002) argue, the politically charged discourse communicated by disaster marathons also consolidates the dialect '*us*' and '*them*' from an implied geopolitical discourse, where the global north stands in superiority in management, preparedness and readiness regarding the global south. This process will, eventually, re-classify the '*us*' and '*them*' and turn these concepts into the '*worthy*' and the '*unworthy*'. This is where *disaster citizenship* rises, where demands and consumption of engagement compels the spectators' response, by building a narrative based on emotions, deploying a story where meaning is already being assigned (Zagefka, Noor, Brown, de Moura, & Hopthrow, 2011).

A direct consequence of disaster coverage understood in this manner is what Pantti et al. (2012) categorises as the '*blame game*', which epitomises debates of political accountability. Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston (2008) go further by arguing that in this role, the media is the one that carries the voice of the '*perceived injustice sufferers*', and in doing so, the media takes

over the victim role and discourse, pushing its agency and its journalists into accountability-seekers by *representing* the victims. This is where disaster coverage encounters empathy, which, possibly, could blur the ethical limits, especially when eliciting empathy becomes more important than informing³⁰.

Table 14: Toolbox 6 – Key Media Concept Selection. Own Crafting.

Concept/Author	Definition
Disaster Marathon (Pantti et al., 2012)	When covering a disaster event, and in the aftermath, the 'us' and 'them' dialectic starts to configure through media, as in the affected and the rest that are watching and vicariously living the disaster.
Disaster Citisenry (Zagefka et al., 2011).	Emerges when the media demands determined responses from its spectators, usually voicing demands for those affected to those who are managing the disaster.
Disaster Geopolitics (Pantti et al., 2012)	Disaster coverage that evolves, in the aftermath, not to inform about the "seriousness" of the disaster, as indicated by the loss of life, but of <i>where</i> the disaster happened and <i>who</i> it affects.
Perceived Injustice Sufferers (Bennett et al., 2008)	Process that can happen during media coverage of a disaster event. As the only medium that can give a channelized communication to those affected, then, the media takes over the victim role and discourse, pushing its agency and its journalists into accountability-seekers by representing the victims

Source: Own Crafting.

This three-tier theoretical analytical tool, shown previously in Image 5 will support the application of Disaster Identity to the Valparaíso research case, application which will be evidenced through the empirical chapters conglomerated in Part II of this thesis.

³⁰ At this point it is important to remind the reader that it is not our intention to go further in the debate of journalism ethics in disaster coverage. For more discussion on the matter, please refer to Pantti et al. (2012, pp. 67-87), Svensson, Albæk, van Dalen, and de Vreese (2017), and Kyriakidou (2014).

Part II

Data Analysis:

**Questions of Social Memory, Resistant Resilience Politics,
Spectacle and False Expectations, and Their Role in Identity
and Place Construction in Disaster-Prone Places**

Chapter 4

Creating Social Memory through Disaster

In this Chapter I discuss how an extraordinary event³¹, such as a disaster, can make its way into collectively-constructed and experience-based social memory. As framed in my first research question, the issue of social identity construction in disaster-prone places relates to the connections between social memories of disaster events. I propose that such connections are based on the disaster events themselves, understood as integral parts of a lengthy disaster history.

In Valparaíso's case, sense of belonging is crafted on the basis of meaningful disaster experiences. This statement is based on a thorough critical analysis of my archival data, where *porteñoness* is traceable and consistent in its resignification of meaning. By using Heise and McKinnon's *matrix of representation*³², which explains the process of acculturation between historical record and new events, *porteñoness* appears during disaster events as an omnipresent social structure³³, which stores past experiences in a narrative discourse, where its heritage of resilience is found and used.

However, disaster processing as a social understanding, through the matrix of representation, is not a homogeneous process to all *porteño* communities of Valparaíso. As I will argue throughout this thesis, *porteñoness*, -although the sociocultural canvas that encapsulates the social identity and place making process in Valparaíso- also harvests a *double culture*, formed by the

³¹ Importantly, there is a difference between an event and an *extraordinary* event. Agreeing with Browne and Neal (2001) and Eber and Neal (2001), I will henceforth subscribe to the notion that extraordinary events imply a cultural construction that emancipates from history itself, in the sense that it disturbs social structures and social representations alike. Brown and Neal exemplify this discussion in the following sentence: "most people remember where they were, and what they were doing, when they heard of extraordinary events such as President Kennedy's assassination [...]" (p. 8). The very same exercise can be (and was) applied to the 2014 Mega Fire in Valparaíso, and the answers of my participants will also be charged with emotions, meaning and contextualisation-ness.

³² For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

³³ By social structure I am referring to any organising structure that orders and attaches meaning to everyday life. See Chapter 3, subsection on identity studies, p.52 onwards.

bourgeoisie and working *porteño* communities of the 19th century. Each of them lived different experiences during the city's early modernisation, and often saw themselves in the opposing ends of its consequences, such as in the city's industrialisation and the consequent stratification of social life.

Nevertheless, both communities, rich and poor, faced disasters in the same timeframe; together, from this common denominator, the collective *interpretations were unified in meaning* through the matrix of representation, from which collective narratives were created upon -and later stored in- social memory. Who makes the collective narratives, what is selected to be remembered and what to be forgotten, and how these memories are used, are a matter of discussion.

The 1866 Bombing represents the first major catastrophe city-wide. It destroyed not only the manor houses and core institutions such as the Municipality in the plains, it also involved working class *porteño* affected communities in the hills. The reconstruction phase aimed to maximise the port-city's space occupation as new businesses and trade opportunities that also arrived with immigrant communities. Thus, through the 19th century, Valparaíso consolidated a newly reconstructed urbanisation based upon a cultural syncretism provoked by the arrival of immigrant communities; which, as Table 15 shows, increased in a 11:1 ratio.

Table 15: Population Growth in Valparaíso, 1854-1875. National and Foreign Population.

CUADRO N° 9 CRECIMIENTO DE LA POBLACION DE VALPARAISO ENTRE 1854 Y 1875. POBLACION NACIONAL Y EXTRANJERA					
Censos	Población Total	Ind. Crecimiento	Población Nacional	Población Extranjera	Proporción de extranjeros a poblac. nacional
1854	52.413		48.675	3.738	1:13
1865	70.438	3,12	60.804	5.634	1:11
1875	97.737	3,87	90.378	7.359	1:12

Source: Cavieres-Figueroa (2017, p. 80).

Although current historiography does not recognise nor commemorates 1866 as a poignant moment in *porteñoness* construction, I depict its importance within the cultural syncretism of the late 19th century where, both with foreign and local Valparaíso communities, the *porteño* concept first finds its way to print as a representation of a self-identification of communities to their place.

The 1906 Earthquake was the disaster that consolidated the *porteñoness* archetype. As the most renowned and most studied disaster of the city, 1906 is both the epitome of a disaster experience and the epitome of a disaster reconstruction phase. Only 40 years after the Bay Bombing, and four months after the California 1906 Earthquake, it entailed a second city-wide destruction of the port-city, upon which the up-hills suffered the most. It was with this disaster that the governing bourgeoisie had to face the consequences of industrialisation in a country who still lacked work safety regulations; and, therefore, it had to manage locally to recover the city in its entirety to position it, once more, as the gem of the Pacific Trade Route. In other words, to sustain their own bourgeoisie lifestyle, they had to sustain working class lifestyles as well. It is here, then, when the socialisation of *porteñoness* achieves wide recognition and consolidation as a city-wide sociocultural canvas.

The critical exploration of 1866 and 1906, regarding *porteñoness* crafting, is here designed to identify and depict *what constitutes a porteño*, and how this archetype developed, drawing towards the deep understanding of the 2014 Mega Fire *porteño* performance, as Table 16 shows. Thus, this Chapter is organised in three sections. First, I will analyse how *porteñoness* manifests and constructs via disaster events, through the close examination of the 1866 Bay Bombing and the 1906 Earthquake. Second, I will analyse the 2014 Mega Fire through the remnants of *porteño* patterns of behaviour which still remain of the *porteño* archetype configured during 1866 and 1906. Finally, I will critically discuss in what ways social memory is involved with identity and place construction, in a disaster-prone place such as Valparaíso, and its key role in understanding disaster events.

Table 16: Summary of the First Main Argument³⁴.

Chapter	Social Memory (4)	
Estimated period of development	Moment of <i>porteñoness</i> Memory	Disaster/s of reference
c.1850s-1900s	Appearance of <i>porteño</i> denomination for the inhabitants of the port-city	1866 Bay Bombing

³⁴ This Summary Table is present in all the empirical chapters of Part II. Its purpose is to pertain a thesis-wide perspective of the development of the four main arguments of this dissertation in their corresponding individual chapters. As such, with each chapter, it will grow in columns so as to give the reader a visual reminder of the previous argument in a comparison perspective.

1906-1930s	Reconstruction for a city of entrepreneurs: city would show a buoyant city for the foreign and immigrant investor	1906 Earthquake
1930s-2014	Economic stagnation that led to social stagnation: collective solidarity yields to individual survival.	From the 1930's port crisis to 2014 Mega Fire (punctually)

Source: Own Crafting.

4.1 Social Memory and *Porteñoness* through Two Disaster Cases.

4.1.1 The 1866 Bay Bombing

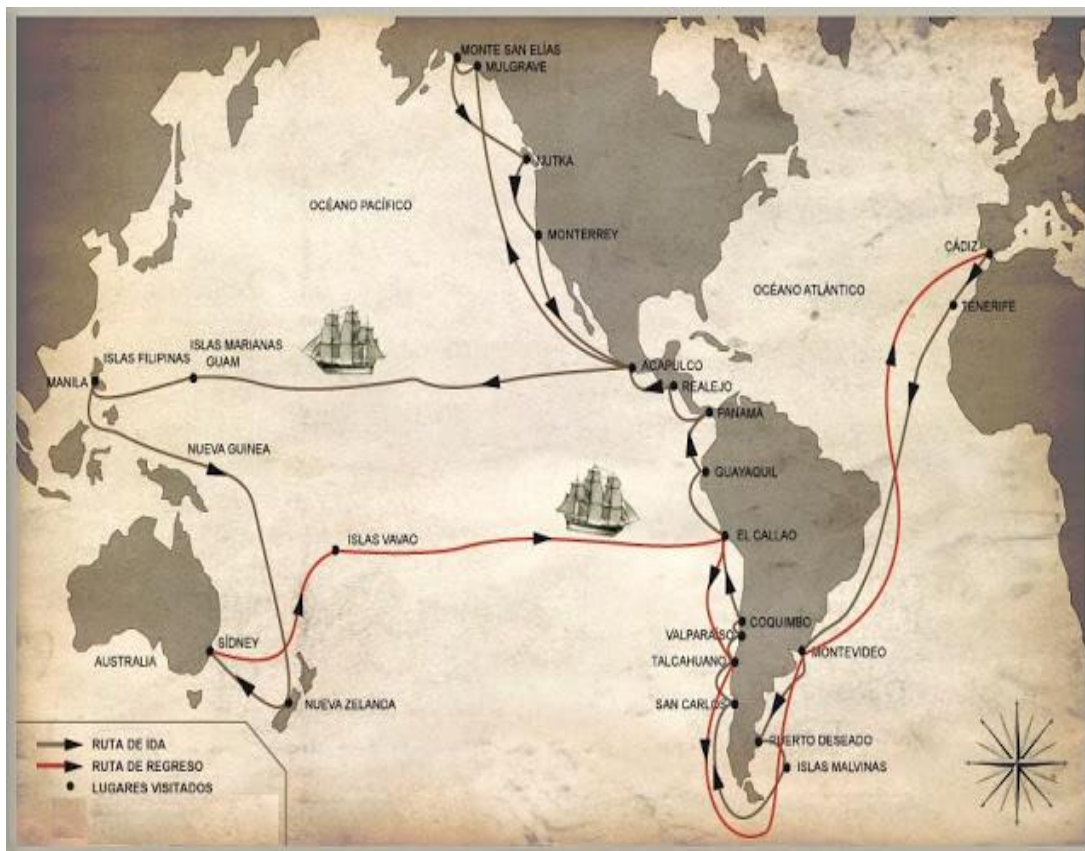
The Bay Bombing is the major event within the Chilean War with Spain was a product of two colliding imaginaries. For Spain, the recuperation of their colonial empire in the Americas, after the Carlists Wars at the beginning of Isabel II's rule (c. 1833 – c. 1900). For Chile, the support of a united American continental alliance, articulated intellectually through Simón Bolívar's *Panamericanist* ideology (c. 1831), which proclaimed solidarity and fraternity as tools to unite the continent under a new unique organisation called the '*Great Colombia*' (De Ramón, Couyoumdjian, & Vial, 1992; J. Lynch, 1992).

Ultimately, because Perú would not surrender to the Spanish claim over the Chincha Islands, home to the guano extraction, primary resource and pivotal for Perú's economy, Spain declares war. The motive of war, to defend free commerce, aided Spain's position in Europe, which was the primary objective for Madrid through the recuperation of the former Latin American colonies.

Chile's involvement in this conflict was provoked by Pinzón, the first of three captains in command of the Spanish fleet. For Pinzón, Perú's obvious defensive move would be to call upon Chile's aid invoking *panamericanist* ideology. Therefore, he declared *preventive* war on Chile. José Joaquín Pérez, first liberal Chilean president at the time, had no choice but to declare war on Spain.

For Subercaseaux (1908) and many right-wing intellectuals and politicians of the time, this declaration of war was a devastating mistake which largely damaged the Chilean merchant navy and Valparaíso's position in the

Magellan Trade Route³⁵, illustrated in Map 2. This preoccupation was even more acute when considering Chile's recent trade deals with Australia, Asia, Polynesia and Europe; as well as the commerce with California and the United States (Bethell, 1995; Bulmer-Thomas, 2014). Meanwhile, in Valparaíso, months before this war, "the *porteño* society, thirsty for change" (Edwards-Bello, 1934, p. 37) gave Pinzón a diplomatic reception when he arrived in Valparaíso in 1865. This was part of Pinzón's strategy for the Atlantic coast: to be received formerly as a Spanish diplomat, and then assess the former colony's war potential and organise his troops accordingly.



Map 2: Magellan Trade Route.
Source: Doncel Domínguez (2012).

³⁵ The Magellan Trade Route was discovered by Fernando de Magallanes in 1520, as the one bi-oceanic naval pass that allowed Europe the access to Americas' west coast; which gave way to the conquest of the Philippines and the further development of trade from Europe to South East Asia, Australia and New Zealand, finalising with the discovery and conquest of the east side of the Indian Subcontinent and the east side of the African continent as well.

Despite all the rumours of war sent from other Latin American countries, Pinzón had his diplomatic reception in Valparaíso as depicted in Image 7. This entailed a high society dance in La Victoria Theatre, a mass in La Matriz Church, street parades, and a state dinner in the Intendancy Building (Edwards-Bello, 1934). These four events were held in the four main buildings of the city, which highlights the importance and effort that this '*diplomatic reception*' had for Valparaíso, who sought to reinforce and strengthen commercial ties with Spain, as it was viewed as an economic opportunity (Bunster, 1948, p. 70).

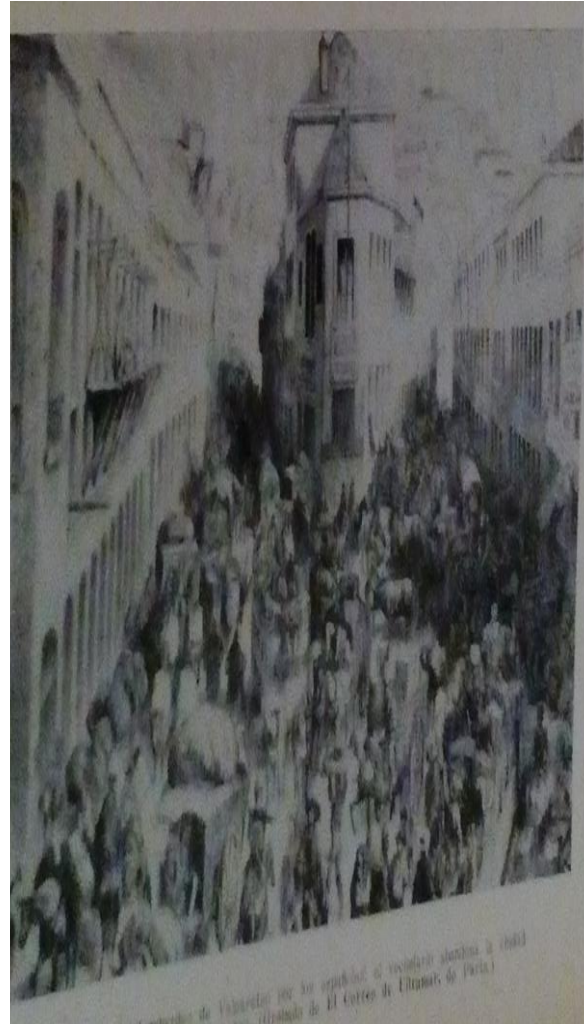


Image 7: Diplomatic reception in Valparaíso for Luís Pinzón and his naval officers, May 1863.
Source: Bunster (1948, p. 73).

Taking over Pinzón, José Talavera assumed command when the Spanish fleet was in Perú, where conversations relating to the Chincha Islands failed. His next action was to redirect the fleet to Valparaíso, knowing that it was not a fortified area, and that it lacked protection of Chilean vessels because they were sent south long ago. The bombing was announced for the 31st March. The only preventive action the city carried out was to arrest all Spanish neighbours, and submit them as spies to court magistrates (Subercaseaux, 1908, p. 125).

As Images 8, 9 and 10 portray, on the morning of 31st March the bombing took place and destroyed all near buildings of the bay. As Subercaseaux recalls, it lasted an hour and a half, having the most impact on the main buildings of the city: the Intendancy Building, home of the Presidential representative in the

area; the La Matriz church (built c. 1540); the Municipality building and square, the most important social area in the plains; and the Stock Exchange Building, which paralysed Chilean trade for months (Subercaseaux, 1908, p. 124). All four buildings were located in the plain terrains, which was also where bourgeoisie manor houses were first located. This bombing left behind two dead only (Lanza, 2012, p. 43) but a city in ruins, with a total loss estimated in 12 million Chilean pesos³⁶ of the time (Ugarte Yavar, 1910, p. 123).

The reaction of Chileans and *porteños* alike was of disbelief for two main reasons. First, the rather strange motives by which Chile was dragged into a foreign conflict; and second, the fact that the attack was carried out on a defenceless city. Bunster (1948) details the reaction of Chileans, and especially of *porteños*, which in his view, were direct insults by the bomber:

However, the immediacy of the disaster didn't tumble national pride. Nobody asked nor tried to obtain clemency from the bomber.

Collective tranquillity wasn't lost either: city dwellers vacated the city in perfect order and waited in the up-hills into the night, waiting for the next day's spectacle [...].

Instead, the telegraph was the only service left. Its fearless operatives kept the country constantly informed [...].

Source: *Bunster (1948, pp. 87-91).*

Edwards-Bello (1934) also highlights local reaction as a curious facet proper to the *porteño* attitude towards injustice:

Chile pretends that the blockade doesn't affect them; but the port has lost thousands of dwellers and on the bombing day it will lose forty thousand more. Jobs are fading. After all, the blocking crew suffers more and more, and Chile accepts this resistance game, where they can show their virile obstinacy [...].

Source: *Edwards-Bello (1934, pp. 118-126).*

³⁶ This sum is equivalent to £4.713.000.000.00 in 2018 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

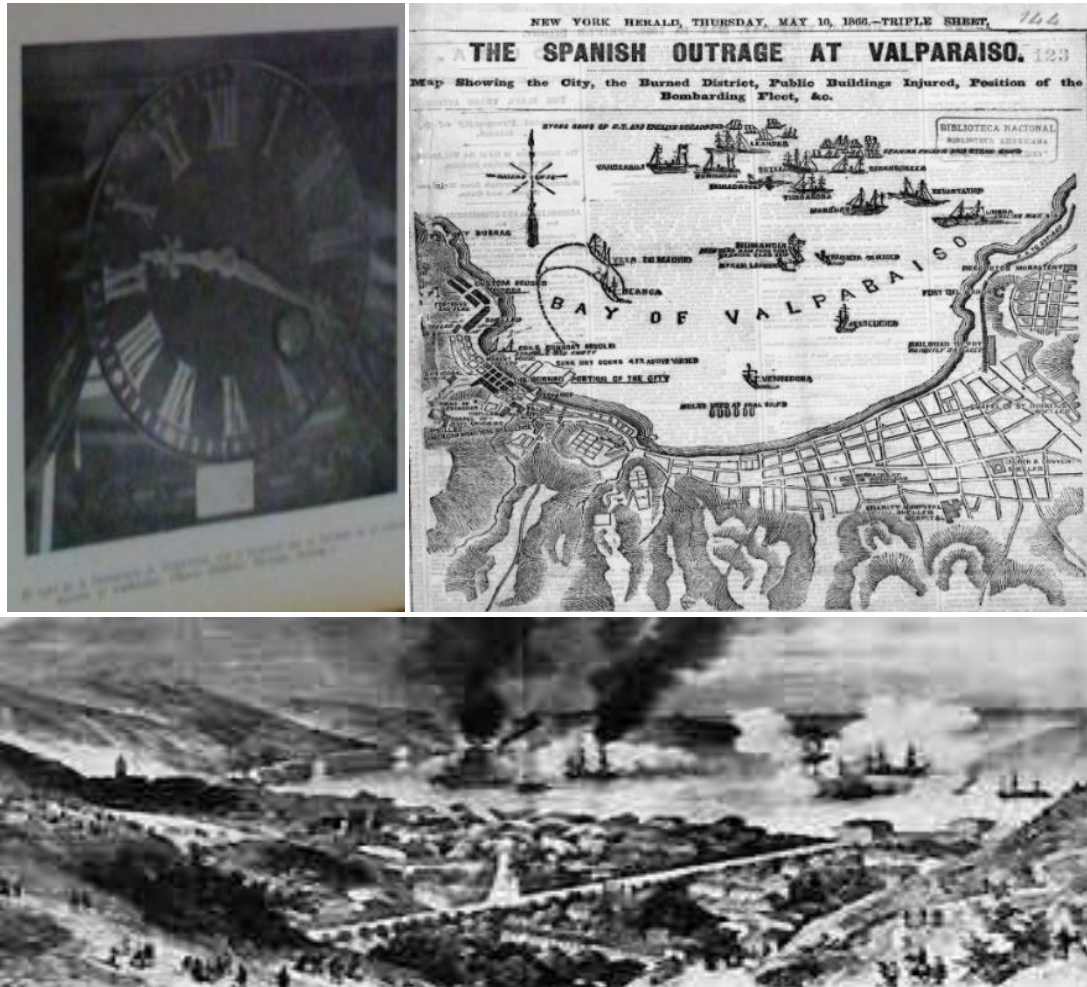


Image 8: London Times Print, 1866. Caption reads: "after a few minutes of the start of the bombing, you could say that there was no inhabitant in the city, but the hills were crowded with curious onlookers".
Source: Calderón (1986, p. 224).

Image 9: Clock of the Intendancy Building, stopped at 09:20 by a Spanish bomb.
The building is now part of the Chilean Navy, standing with a rebuilt tower – the clock is now located in the National History Museum in Santiago.
Source: Calderón (1986, p. 233).

Image 10: Bombarded Valparaíso, War against Spain, 1866.
Source: Armada de Chile (1866).

In the reconstruction phase, as Edwards Bello highlights, a second push up-hill was enforced by the homeless bourgeoisie, the only social structure³⁷ left. This meant that to settle safely, it was necessary to push working-class dwellings further up-hill. The bourgeoisie, which in time would be incorporating successful migrants, of the industrial and investment types such as the British and Germans, implemented a *new logic into the grid* (Peña, 1872): squared and perpendicular streets, big avenues decorated with benches, flowers and

³⁷ For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, see Toolbox 2, p. 56.

trees, and monuments to all (individuals or colonies) who donated for the reconstruction cause. However, despite the economic segregation upon which planning of the new grid was based on (which will be further discussed in Chapter 5), Bunster also notes that the Bombing of 1866 was a key identification moment:

It is in moments like this when a nation's idiosyncrasy manifests in all its original features. For amazing as it seems, the rage of those people [porteños] were put down, like all the Fire's flames; and what is even better, it changed after to a general rejoice movement.

It can almost be said that the most fateful days in Valparaíso's history ended with a party. But, let's be clear: it wasn't a nationalist exaltation celebration, nor a public vindication. Nothing more, and nothing less than a pure joy celebration!

Forgetful, it seems, of the strange offense and of the disaster, neighbours walked through the city befriending each other, giving each other help and exchanging jokes. Music bands marched through the streets playing their colourful sounds, surrounded by compact crowds.

Cleaning away the debris from their homes, the people searched for the bullets that destroyed them, to save them as relics or for selling them as precious goods. Nor the scab of ill blood lingered, and it is proper of merchants that, instead of taking out the mirror of a saloon, smashed to pieces by a projectile, painted to its frame "souvenir of the bombing, 31st of march, 1866"

Source: *Bunster (1948, pp. 97-98). The souvenir example is also referenced in Edwards-Bello (1934, p. 150).*

This identification process is also gathered by Méndez (1987) when analysing Valparaíso's urbanism improvement post-1866. She locates the 1860-1880 decades as a period of urban transition, which matches the reorganisation of the new independent Latin American republics. In this process, societies leave behind a traditional, colonial lifestyle, which is reinforced by the European migration wave. New and growing demographics and a mix of cultures, municipal laws, commerce and wealth is shown through orderly grids, with parks and squares, and monuments. In Valparaíso's case, the public lighting payed by the municipality, the investment in English stone to pave pathways, and the asphaltting of key streets are for Méndez some of many elements that

make Valparaíso a modernised and vanguard urban landscape among its Latin American peers (Méndez, 1986, p. 28).

With the urban reorganisation of the time post-bombardment, a *new sense of attachment* emerged and manifested within the whole of *porteño* society. Benjamín Vicuña-Mackenna (1869), Ramón Subercaseaux (1908) and Joaquín Edwards-Bello (1934) are second generation British and French *porteños*, all three with family ties that connected them to the most important political and economic Chilean families -up to present day-, and all three chroniclers of the most important Chilean events during the late 19th century to the beginnings of the 20th century. Significantly, all three of them relate the 1886 Bay Bombing as a *catastrophe* that tested *porteño* spirit, and as the *birth event* of the *porteño* concept as a massively socialised understanding (Vicuña-Mackenna, 1869); all of which depicts the sense of evoke-ness that this *image of the city* was starting to develop³⁸. Concretely, in the publication of several historical studies, such as the relevant Vicuña-Mackenna's *History of Valparaíso* (1869), *Porteñoness* was depicted as the city's spirit which is based on tolerance and thriving through hard-working. This exemplifies what Ricœur, Blamey, and Pellauer (2009) propose as a type of behaviour that arises from self-knowledge, or in this case, of communities' self-awareness.

4.1.2 The 1906 Earthquake

Four months after the 1906 California Earthquake, an 8.2 Richter scale magnitude Earthquake struck Valparaíso's coastline at 19:50, on 16th August. It destroyed the city almost in its entirety, leaving behind an estimated 20,000 wounded and 3,000 dead in average (Flores, 2005; Zegers, 1906) of a total population of 281,385 inhabitants (Hernández Cornejo, 1924; Millán-Millán, 2015). In the immediate aftermath, explosions of gas pipes provoked several important Fires, as shown in Image 12 and Map 3.

³⁸ For a conceptual reminder from place studies, see Toolbox 3, p. 60.

By 1906, Valparaíso had outgrown the urban improvements that were implemented after 1866. Millán-Millán (2015) establishes that due to the port's growing demands, working immigrants, both Chilean and foreign, were increasingly attracted to the city, which also deepened housing demands for the working and vulnerable. These two important factors led to overcrowding of the already miserable informal housing conditions, and the outbreak of many epidemics and poor public health, in a context of social unrest³⁹.

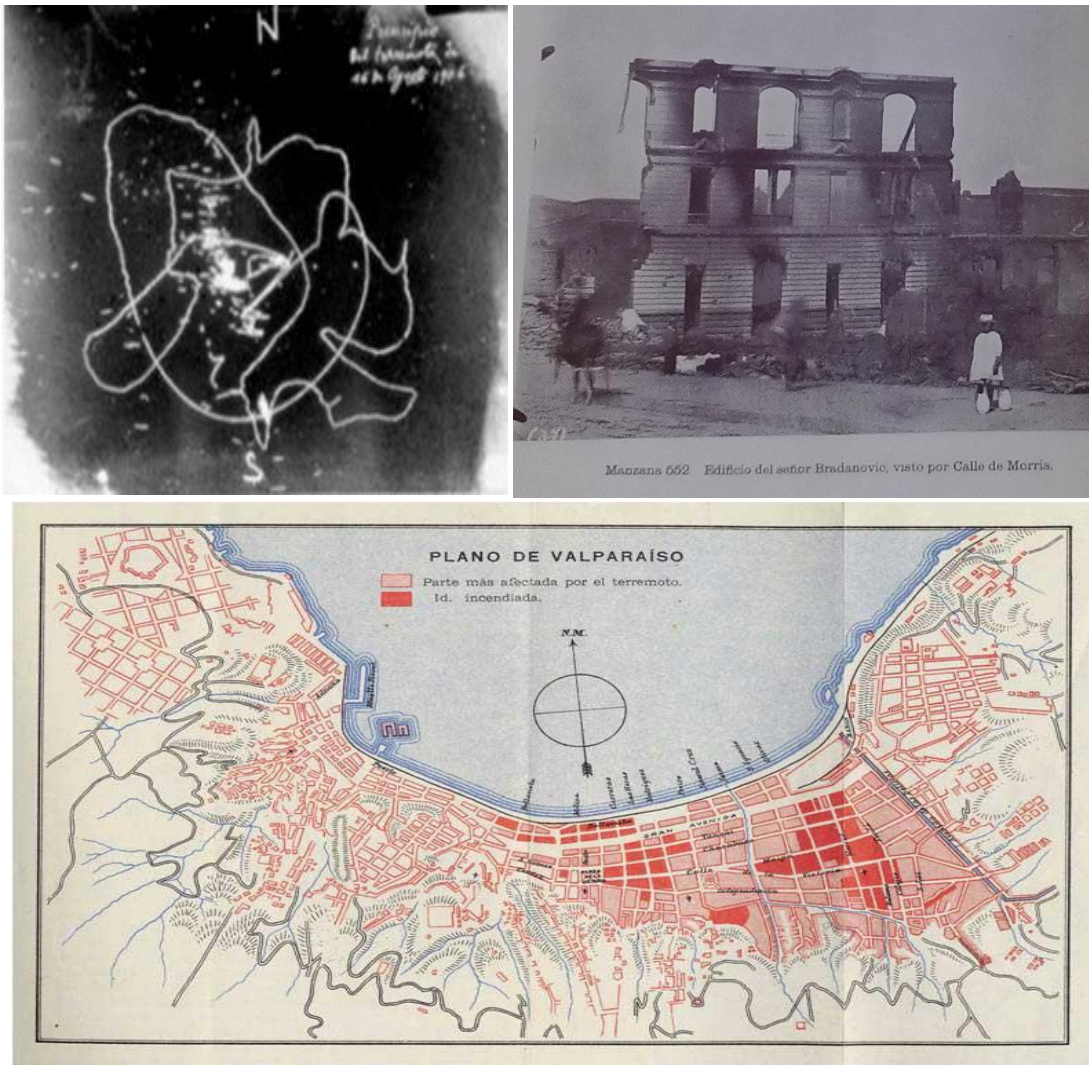


Image 11: Seismograph register of the 1906 Earthquake, 8.2 Mw intensity. Notice that at the right side of the image is the Valparaíso coastline (in the greyish corner areas); the dots at the middle of the trajectory are the exact point of the event and its immediate replicas.

Source: Centro Sismológico Nacional (2016).

Image 12: Block 552, Mr. Bradanovic's Building, from Morris Street.

Source: Sánchez-Cifuentes (1906, p. 11).

Map 3: Area of Impact of the 1906 Earthquake in Valparaíso. The pink areas depict earthquake impact, and red coloured areas depict Fire outbreaks. Source: Rodríguez & Gajardo (1906).

³⁹ Valparaíso's political development are further discussed in Chapter 6.

Rodríguez and Gajardo (1906), in charge of the documentation of the city for the 1910 Centenary National Celebrations' report, begin their chapter about the earthquake, entitled *The Catastrophe*, as follows:

We have arrived to the most ungracious point of our task, to describe the indescribable, to agitate the deepest memories to search within the most painful, the grimmest, and the ones that part our lives in two big portions, separated between each other by a great catastrophe.

Source: *Rodríguez & Gajardo, Rodríguez and Gajardo (1906, p. 40).*



Image 13: Collage of photographs from "Revista Sucesos" and its main images of the earthquake.

Two of the images stand out. First, on the top right, there is a death squad, to control looters, and below it, a camp in the up-hills. Second, on the bottom right, 30 dead horses, which transported goods throughout the city, died in their barn.

Source: *Revista Sucesos (1906), August earthquake issue.*

Many news outlets around the world reported on the tragedy of Valparaíso, comparing it with the earthquake in California in the same year, and it was considered that the death toll had even surpassed the terrible statistics of the

latter (Orrego-Luco, 1906). Within Chile, this event is frequently depicted and referenced in national history because it took place only four years before the national celebrations of the first Centenary of the Republic⁴⁰.

Importantly, in national press, *La Unión de Valparaíso*, one of the three national newspapers, printed its cover of the earthquake with the following statement: “the port wasn’t asleep when tragedy called. Dynamic, above all else, it knows how to stand-up, smiling, but forever vigilant” (Acevedo Hernandez, 1906; Rocuant, 1909; Zegers, 1906).

The most important Chilean magazine of the time, *Revista Sucesos*, which focused on portraying and critiquing elite’s life and excesses, as Image 13 shows dedicates the issue to the event. Still, more than a century on, the accounts of what happened on that afternoon are still passionately conveyed. For example, in 1986 it is described as follows:

Similar to a ship’s siren that would be travelling within Earth’s core [...] was the noise that stroke the ears of the city. It was something overwhelming [...]. The noise came from the sea... it came from everywhere, a witness said. The noise wasn’t at an end when the Earth’s movement started. The ground went up and down with terrible rapidity, and then it went on in circles; it went to one and another in the horizon, and then it came back to vertical movements.

The movements were of great violence, like if a furious hand, with everlasting vigour, would kept on going about the destruction of the planet, annihilating all human trace. Soon, confusion took place, and the noises of the buildings mixed with sad wails, voices calling out, and death responding. Everyone accompanied the sounds of the sea. The lights went off, and thick darkness came, as a black blanket to wrap desperation. Nobody could feel safe.

Those who could escape from falling buildings, ran in madness in that night of spectacular death. Many stayed trapped in the Earth’s wounds, due to the earthquakes violence. In total, nobody could keep standing, and the minutes were eternal! Towering the darkness, huge blases of Fire looked like coming from the sea, like if it was the precise moment that the Lord of the skies and earths came and judge all mortals... the streets were streams of crazy human meat, which ran and crashed, fainting and claiming, “Mercy

⁴⁰ All the budget discretions to build and improve cities nationwide for the celebratory event were immediatly reallocated towards reconstruction efforts (Acevedo Hernandez, 1906; Rocuant, 1909; Zegers, 1906).

Lord!"; to which the cruel pounding of chest's, and the screams of people who saw someone they knew; were added [...].

Source: *Calderón (1986, pp. 324-325):*

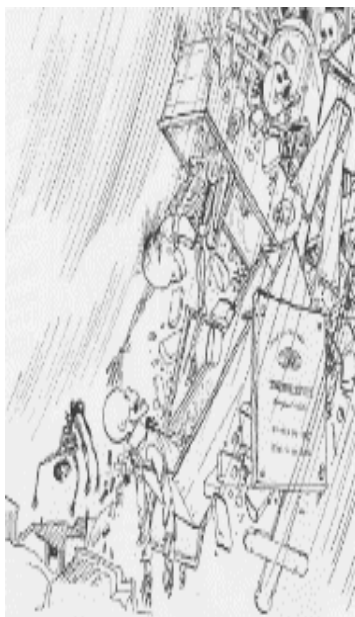
Such uncertainty was also gathered in lasting poems of Pablo Neruda (1967)

the earthquake caught you/... the water and stones moved/... receiving/...
the kiss/... of the wide and choleric sea/... hitting itself on your stones/... it
couldn't/... knock you down/... it resists/... the waves of the land

and in folklore songs, which remained popular until the 1950s. The most popular was written on the same night of the earthquake, and captures not only the horror, but the stamina of the *porteño* character:

*In the Chilean Republic, And in 1906, There was a strong earthquake, On august the 16th.
And here I am, And here you are too, Like on the night of the 16th.
And the night was dark, Like the horizon, And the Earth moved, With great shivers.
And here I am, And here you are too, Like on the night of the 16th.
And from the sky fell, Fierce Flames, so tall they were, That the sea could catch Fire.
And here I am, And here you are too, Like on the night of the 16th.
People ran, terrified, hungry, and without food.
And here I am, And here you are too, Like on the night of the 16th.
The trams stopped, The lights went out, And Valparaíso went up in flames, What atrocity.
And here I am, And here you are too, Like on the night of the 16th.*

Source: *Calderón (1986, p. 326).*



Valparaíso historian Alfonso Calderón (1986) describes that within his own family, as well as in the memory of the city, the 1906 earthquake was a horrific tale:

The earthquake was a milestone in porteño memory. In the Order Square, now Anibal Pinto Square-said d'Halmar [author's uncle]-were stacked piles of marble and tombstones, coffins and crowns, like if it were a mass grave. The where the landslides of the cemeteries held up-hill [Cerro Panteón]. Not only you had to bury the recent dead, but also you had to bury the old dead, probably the founders of this port, punished by celestial rage [...].

Image 14: Lukas' representation of 1906 and the destructive landslide that obliterated the city's cemetery.
Source: Pecchenino (1971, p. 12). Quote by Calderón (1986, p. ii).

Nevertheless, it is also important to highlight one more consequence of this earthquake. With the destruction of the port and great elite homes, 1906 also obliterated up-hill neighbourhoods, in such a way that their life conditions and social issues were left exposed for everyone to witness.

Ruíz (2016) observes that

The 1906 earthquake hits with such violence that not only discovers conflicts related to the urban growth of the region, but it has also exposed social problematics that have been accumulating progressively. This fact detonates, among others, the massive migration undertaken by elite members from the port-city to the recently opened urban areas in Viña del Mar [...].

Source: Ruíz (2016, p. 53).



Image 15: From Valparaíso: Current hill's habitations

Text reads: 'Eight months have passed after the faithful night of the august earthquake and it is still being discussed issues of the Valparaíso reconstruction. Meanwhile, more than fifty thousand people of lower class are dying under the spoiled roofs and between thin walls of the miserable *conventillos*. In those retched constructions that even before the cataclysm weren't proper for habitation in reason of its un-healthiness, now live in crowded conditions hundreds of families that shiver when thinking of winter. they are who suffer the tardiness consequences of not solving the issues of reconstruction'.

Source: Sánchez-Cifuentes (1906, p. 87).

Furthermore, as Ruíz (2016) and Flores (2005) argue, this disaster event made explicitly visible, perhaps for the first time in Chilean history, that poverty would not fix itself without public help. As Image 15 illustrates, the earthquake was especially tough for the up-hills. The social participation in political instances by some members of the elite to support and improve social conditions reveals the first major critique towards the Chilean economic and political liberal model (Flores, 2005).

Memory of this event has been evident not only in the materiality of the new grid, based on the European garden movement and hygienism, as Millán-Millán (2015), Molina Ahumada (2012) argue. Moreover, it made an imprint on communities' behaviour that has had its roots in past events, but has consolidated not only to survive, but into a renewed way of life, which is considered as the true environment of the *porteño of the good old days*.

The 1906 aftermath took almost three years to rebuild; especially the plains' urban infrastructure alone such as street constructions. Local authorities, guided by two Santiago urban planners, decided to make of this destruction an opportunity, and build a more spacious and planned city, by using the debris to expand the coast line outwards, as shown in Image 16 and Map 4, gaining key plain space.



Image 16: Representations of Valparaíso Bay, 1830s, 1850s and 1910 approximately.
Source: Pecchenino (1971, pp. 3-5).



Map 4: Proposed urban grid post 1906 Earthquake.

Source: Gil (2017). What is seen in the bottom half of the image is what was built by pushing the coastline further into the sea.

4.2 The 2014 Mega Fire analysed through Social (Disaster)

Memory

On 12th April 2014, a forest Fire crossed a major four-lane highway coming down onto the city's up-hills, where precarious and informal housing were located. It then grew in the directions of the city centre, passing through and destroying seven of Valparaíso's 42 major hills (La Cruz, Las Cañas-El Vergel, El Litre, Mariposas, Ramaditas, Rocuant and Merced). The original forest Fire provoked an urban structural Fire of gigantic proportions, which destroyed 8% of the city's urban territory which corresponds to 42% of up-hill urbanisation, as seen on Images 17 and 18. It left behind over 13,000 affected dwellers and 15 dead (UNDP, 2014).

After the emergency, as Participant-14 (2015)⁴¹ explained, the Mega Fire was regarded as a case of the '*perfect storm*': intense wind power, in combination with extremely hot temperatures, extremely low humidity and the availability of flammable material (such as introduced eucalyptus plantations and light-material informal houses).



Image 17: 2015 Aerial shot of El Vergel Zone, area of forest and informal housing, which was crossed downhill by the 2014 Mega Fire. **Source:** Fisher-Collado (2015).

Image 18: Collage of 3rd day after the Mega Fire. **Source:** Arenas-Martija (2014).

There was no official call for evacuation, as attested by Participant-22 (2015) and Participant-49 (2016)⁴². Neighbours had to communicate by shouting

⁴¹ Male hill dweller, and at the time, Chief Commander of the Fire Fighters Brigades of Valparaíso.

⁴² Both hill dwellers. Participant 49 is a Municipality of Valparaíso employee and is also director of an evangelical association.

downhill, like so many times before, getting the message across house by house. Participant 21 explains that

You could hear the screams from blocks away. That's how I knew that it could affect me. I gathered what I could and sent the kids downhill. I went to the other house to pick up my mum, she's disabled. With another neighbour, I could manage to drag her down. But nobody told us to evacuate. The Firefighters were still uphill, trying to manage the Fire.

Source: *Participant-21 (2015)*⁴³.

In time, reconstruction plans were organised by national authorities, and this disaster was seen as *the opportunity for the betterment of Valparaíso* (Ministerio de Secretaria General de la Presidencia, 2014). However, once the reconstruction plan was disclosed to the neighbours, it was viewed as an important clash to *porteño way of life*. As many participants mentioned, they did not need wider streets or a new cable car that were being planned; they *needed* what they had *lost, their homes*, as my participants' explained to me (Participant-9, 2015; Participant-21, 2015; Participant-49, 2016)⁴⁴.

Improvement of the city, as a collective notion was not accepted. Individual needs became more important immediately after the Fire, rather than the betterment of the city as a collective whole. As news outlets reported at the time⁴⁵, various negotiations between hill dwellers, the Presidential emissary for the Reconstruction, the Municipality of Valparaíso, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Finances, the Ministry of Public Works and Urbanism and other public institutions on a stalemate; various affected individual families started to rebuild their homes informally, with light materials and left-

⁴³ Male hill dweller, civil partner of Participant 22.

⁴⁴ Participant 9 is a male hill dweller, member of the Communist Party. Participant 21 is a female hill dweller.

⁴⁵ Newspapers, TV channels, online blogs, websites, radio channels report these meetings between affected communities and the institutions listed above. In particular El Mercurio de Valparaíso, from the 12th April 2014 onwards relays each of these meetings on their daily coverage of the disaster.

over debris in the same areas as before the event. It had become impossible to negotiate as one party, and so each individual family affected aimed to solve their most urgent issue, housing, by themselves. Before the Fire, the risky areas were surrounded by introduced eucalyptus forest and micro landfills of garbage and debris; and in that initial desperation, the informal housing emerged in those same risky areas, with the ground still hot after the Fire.

These (desperate) behaviours in 21st century *porteño* city-making show a different *inhabiting behaviour*, void of meaning and values⁴⁶, different to that of 1866 and 1906: the centennial tradition of collective solidarity, in place since 1866 and consolidated in 1906, was *surpassed* in the immediate days post-disaster. For DePrince et al. (2012), Dickie (2006) and Giosan, Malta, Jayasinghe, Spielman, and Difede (2009), after a traumatic event⁴⁷ such as this Mega Fire, collective narratives that behaved harmoniously through time enter into a dialectic process of detachment from their original meanings. Applied to Valparaíso, the initial shock of the Fire pushed through visible cracks in *porteño* behaviour.

These cracks depict a transformation of *porteñoness* from its original crafting and configuration. As the critical exploration of 1866 and 1906 establish, after big disaster events, the one thing that can agglomerate divergent efforts in Valparaíso is the integration of diverse narratives and integrating them into a collective, bigger, canvas. In many ways, this means to incorporate the *porteño* way of life within reconstruction plans and commemorate such cultural syncretism into the future of the city through clear signs -in the matrix of representation-: for 1866 was the public issue of the concept of *porteño*, concept with which all could identify; for 1906 was the expanding city space towards the sea, where the core of the city, which was once secluded amongst elite neighbourhoods, was now open and available for all the city's inhabitants.

⁴⁶ Appendix C is a description of current manifestations of *porteñoness*, before the 2014 Mega Fire, p. 228.

⁴⁷ See Toolbox 4 for a reminder of trauma in a conceptual definition from trauma studies in p. 65.

It is the lack of integration amongst the affected communities, and the lack of communication of the affected communities with the local and national authorities, that had impeded the integration of particular experiences with disaster into a collective narrative experience in the *immediate* aftermath of the Mega Fire. For example, Participant 21 related to me the “*furious scandal*” that his family went through post-disaster. On their family plot, in the same place where the *mother of the clan* had her house and gave space for her children to build up houses for their families, individualism had crept in: one of the daughters got an emergency housing kit, and with nowhere to put it and pressured by the thought that the donors would give it away to someone else, she decided to build it up over her own mother’s house. It surrounds it in a way that now her mother, a disabled senior lady, cannot get in or out of her own front door, as seen in Image 19.



Image 19: House built on another house.

Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

Image 20: Monument for 1906 Earthquake victims

Source: Fotos Históricas de Valparaíso (2015).

In my view, data analysis of 1866 and 1906 show that disaster events collaborate in the construction of a bigger collective narrative, which is intimately related with *place-making*. As Tuan (2013) proposes, *space becomes place* when empathetic emotions intertwine with the collective

experiences that are lived, through time, within that space. Disasters, then, have an impact in *porteño place-making* if one considers the meaning attached to those collective experiences with disaster.

Henceforth the *porteño* experience with disaster, is constructed in a tangible and intangible manner. Tangibly, because this type of disaster experience narrative reflects on new urban materiality, where various monuments were erected in the new plain to remember national and international efforts that helped towards reconstruction, making communal narratives tangible (i.e. monuments to British, Italian, and German communities scattered around the city) (Peña Muñoz, 2006). Of these, the most important one was the monument in honour of the fallen during 1906, seen here on Image 20, on the same *place*⁴⁸ where common graves were localised to shelter thousands of dead bodies caused by the movement and the Fire, and the following epidemics that broke out due to precarious hygiene conditions post-disaster (Sánchez-Cifuentes, 1906).

Second, intangibly because this event's memory was captured by 1906's survivors and turned into concrete patterns of behaviour, like solidarity and contestation to authority. Participant 42 offers a concrete example when, as a little girl, and as the oldest of the grandchildren, she oversaw peeling potatoes and baking bread for lunch, not for her family and not because someone was expected, but because someone *would* need it. She explains further that their home door, as well as of that of her neighbours, was always open, that they did not have house fences, and children played together in this manner in the streets. Whoever came in, her grandmother said, who was hungry and in need, could come by and eat at the table with the family, and was always welcome. She expresses that this was an inherited way of life, because when her grandmother was a grandchild herself, she was trusted to do the same, in the aftermaths of the 1906 earthquake. She also was emphatic to depict that this was not live manifestations in the immediate aftermath of 2014.

In her own words:

⁴⁸ For a conceptual reminder from place studies, see Toolbox 3, p. 60.

My granny expected us to behave as she was expected to behave when she was little, because solidarity was key to survive the [1906] earthquake. 'That's what we learned to do, and that's what you will pass on to your children one day', she said to me. Her experience was safeguarded and lived in our generation, and that's what our neighbourhood was all about. Our houses were built-up so anyone could easily come through and eat with us [referring with her hands the street outside and the shapes of the houses in zig-zag].

Source: Participant-42 (2015)⁴⁹.

4.3 Social Memory through disasters in a disaster-prone place

In this Chapter, the main aim was to critically analyse the historical construction of *porteñoness*, through its relationship with disaster. As a fluctuating and contextualised sociocultural construction, *porteñoness* embodies the identity that city-dwellers use to access an idealised social structure paradigm that is also part of their sense of belonging. Thus, disaster acts as a catalyst of present experience, past knowledge, and future expectations in communities that live in disaster-prone places. I argue that this relationship is what enhances the role of memory in disaster studies, by making it a social structure that can reduce levels of uncertainty through a disaster event. Social memory, in this type of contexts, is a feature actor of current events, rather than remaining a passive container of the past. Within this discussion, what is *forgotten* and what is *remembered* in a determined social structure are key aspects in the analysis of social memory construction.

The case of 1866 is the example of a *forgotten* memory. Despite its impact in urban infrastructure, and the testament of *porteñoness* that it portrays for posterity especially in local chronicles, it is not a disaster event that is *locally nor currently meaningful*. At a national level, in History and Social Sciences curricula, 1866 is incorporated as an event that tested Chile's commitment to *Panamericanism* and its capacity to assume global political issues as a true independent state. In the 19th century however, and as a part of local history, 1866 is just another example of the bay's destruction by an external power;

⁴⁹ Senior female hill dweller.

therefore, this disaster's impact and importance has been consequently fading in social memory for some time.

In an overall look, recent Valparaíso historians -like Alvarado (2007), Calderón (1986), Peña Muñoz (2006), Sáez-Godoy (2001), Urbina Burgos (1999), Vergara (2007) and Vial (2001)- mention the Bombing in passing, but without the importance that the original three chroniclers (Vicuña-Mackenna, Subercaseaux and Edwards-Bello) imposed in their writings. Based on them, Enrique Bunster⁵⁰ in 1948, Antonio Márquez Allison in 2009 and Carlos Lanza on 2012 relate in detail this event and historically analyse its contextuality, *but* as a part of a national-international scheme of first experiences post-Independence, pushing forward local place disconnection and de-historicised from local memory in identity and place-making in Valparaíso. As Malkki (1996) suggests, when detaching meaning from processes, where communities are involved and extricated, these same communities react by also pushing away those processes as part of their history, thus, de-historicising both meaning and the affected communities.

The question may then be asked, why analyse 1866 at all? The archetypical example of 19th century *porteñoness* is 1851, when a great Fire whipped out the fragile, important wooden constructions of the plains, where the bourgeoisie had originally settled. After this disaster, the first ever Chilean Fire Fighter Brigade unit was created in Valparaíso. Successful immigrants, related to industry and science, were the ideal connection with European material resources and technologies. They were also the ideal ones to organise it and implement this emergency prevention logic' logistics.

For many historians, such as Bork Vega and Salomo Flores (2010), Estrada Turra (2011), Lanza (2012), Flores (2005), or Márquez Allison (2009), the importance of 1851 surpasses Valparaíso's locality, in terms of featuring a real

⁵⁰ Meaningfully, Bunster (1948) locates 1866 within a list of pirate-based bombing events. In his chapter entitled *Bombardeos de Valparaíso (Monografía de la Guerra con España)*, which translates as *Valparaíso Bombings (Case Study of the War with Spain)*; he details the five bombings chronologically: starting with pirate Sir Francis Drake (1578), Hawkins (1594), Noort (1600) and Spilbergen (1615). Immediately after, Bunster proceeds to review the War with Spain as the last event of its kind, which speaks of the original meaning it had for the three chroniclers, in the socialised symbolic *porteño* universe.

solution to a real problem which Chile had no possibility of facing without the help of European immigrants. 1851, in itself, is worthy of analysis by the mere fact of its powerful consequence, not only for the city but for the country. However, 1851 is yet another example of a successful bourgeoisie, which articulated its national political and economic importance hereafter, and thus, positioned its role and presence in local and national history which is still perceived today in local commemorations such as “Immigrants’ Day” shown in Image 21.



Jain Hardy, cónsul de SM Británica; John Murdoch, Ruth Cave, presidenta Directorio Corporación Cementerio Disidentes; Josephine Rogers, Jorge Castro, alcalde de Valparaíso, y Esteban Collins, director patrimonial Corporación Cementerio Disidentes.



Romina Caimi, Daniela Encalada, Javier Ormazábal y Tiziana Pésico, alumnos de la Scuola Italiana de Valparaíso.

Homenaje al inmigrante en Valparaíso

Image 21: *Homage for Immigrants in Valparaíso, with Mayor Castro, 24/04/2011.*

Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (2011).

In my view, 1866 represents a time-axis moment within a still constructing *space of social representations*⁵¹. As Gilles Deleuze and Guattari (1988) explain as the converging of diverse city-making dialectics within one space, Valparaíso as a space of representations carries within the social structures, narratives and meaning of this incipient *hegemonic culture*.

According to Braudel and Reynolds (2002) and other theorists such as Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), and Ricoeur et al. (2009); there are certain conjectures that, given special conditions, could question, critique and even reorganise previous social structures within a particular society that shares

⁵¹ For a conceptual reminder of space of relations and of hegemonic culture from identity studies, see Toolbox 2, p. 56.

hegemonic culture. The fact that Edwards-Bello, Subercaseaux, Vicuña-Mackenna, make the conscious effort to record a detailed history of the Bombing it's not just a response to a previous culture with evolving social structures. Their work, and the meaning attached to them, responds to a *hegemonic culture in flux construction*, built by emerging and diverse social strata. This emerging *porteñoness*, then, "committed its growth to a key activity and to an economic sector that is significant to the social, economic and political structures [...]: commerce and merchants" (Cavieres, 2017, p. 61).

Thus, 1866 presented a double challenge for this dissertation. First, to examine a disaster event that has not been sufficiently explored in terms of its own local historicity, rather than focusing on its political role in a nation-wide event. Second, to understand why this event, in Valparaíso's disaster history, was *forgotten* in its disaster meaning and *de-historialised* from *porteñoness*.

Ultimately, the challenge to undertake research into 1866 was to tackle the question of *what a society wants to remember* in its social memory narrative construction and *why*. When Vicuña-Mackenna (1869) writes about the self-identification of the population with the *porteño* archetype, he still has no evidence that *all porteños feel porteños*. However, he does so to enhance the incipient notion of a *resilient citizenry*, and more importantly, to enhance *porteño* bourgeoisie's role in 1866 reconstruction phase, of which he himself was apart from, and of which various elite politicians would achieve national power in the following decades. This enhanced *porteño* bourgeoisie, thus, would appear in historic record as key, and its efforts to reconstruct the port-city would be portrayed as epic. In this reading, locally, 1866 lacks (*porteño*) meaning and thus is *forgettable*.

The 1906 Earthquake is qualitatively different and represents the *remembered memory*. Despite attesting historic record with selfless acts of charity and generosity by the local bourgeoisie, all *porteños*, of all social strata, were involved in the reconstruction phase, whether assisting the injured, burying the dead, clearing the debris, or rebuilding.

Afterwards, during the reconstruction phase, the bourgeoisie did not just embrace the new spirit of integrating all levels of society to the *porteño*

hegemonic culture construction. By making visible an unpopular image of the city, *porteño* bourgeoisie created social institutions that cared for the poor, like the Service for the Protection of Children, more commonly known as '*Gota de Leche*'. This program provided a glass of milk each morning for every vulnerable child. As Mac-Clure (2012), Salazar (2003), and Villalobos (2006) argue, the aim of such programmes was social integration through charity but not through political representation nor education.

The appreciation of other realities by ruling elites is an important by-product of 1906, not only for Valparaíso but for Chile as a whole. In this sense, Valparaíso's bourgeoisie could have written the records of this disaster *conveniently forgetting* the reality that so much questions provoked. Instead, they *remembered*, and collective experiences of working and vulnerable communities are also gathered with the tales of the bourgeoisie *because the experienced meaning* behind 1906 was *transversal*. Place-making, in this logic of remembering and not forgetting, is crafted by Valparaíso's communities of all socioeconomic spectra recognised themselves within *porteñoness*, *because* it's also a recognition of a structural system functioning in a determined time and space.

In the beginnings of the 20th century, the *porteño* archetype started to fade. Or, in the view of Participant-5 (2015), *Valparaíso stopped being Valparaíso*. This process started with the port crisis generated by the inauguration of the 1914 Panama Canal; followed by the 1929 Great Depression and the German invention of synthetized nitrate prior to World War I in 1914. Once these contexts developed, Valparaíso as a city and *porteñoness* as its identity fell into a crisis process where its core nutrients became scarce and changed in functionality. Materially, this is evidenced in the lack of public and private major investment; which ends up pushing the younger demographic and their possibilities of achieving and incorporating new meaning to *porteñoness* through the metacontrast principle⁵², a mechanism that creates feedback within set of values, patterns of behaviour and mentality as a sociocultural ever-growing identity phenomenon. Instead, three generations of young

⁵² For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, see Toolbox 2, p. 56.

porteños were forced to leave in the search for better work and education opportunities, as it will be deeply discussed in Chapter 5.

Without new urban projects and with social, political and economic stagnation, the core identity of the *porteño* changed from a collective and solidarity-based communities to *individualistic individuals*, impacting deeply into the social space of relations that Deleuze and Guattari (1988) explained as striated spaces. Eventually, this also ends up detaching *porteños* from their place, eroding *porteño* topophilia and sense of belonging. As Participant 24 specifically explained

The *porteño* of today does not care of the city. If he did, then why it is so difficult to dispose your rubbish in the bins provided, why do they live it on the street, where stray dogs and walkers disperse the contents of the bags?

Source: *Participant-24 (2015)*⁵³.

The total history approach, applied to Valparaíso's social memory analysis, has uncovered in what circumstances *porteñoness* was initially crafted and later developed. With this historical perspective, organised in this Chapter's introduction in Table 16 (p. 67), processes such as identity and place-making emerge in their context and, when put in comparison to the state of *porteñoness* in the midst of the 2014 Mega Fire, help situate and comprehend the particular mentality and patterns of behaviour that developed in its immediate aftermath.

Ultimately, after *porteñoness* positioning in 1866 and its consolidation in 1906, 2014 is the event that contested the very core of the social structures of *porteño* hegemonic culture. It acted as a catalyst to activate social memory, which resulted in an inadequate identity response, thus generating ill communication and social conflict. It manifested explicitly, maybe for the first time in decades, changed *porteño* patterns of behaviour that correspond to a changed mentality and set of values crafted during decades. Such *change* corresponds to a historical process of exclusion derived from contestation

⁵³ Male hill dweller and historian.

characteristics that are currently more important than tolerance, as it will be further discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.

Stagnation, both material and in meaning, determined the fading of the *porteño*, in its behaviour, mentality, and set of values. This fading process has proven critical to a society where its communities create meaning, place and identity through the focus of disaster events. If there is no meaning behind disaster events, communal narratives, actions and reactions also change.

The 2014 Mega Fire has exposed such identity related vulnerabilities. In the aftermath of the disaster, actions and reactions of inhabitants were far from the socially validated *porteño* behaviours, which, in the past three years, has evidenced deeper levels of inequality, on social, cultural and symbolic levels. To understand the real role of 2014 as a time-axis dialectic, Chapter 5 will delve into *porteñoness* from a cultural perspective, enquiring how a strong and active social identity can fade and become a social stereotype.

Chapter 5

Spectacle, Disasters and *Porteñoness*

The main aim of this Chapter is to make a deep connection between reality and representation, in an effort to uncover symbols and signs that are implied in the communication of a disaster event. Therefore, I will delve into the crafting and consolidation of *porteñoness* from a cultural perspective. As my second research question framed, the focus is put into how symbolic change in a social identity impact city and place-making, especially when constructing sense of belonging in a disaster-prone place.

Thus, building on what has been proposed in Chapter 4 regarding Social Memory, here I will analyse the stereotyping of *porteñoness*, focused on how an active identity such as *porteñoness* fades in time and space, transforming itself into a stereotype⁵⁴ of its former self. I propose that this deeper take on the ‘*fading porteño*’ process offers a cultural explanation, that relates the *porteño* evolution of meanings, which complements the one offered in Chapter 4 built on the analysis of mentality and sets of values.

From my analysis of historic municipal reports relating to the port-city’s urbanism, and the close examination of my participants’ opinions regarding the ‘*Photo Awakening Collage Exercise*’⁵⁵ (where they were exposed to a series of photographs of the 19th century onwards), there seems to be an identified period in local history where *porteños* themselves seem to *feel* the changes in their own culture. Such period is also portrayed by them as a *present/past opposition of images*: “we were better then” (Participant-16, 2015), “look how clean Colón [a key avenue of the plains] is in that picture [gesticulating in amazement]” (Participant-29, 2015); “my mum always loved this city, but I often explain to her that her city and my city are different... mine

⁵⁴ For a conceptual reminder of stereotype from identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

⁵⁵ For a conceptual reminder of this exercise, realized with all 50 participants of my interviews, please refer to Document Insertion 1, p. 38. As this memory exercise aimed, many feelings rise when comparing present to past reality; all of which has to be considered at the moment of data analysis.

reeks of urine and hers is still filled with flowers and fresh sea air” (Participant-35, 2015)⁵⁶.

The evolution of *porteñoness* into a social stereotype is highlighted through this type of opinions. It is here where I locate the ‘*rise and fall of porteñoness*’. As a process of identity decay, it highlights a symbolic transition, which is perceived to manifest concretely from a psychologic city-pride -in its advancement regarding scientific and industrialised modernisation-, to material city-shame – with filthy, smelly and grey urban holding-. And, in this transition of collective and material self-perception of *porteñoness*, disasters impact through the events themselves as well as from their consequences in form of reconstruction plans.

Therefore, throughout this Chapter, the rise and fall of *porteñoness* will be analysed through its concrete manifestations, which are *porteño* patterns of behaviour. As behaviours communicate how individuals interpret and respond to cultural signs and symbols, this analysis emphasizes the deep connection of *porteñoness* with spectacle. This connection to spectacle will be analysed from Guy Debord’s concept of ‘*commodities of spectacle*’. By using this theoretical concept, a specific meaning can be uncovered regarding the deep relationship of disaster, identity, place in a disaster-prone place.

To achieve this, I will organize the Chapter in three sections. First, I will argue the construction of *porteñoness* and its evolution from a form of self-recognition in a double culture environment with the 1866 Bay Bombing, into a bigger meaningful social identity canvas of place-making post-1906 Earthquake; which then fades into a social stereotype when the port’s economic crisis develops post 1930s up until the 2014 Mega Fire. As seen on Table 17, the above represent three cultural moments of *porteño* development, which will be the analytical foundations for the second section, which is the deep exploration of the 2014 Mega Fire -here understood as a fourth cultural moment- regarding the symbolic changes in patterns of behaviour that this disaster created. Finally, I will critically argue the impacts

⁵⁶ The above participants are male and two female hill dwellers respectively.

of identity transformation, and the importance of social memory, when its contextual construction lives disastrous change.

Table 17: Summary of Main Arguments 1 and 2 in relation to disasters

Chapter	Social Memory (4)	Spectacle and disasters (5)	
Estimated period of development	Moment of <i>porteñness</i> Memory	Moment of sociocultural <i>porteñness</i> development	Disaster/s of reference
c.1850's-1900s	Appearance of <i>porteño</i> denomination for the inhabitants of the port-city	1st Moment: crafting of Disaster Identity	1866 Bay Bombing
1906-1930s	Reconstruction for a city of entrepreneurs: city would show a buoyant city for the foreign and immigrant investor	2nd moment: visible organisation in the duality of cultures within <i>porteñness</i>	1906 Earthquake
1930s-2014 ⁵⁷	Economic stagnation that led to social stagnation: collective solidarity yields to individual survival	3rd moment⁵⁷: sociocultural decay were meanings and set of values become questioned and changed	The port crisis of the 1930's; 2014 Mega Fire (punctually)
2014 onwards	Activation of collective solidarity as means to recuperate what the city was once, in the reconstruction plan (the city we want)	4th moment: sociocultural questioning of <i>porteño</i> life during the 20 th century within the discussion of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan (the city we want)	2014 Mega Fire (aftermath)

Source: Own Crafting.

5.1 The Rise and Fall of *Porteñness*, analysed through Debord's Spectacle

This section will be divided into three subsections, which will explore the crafting, consolidation (rise) and the decay (fall) process through sociocultural *images of porteñness*. Such images make *visible* this development process; which, ultimately, helps achieve deep understanding of the transformation of mentality and set of values of *porteñness*, from an active social identity to a social stereotype.

5.1.1 First Moment: *The dual culture within porteñness*

As Chapter 4 discussed, within the port-city of the late 1800s, an emergent bourgeoisie developed, mainly through European immigration. With an

⁵⁷ For a more in-depth analysis, the 2014 Mega Fire will be analysed in two parts henceforth, thus adding a fourth line to this table.

endless variety of economic niches to satisfy, the archetype of what I call the *investor immigrant* is the figure that is most highlighted in Valparaíso's historiography⁵⁸. It is the immigrant archetype that would boost *porteñoness* into a new set of values, which, in turn, would impact on a determined mentality and behaviours, in time.

Such an archetype would eventually open mental horizons and push *porteño* society into modernity⁵⁹, decades before the rest of Chile. Ideas relating mandatory elementary education for boys and girls, incipient notions of



hygienism and environmentalism, and the urban modernisation of the city (i.e. public lighting) were here started and implemented (Estrada Turra, 2012; Lorenzo Schiaffino, 2012). Nevertheless, in a country that still lacked work regulation and notions of worker's rights, Social Question issues started to appear in Valparaíso in extreme fashion: work exploitation, bad hygiene, famine, and an ever-rising poverty density that cradled pests, infections and sickness (Mac-Clure, 2012).

Image 22: Mote Mey vendor, with traditional clothing and lantern, shouting to promote his product. Cerro Lecheros, January 2018.

Source: Junta Vecinal Los Lecheros (2018).

Vulnerable communities, during the 1800s Valparaíso, were left to their own will and entrepreneurship to survive. Street vendors massified in variety,

⁵⁸ Further, for some historiographers, such as Vergara (2007), or Urbina Burgos (1999), the bourgeoisie, enhanced by European immigration, is still the only source for *porteñoness*, which contradicts my proposal of the double culture phenomenon coexisting within the bigger canvas of *porteñoness*.

⁵⁹ To appreciate a prime example of the '*investor immigrant*' and its modernising capacity in Valparaíso, and its impact on the rest of Chile, please refer to Document Insertion 2, the case of Julius Bernstein, in the following page.

gender, and in the items that were for sale⁶⁰. It is also relevant that with these street vendor trades, some of which are still alive today as Image 22 shows, women started to work as street vendors themselves; which presents the first *decent* alternative to prostitution in Chile (Urbina-Carrasco, 2002b).

Document Insertion 2: The Investor

Immigrant



Image 23: Julius Bernstein and his workers, c. 1880.
Source: Montaner (2006, p. 84).

The ultimate impact of Bernstein's vision was the need to improve industrial conditions in order to improve profit. Bernstein's example, followed by *Lever and Murphy Co.* (smelting, galvanising and shipbuilding factory, c. 1883), and the *British American Tobacco Chile* (later *Compañía Chilena de Tabacos*, 1910) were industries relevant for the understanding of modern work rationale

One example of an investor immigrant, with modern notions of social rights, gender equality and practical entrepreneurship is Julius Bernstein, a German that arrives to Valparaíso at 19 years of age in 1853. After 20 years of diverse labours, and excelling in trade and business, he was able to invest. In what today is the neighbouring city of Viña del Mar, he located his Sugar Refinery Company (Compañía de Refinería de Azúcar de Vina del Mar, CRAV). This location was far away from residential areas, in a position to most take advantage of the surrounding Aconcagua River (Montaner, 2006).

Although this industry, inaugurated in 1873, what is most relevant is Bernstein's vision of how an industry should be: he set up workers housing villas in a near distance to the workplace, but sufficiently protected by a nature belt, so sunlight and ventilation were available to all, which evokes some ideas of the Garden City movement (Howard, 1965). To this, inside the villas he implemented a series of services for his workers, such as a primary school (destined not only for children, but for the men and women that wanted to take night classes), a first-aid assistance centre, a theatre, and one of the first cinemas that were available in Chile.

⁶⁰ According to Urbina-Carrasco (2002b), this would be the most likely origin for all the local street vendors *trades*, such as the *aguatero* (waterer), *pequenero* (vendors of a type of breakfast food similar to an empanada, prepared on onion stuffing), *mote mey* or *moterros* (vendors of a juice made of peach seeds and sugar), *cataneros* (town crier for evening lighting), *peiros* (living inhabitants of the periphery), *lechero* (vendors of milk "at the foot of the cow", they sold milk walking around with their cow in the up-hills), to name just a few.

and the importance of workers' rights, they were an exceptional minority (Garrido, 2004).

Within these two socioeconomic poles, the investor immigrant and the vulnerable street vendor, the shop keepers or merchants were the inter-tier of the working *porteño* population⁶¹.

With a vulnerable port environment that affected the bourgeoisie as much as the street vendor; vagabonds and beggars, gambling, prostitution, alcohol and drug intake kept a steady rise in each census taken at the time (Varela, 1906).

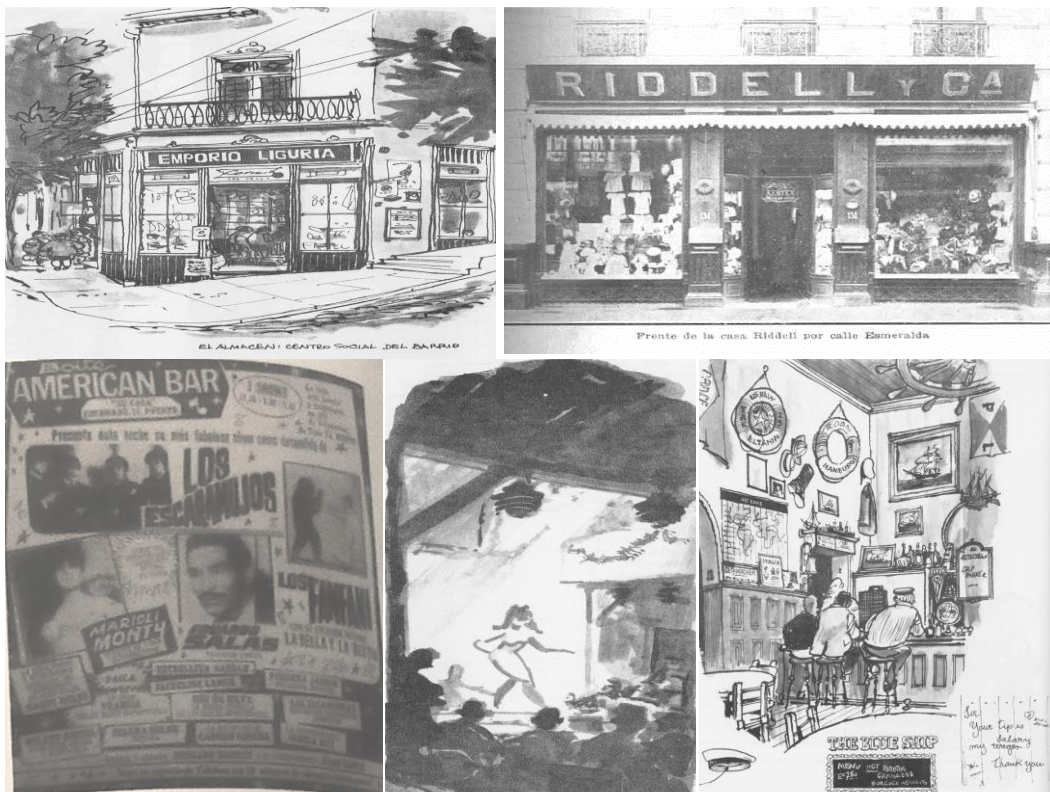


Image 24: The most important shop of all, frequently located in the most populated areas of the up-hills, the **emporium**. In the emporium not only would you find groceries, but all of the latest news of the plain areas: the shopkeeper was the one circulating up and down the hills for supplies.

Source: Pecchenino (1971, p. 77).

Image 25: The façade of Riddle and Co. Dedicated to retail, it had 10 departments, including lady's dresses and toy exhibition. Source: MemoriaChilena.cl (1906).

Image 26: Collage of fliers and sketches. On the left is one of the last fliers of the American Bar, published in La Estrella newspaper, February 1969. Source: Gana et al. (2015, p. 22). The other two images are sketches drawn by Lukas, of the last boites in existence during the 1970s. Source: Pecchenino (1971, pp. 74-75).

⁶¹ According to Guerra (2006), this socioeconomic tier was made of services (export agent, insurance and loan houses, merchant navy, bankers, etc.), low industry (carpentry, cobbler, watchmaker, jeweller, bakery, couturier, etc.), minor commerce (butcher, pharmacy, flowery, grocery, etc.), warehousing (for national and international commerce), and other minor services (coffee shops, hostelling, hoteling, barbershop, etc.).

In *porteño* social memory, this period of early urbanisation and consolidation of Valparaíso's industries is recalled as the '*bohemia porteña*'⁶². The construction of night life, with the *boite* or *chingana* (the simile of the English pub) as its sociocultural centre, was also the symbol of the morality of the '*porteño lower classes*' represented to the '*porteño bourgeoisie*', as Image 25 show.

This first moment of *porteñoness* development marks the positioning of a duality of cultures: the bourgeoisie and the working *porteños*. In this period, the biggest disaster event, in terms of urban and social impact, was the 1866 Bombing. As I noted in Chapter 4, the three most renowned chroniclers of the time regarded this event as the birthplace of the *porteño* denomination, amid its reconstruction phase. The subsequent urbanism, which vertically separated these two cultures into two parts of the city's space, was the context that cradled this *initial* geographical opposition.

The 1866 Bombing was a turning point in the creation of a shared identity, as argued earlier. Whilst the destruction of the most important areas of the city, and when news of this event reached Europe, the local bourgeoisie *noticed* the *invisible* parts of the city, the reality behind the phrase '*the poverty lies uphill*'. This is eloquently described in a report of *La Unión de Valparaíso*, regarding the 48th anniversary commemoration of the disaster, here in Image 27.

However, both the bourgeoisie and the worker *porteño* shared a common, bigger *canvas*, that of *porteñoness*, in construction still. As Felman and Laub (1992) propose, it is in the *representation of trauma*, here realized by Vicuña-Mckenna, Subercaseaux and Edwards-Bello in their written works of the 1866 Bombing, were subjective experiences get re-contextualised when inserted into a collective, social understanding⁶³.

⁶² In Valparaíso historiography, there is a timid recognition of the bohemia as part of *porteñoness* (Molina Ahumada, 2012; Purcell, 2012; Urbina-Carrasco, 2002a), because it casts a shadow upon the bright entrepreneur bourgeoisie. Nowadays, more and more historians are gathering this type of elements as a constitutive part of the *porteño* of the *good-old-days* (Gana, Mancilla, & Lagos, 2015; Rojas Farías, 2002).

⁶³ For a conceptual reminder from trauma studies, see Toolbox 4, pp. 66-67.



“The remembrance of ephemeris in the widest sense of the word is not a feature of Latin American character, where in a large portion it fades away from the memories of the people in this side of the globe. The 2nd May marks the culminating second war of the motherland against its former colonies. In this same day in 1866 the Spanish fleet showed herself proud in revenge [...]. Valparaíso, without fortifications, and almost without garrison, resisted a blockade without aim [...]. The dwellers almost always decimated with their attacks the scouting Spanish parties that looked-for provisions. The customs warehouses, overstocked in valuable merchandise, started to burn, giant columns of smoke went up high as the tallest buildings of the bay [...]. The enthusiasm of the crowds for defence was huge. “Let’s avenge Valparaíso” was the cry over the Pacific, also used in El Callao [Peru]. “This glory, a small handful of heroes, lots of superb pages of history, that’s what we have harvested.”

Image 27: An extract of *La Unión de Valparaíso*, commemorating 48 years since the 1886 Bay Bombing. Source: *La Unión de Valparaíso* (1914). Translation of the article is in blue on the right.

Importantly, from a Debordian perspective, the interpretation of bourgeoisie-imposed discourses in everyday life, is what signifies the relationship between society (individuals and collective of individuals) and images (collectivising of subjective interpretations of reality). In Debord’s words, “for the final sense of the integrated spectacle is this, that it has integrated itself into reality to the same extent as it was describing it, and that it was reconstructing it as it was describing it” (1998, p. 9). Thus, the incipient *porteño* spectacle becomes both the means and the ends of what individuals can grasp as the *visible reality*; all of which will be consolidated in time, especially after the 1906 Earthquake.

5.1.2 Second Moment: The Bourgeoisie’s Assisstencialism and the Worker’s Resistance Societies within Porteñoness

As the prime Chilean connection to the world, the port of Valparaíso’s international image was one of business, and, as such, it had to look the part of a successful, buoyant city. This rather bourgeoisie ‘need’ eventually leads to betterment and modernisation of the city. With such action, it was hoped that the city’s international commercial status was also increased, opening new business channels as well. Examples of the investments in urban

improvements can be seen in Image 28: railways, trams, European architecture, promenades, big squares with public sculptures, and so on.



Image 28: *Urban Improvements*, c. 1870.

Source: Soza and Vergara (2012)[3-D Magazine pixelated images] .

However, to beautify the city, something had to be done about the condition of the '*vulnerable porteño*'. As a consistent pattern that emerged from my analysis of municipal reports of this period, street vendors, vagabonds and the homeless represented problems that *were directly related* to corruption and crime (Urbina-Carrasco, 2002a). This perception of the *vulnerable porteño* as a problem the elite had to face and solve, was depicted consistently in local and national newspapers, especially in *La Unión de Valparaíso*. The above is better explained by Daniel Carvallo Md. and better illustrated by Image 29:

It is known that the unhealthy and unsanitary houses and conventillos are a source for contagious disease, mostly tuberculosis. Our poor people, without hygiene notions, live closely in conventillos; in just one room live families of many people, we sometimes have counted up to eight or nine, and we have to add house animals, dogs, cats, chickens, which they never are without; filth is the rule of order in the one room where all the housework is done: sleep, eat, wash, cook, and bodily needs; it is also where the husband arrives drunk, spilling anywhere the indigested content of his stomach; and where the woman, already sick, wails around her constant cough; and the children breath in that vicious air full of sick germs of their parents, they also get sick soon [...].

[One Conventillo, located in Márquez Street N 29-37 in Cerro Arrayán, is described as follows] Ruined buildings, many times reported as inhabitable, made of partitions, timber and mud and old tin roofing. Humid rooms, obscure, without ventilation, with flooring under the patio. Downpipes broken at one point, where they leak and infest the patio with filthy water and faeces. Another downpipe

obstructed. Horrible stench. Dwellers are prostitutes and corrupted people. There are around 30 inhabitants.

Source: *Carvallo (1899, p. 224; 291).*



Image 29: Examples of life in conventillos.

Conventillos were often square buildings, with several levels, that surrounded an indoor patio that was used as a common bathroom and kitchen. Each room housed entire families.

Sources: Hidalgo and Sánchez (2013) and MemoriaChilena.cl (1900-1950).

Thus, as my analysis of municipal reports and of reporters' columns have emphasized, at the ends of the 19th and beginnings of the 20th century, a *consolidated double culture* is detectable and visible within Valparaíso, that of the bourgeoisie and the worker's culture. Initially, both cultures *seemed* to be separated by their activities through which different values could be interpreted. But, as both Lorenzo Schiaffino (2012b) and Rubio Soto (2007) propose, despite the fact that both cultures develop in parallel⁶⁴, that does not mean that they had intrinsically different values. What connects both cultures are the collective experiences of disaster entwined within the process of *meaningful porteño place-making*.

⁶⁴ Both cultures were distanced by their *space* of development (great theatres vs. *chinganas*), their cultural activities (operas vs. cock fighting), their housing (grand manor houses vs. *conventillos*) or even their eating habits (Sunday roast accompanied by champagne vs. fried onion pasties accompanied with wine or aguardiente-a non-flavoured brandy-) (Lorenzo Schiaffino, 2012a).

This statement is based on the role of assisstencialism in 20th century Valparaíso. Even before the 1906 Earthquake, the ladies of society occupied themselves with urgent social issues by the means of *assistance*⁶⁵. This ‘*good, proper Christian work*’, here illustrated in Image 30, was allowed on the basis that the ladies’ work was *only to assist* and *not to politically incorporate* the most vulnerable into society as full citizens.



Image 30: Collage showing social programmes that were carried out for Valparaíso’s most vulnerable communities. Source: MemoriaChilena.cl (c.1900). The photos show how abandoned children were taken in, and how they were prepared to incorporate them into society.



In overseeing and tackling the most urgent matters of the most vulnerable of the port-city, assisstencialism work became, in time, a cultural bridge between the duality of *porteños*. By visiting, talking and acting from their own backgrounds and according to ‘*assisstencialism*’ ‘*giver and receiver*”, both bourgeoisie and worker *porteños* took a look into each other’s worlds.

Image 31: Front Cover of Revista Sucesos 04/08/1908. Source: Ibarra (2018) .

⁶⁵ The charitable work was started and led by Mrs. Juana Ross m. Edwards, perhaps the most prominent and enthusiast leader of charity work, who was publicly renowned as the ‘*Mother of the Poor*’ (Ugarte Yavar, 1910, p. 225).

This cultural bridge allowed the social contact between both sets of values, such as regarding alcoholism as a harmful act that has to be contained, regardless social class; which in the end helps to bridge both mentalities. A close examination of the editorials of *Revista Sucesos*⁶⁶ offers specific insight. During editorials between 1906-1930, I detected a definitive view regarding the relevance of assisstencialism as shown in Image 31, but also it enhances the emergent role of social organisations in both social poles of *porteñones*.

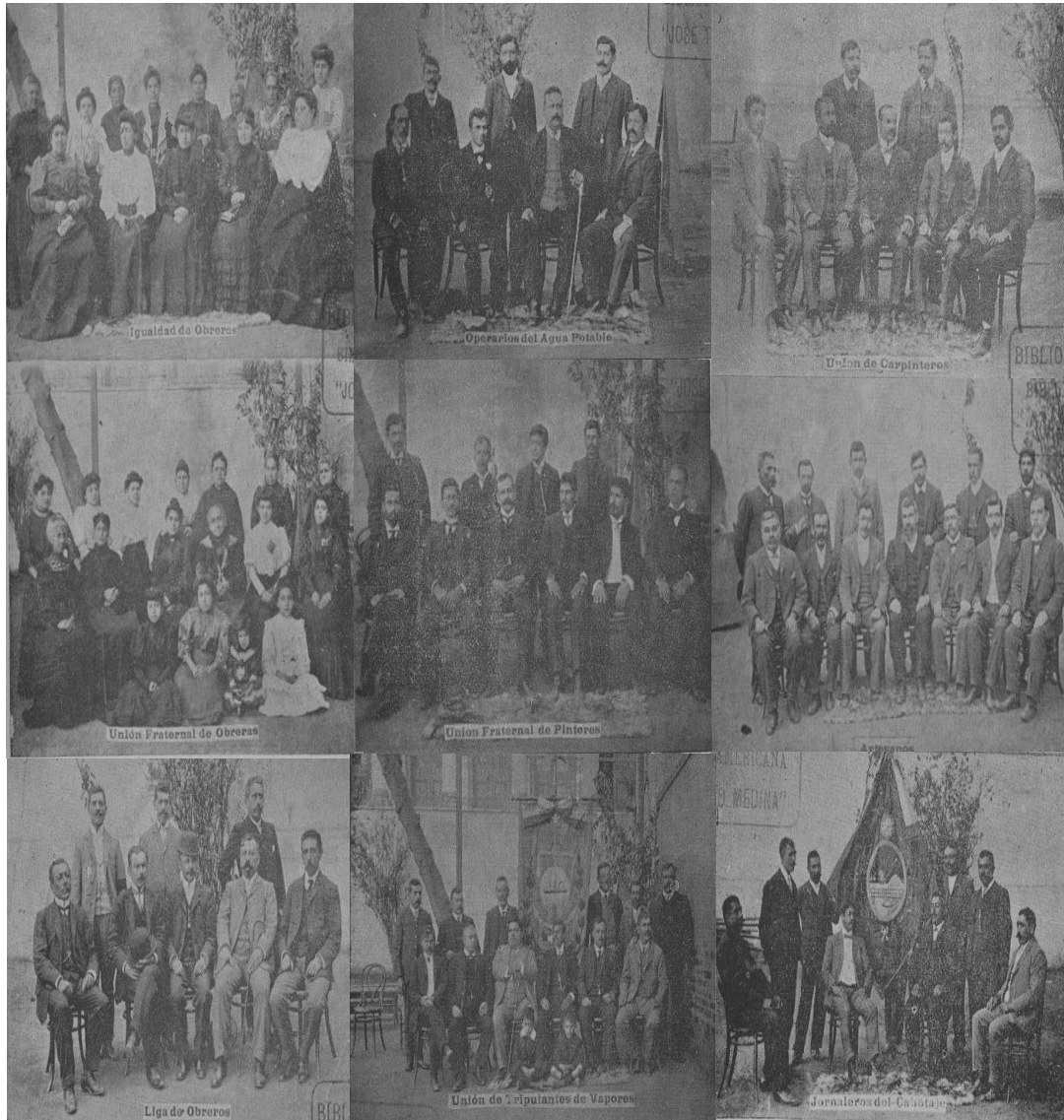


Image 32: Collage of Mutualist' photographs.

1st row, left to right: Workwomen Equality, Operators of Drinking Water Supply, Carpenters' Union.

2nd row, left to right: Union of workwomen, Fraternal Union of Painters, Artisans.

3rd row, left to right: Workers' League, Crewmen of Steam engine ships Union, Coasting Sail workers. Note the differences in their 'Sunday best' outfits, according to their respective occupation.

Source: Ugarte Yavar (1910, p. 211 and ss).

⁶⁶ Evolving as a medium which covered social elite life into a medium of social critique, *Revista Sucesos* was amongst the first news outlets to openly illustrate both cultural worlds in the city, in a nation-wide distribution scale.

Social organisations of the working *porteño* culture related to a coordinated set of efforts to *survive* through mutualism, seen in Image 32⁶⁷. *Mutualism*, in this sense, aimed to defend the physical integrity of their members, seen as agents of their own resources. Mellado Carrasco (2015) argues that this type of associations was legal under the Civil Code of 1854, and so it did not have a negative perception from local authorities. Thus, the decision-making bourgeoisie was not an obstacle for this type of social organisation; rather, it promoted it as part of the liberal notion of '*lifting oneself by the bootstraps*'. In time, from this initial level of organisation, Resistance Societies emerged at the ends of the century, as an anarchic response to *stalling* Mutualism and non-cooperation from national and authorities from the worker's *porteño* culture (Salazar, 2014).

In the other extreme of *porteño* social duality, the organisation of the *porteño* bourgeoisie started with the need to preserve the main areas of the city from recurrent minor disasters. The prime example of the above is the foundation of the Firefighters Corps Brigades, as seen in Image 33, which responded to the big Fire of 1851 which devastated the plains of the city. Months later, they organized the first Fire Brigade of Chile, in Valparaíso. Of their origins, it is stated that

Because the State's organisms were poor and weak, the elite citizenry, integrated by prosperous merchants, vessel owners, funders and artisan industrials, almost all foreigners, took on the organisation and the operation of permanent volunteer corps who will provide the service of attack [Fire] incidents. The government, via the Intendent, put to their service the Civic Guards groups, sort of conscripts of the time, to prepare them for the rescuing of belongings, water transport for the pumps and other heavy-load jobs that were unpleasant members of the 'society' that passed as true Fire fighters.

Source: *Cuerpo de Bomberos de Valparaiso (1998, p. 6).*

⁶⁷ Mutual Societies, Mutual Relief Societies, *Mancomunales* (connected communities/neighbourhoods), or Cooperatives, were some of many type of social organisations that aimed for one particular issue, whether hunger, literacy, alcoholism, or child abandonment (Salazar, 1999a).

The last line of the quote above aims to portray a certain *image* of what true members of the bourgeoisie *wanted to represent*. The symbolic meaning of participative politics, here represented by the fire fighters' brigades, also integrate the duality of cultures into a new matrix of resignification⁶⁸. Current Firefighters describe this heritage as “[...] the institution’s character, born from the very citizenry, always voluntary, democratic and characterised in its origins by the presence of different nationalities, religions, political thoughts [...]” (Piacenti & Passadore, 2013, p. 11).



Image 33: Collage of the original Fire Fighters Brigades of 1851.

Left: 1st 'American', Britannic Brigade and 2nd 'Germania', later Germanic Brigade. Right: 3rd Cousiño and A. Edwards Brigade and 4th Blanco Encalada Brigade.

Source: Ugarte Yavar (1910 pp.211 and ss.)

The *collective perception* regarding fire fighters' brigades, here described in the quote above, is the prime example of the cultural syncretism that took place in between these two social strata post 1906. This syncretism process, which involves mentality (as well as sets of values) that are *becoming* common to both social strata, is quite depicting of the integration of worker and bourgeoisie *porteño* cultures. According to Debord, when one social structure (here the bourgeoisie) acts in the benefit of a wider sociality (here Valparaíso), it represents the dialectic integration of other social structures to the first social structure; thus, creating a common cultural denominator

⁶⁸ For a conceptual reminder for this concept from identity studies, see to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

through syncretism that is present in both identity and place-making processes. In his words,

The alienation of the spectator to the profit of the contemplated object [which is the result of his own unconscious activity] is expressed in the following way: the more he contemplates the less he lives; the more he accepts recognising himself in the dominant images of need, the less he understands his own existence and his own desires.

The externality of the spectacle in relation to the active man appears in the fact that his own gestures are no longer his but those of another who represents them to him. This is why the spectator feels at home nowhere, because the spectacle is everywhere.

Source: *Guy Debord (2012, paragraph 30)*.

With the organisation of the (non-opposing) *double culture* within *porteñoness*, a cultural synthesis starts to emerge. Bourgeoisie set of values start to be found in more layers of *porteño* sociability, such as hard work and sacrifice can lead up to collective collaboration; all of which eventually, transformed into solidarity, especially in the aftermath of the 1906 Earthquake and the beginnings of *assisstencialism* and *mutualism*. From the 1910s until the 1930s, with the subsequent (minor) disasters, this overlapping of sets of values start to merge into mentality and behaviours of all *porteños*. As Beck (1992) notes, “poverty is hierarchical, but smog is democratic” (p. 37): replacing the word *smog* for the word *disaster*, the common denominator for these two worlds is disaster, upon which an amalgamated, bigger culture was put together.

5.1.3 Third Moment: The port crisis and *porteñoness* during the 20th century

From the 1930s onward, and as Chapter 4 explained, the fading of *porteñoness* develops consequently, affecting both the bourgeoisie and the worker *porteño* amalgamated culture. The 1914 Panama Canal, the 1929 Great Depression, and other global tensions affected deeply Valparaíso’s port life, diluting both its cultural and physical connection function (Cavieres, 2017; Lorenzo Schiaffino, 2012a).

When the port stopped offering the business opportunities it previously had, most of the bourgeoisie started to migrate to other cities, such as Coquimbo, Concepción, Viña del Mar or Santiago. The first two offered different business opportunities, such as mining coal or copper and forestry. Santiago and Viña del Mar attracted those who sought political ventures. Also, with the port not offering the employability it used to, little by little the city saw the emptying of its labour force and young population; which in turn discouraged public and private investment, leading to unemployment and poverty related issues, such as illiteracy, marginalisation, informal housing and crowding (Chandía, 2013).

In a span of 60 years, the global tensions of the 1930's affected Valparaíso to its very core. As Participant 5 explains, the 1914 inauguration of the Panama Canal, the 1914 creation of synthetic nitrate and the 1929 Great Depression, had a profound impact on the port's function, which in his view were poignant of *porteño* decay. These two global tensions are here understood not only as *social crisis*, but as *economic disasters* as well⁶⁹. To lose *port functionality* is what propelled *porteño* fall and decay, as Participant 5 discusses:

Now, when do we lose this [the *porteño* character]? When Valparaíso stops being Valparaíso. Fundamentally because of the Panama Canal and the Global Crisis of 1929, because the nitrate mining offices administration occurred from Valparaíso. The nitrate exportation to Europe stopped, not only as the exportation act itself, but also in a banking and trading aspects as well. Then, Valparaíso stops being the Pacific's port (which was lost due to the Panama Canal and the 1929 Crisis)!

Source: *Participant-5 (2015)*.

The question, in a quick summary, was "*how will Valparaíso survive without the sea?*" (Donoso, 2016). Both the Panama Canal (1914) and the Great Depression (1929) impacted the city deeply, in two main functions: exchange and commerce. Chilean economy relied on these two functions of Valparaíso, since the economic boom of natural nitrate exploitation at the end of the 19th century (Cavieres-Figueroa, 1987; Salazar, 2003). As a great fertilizer and as

⁶⁹ By using Wyatt's methodological approach (explained in p. 48), where social crisis are viewed, in its consequences, as formidable as natural disasters.

a key element for steam engine machinery, it rapidly became irreplaceable for the ongoing Second European Industrial Revolution. For its export and trade, Valparaíso was its economic and finance base, due to its strategic geographical location in the Magellan trading route: merchant ships physically did the export of the nitrate; and its price and exchange were realised in Valparaíso's banks and stock exchange.

With these relevant economic shocks, both in a global and in a national scale, Valparaíso's *porteñoness*, first in its political behaviour and then in its mentality, started to *fade*. Participant 38⁷⁰ argues that communal solidarity, started a historical decay, which would predominate for the rest of the 20th century: no longer able to rely in a communal and social network of solidarity, micro networks of families started to predominate. In his words:

I was fortunate enough to have met my great grandpa. He always told me stories, which then paved the way for me to become a historian. He explained to me that when he was little, the football little leagues were a city-wide event, I mean, with football you knew groups of kids in every hill, and also you knew who had the best football pitches. But when he became a dad and encouraged my grandpa to play, he noticed that the leagues were only hill-wide, and even so, amongst close neighbourhoods.

Life was carried out in your own neighbourhood. You had a cinema, a bank, apothecary, local grocery store... you actually did not need to go anywhere else, or to the plains to the city unless you had to do legal duties in the Civil Registry Office or needed the hospital.

When I started studying Valparaíso for my own research work, it turned out that those words were actually accurate, and represented a much bigger phenomenon: with a busy port, people needed all manner of things, such as work and housing for the people that still arrived through migration processes. But when this changed, population growth started to stagnate, and with it the amount and quality of jobs and housing.

After Panama, bigger social networks were not needed, because you could live your life just as in the previous years, and conveniently, within your own neighbourhood, which, quite plainly, were, and in some parts still are, just groups of family and friends.

Source: *Participant-38 (2015)*.

⁷⁰ Male hill dweller, historian awarded the National Prize of History in 2008.

The manifestation of this economic and political stagnation also impacted cultural development. For Participant 18⁷¹, who is a middle-aged hill dweller and remembers how ladies tended to their front yards and streets, cleaning them daily, with painted and maintained fronts with tidiness and pride; the present is the exact opposite:

Now people don't care. There are many streets and alleyways that reek of urine, where the façades are crackling down with filth, earthquake damage or aggressive, so aggressive graffiti. What we sing in '*La Joya del Pacífico*'⁷² doesn't exist anymore, it hasn't been a reality for a long time.

Source: *Participant-18 (2015)*.

All of the above, in general, explain how this fading *porteñoness* could not resist, in all its former political awareness and vanguard behaviour, to the 1973 coup as discussed in Chapter 4. With 17 years of the Military Regime, and the democratically elected governments that followed until the 2014 Mega Fire (24 years), neoliberal logics were imposed and consolidated so deeply that emptied of meaning *porteño* behaviour, mainly exemplified by deep individualistic behaviours and lack of common, collective values. In Valparaíso, ultimately, neoliberalism affected *porteño* mentality and patterns of behaviour, being only its values what was stored in social memory through disaster events. It is in this period where the fading *porteñoness* evolves into the *social stereotype of porteño*, idealised in the '*good old days*'.

This alienated reality is particularly clear in the tourism industry. Although a discussion for Chapter 7, once the UNESCO confirmed Valparaíso's heritage (patrimonial) status, *images* of the city appeared as the *real* portrait of the city,

⁷¹ This song, as well as '*Valparaíso*' of '*Gitano*' Rodríguez are taught in Chilean school system in music lessons nation-wide. They are both part also of Chilean musicians' repertoire, especially when approaching the week of national independence festivities in September.

⁷² The comparison between these two songs represent a change of meaning within *porteñoness*; which is depicted in Participant 18's comments, where the matrix of resignification can be evidenced. For a reminder of the objective of this mechanism in identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56. Also, for the complete text of these songs, please refer to Appendix D, p. 233.

the *sold-to-tourist* portrait, which sells best: a freshly painted, clean city, selling patrimonial jewellery and pottery. As Fox Gotham (2017) proposes, the imposition of an image, through both the national government and the municipality, *shows and sells to the world touristic images to consume..* Thus, when a social *spectacle* situation starts to merge in meaning; and, as a result, a socialised new construct becomes socially *validated*, then, for Debord, the spectacle is complete:

[...] the spectacle obliterates the boundaries between self and world by crushing the self-besieged by the presence-absence of the world and it obliterates the boundaries between true and false by driving all truth below the real presence of fraud ensured by the organisation of appearance.

Source: Guy Debord (2012, paragraph 219).

The intertextuality that Debord sees in *social images* operates in a *devaluing* and *revaluing* a new constructed reality is based on an *alienated* semantic field. Regarding the construction of semantic fields, Fox Gotham (2007) and Coverley (2012) also state that is important to remember that the alienation that is implied in the commodification process of a (*porteño*) society, can lead up to social un-engagement and fragmentation, as well as chronic ephemerality in social life. This 20th century (fall) commodification of *porteñoness*, effectively changes with the 2014 Mega Fire.

5.2 The 2014 Mega Fire: the fourth moment of *porteñoness* that became a new cultural stepping-stone

During the immediate happening of the Fire, some of my participants reported their initial social reactions to what they knew about the past, with other (minor) disaster events. The cultural opposition is best portrayed by Participant 16 and Participant 26⁷³:

I was very little for the 1953 New Year's Fire... I was, what was it, 4 or 5 years old. I remember we were all there, all the family, watching the Fireworks. But then something else lit up, and we had to go. My great aunt said to me that all the men "in her time, used to go and

⁷³ Both male hill dwellers.

help”, like, loudly, to get all the young men around us to go on and help. That didn’t happen, almost everybody went home. But when I look to this Fire, I remembered what my great aunt said... I guess that in this one some thought of helping out due to the immensity of it all, I don’t know... somehow, it felt right.

Source: *Participant-16 (2015)*.

I come from a family that cares for their elders. So, I grew up with many seniors, grandmas, grandpas. They used to tell me stories when I was a kid, when I was babysitting for them... they always hated that I said that! Anyway, the stories were all, somehow, about the porteño capacity to survive. Two or three of them worked down in the port, and so they always complained on how the city was so much more alive then than now, and how the young respected their elders, no matter if they didn’t have shoes and were begging around the market... or the grandmas, they used to say that people were safe in the city.

I always laughed at the story when my grandma was boarding the bus back home to [Cerro] Barón, and the driver was so exasperated that he took it on my granny. He bellowed to a young man on the street, still on the cue to board the bus, to lift up my granny’s skirt so she could board finally and hurry the hell up. This didn’t happen when she was young, and even if a driver would’ve yelled like that, nobody would have acted... and the lad did, in fact, lift up her skirt and grabbed her bottom to push her inside the bus, and this was the 1980’s mind you!

And you ask if then and now [2014] are different? Well, I didn’t see any young people misbehaving, looting, or disrespecting. On the contrary, they [the young volunteers] were the force that helped us clean the debris, so reconstruction could happen sooner... the volunteers, many months after the Fire still come to us to have tea. They know that this street has mostly old ladies, so they come and bring home-baked cakes...

Source: *Participant-26 (2015)*⁷⁴.

As my participants establish, from their own life experiences, there is a ‘*then and now*’ phenomenon, which compares cultural values to social behaviour. As discussed in Chapter 4, social memory acts as the last reservoir of *porteño* identity: after the 1930s, behaviours change, which impact the meaning of *porteño* behaviour. But the set of values were stored, still, within the social

⁷⁴ Senior female hill dweller.

stereotype of *porteñoness* that still lingered on through the decades. Ultimately, forced to live a life of endless repetition of disaster events, the city also enters into a cyclical time perspective of tense prospect and latent emergency state which is violently interrupted by the Mega Fire.

As it was emphasized in Chapter 4, one of the great difficulties that this disaster uncovered was the tense relationship between national and local authorities. At first, the President was told that it was a forest Fire, and so she stayed in Santiago and sent her deputy in the political institution chain, Minister of the Interior Rodrigo Peñailillo. When he arrived and saw the enormity of the disaster, and after being told that it was not under control on the night of 12th April, he called the President to convey the real assessment of the situation.

In between the night of 12th April to the morning of the 14th, Mayor Castro urged on many TV news to the central government send resources and all the infrastructure that the Fire Brigades needed and were consuming in the meanwhile (this was essentially a direct plea to the President herself).



Image 34: Mayor Castro of Valparaíso and President Bachelet discuss the Mega Fire.
Source: La Estrella de Valparaíso (2014).

This exchange of opinions through the press created a political impasse and forced Bachelet to travel to Valparaíso. Considering that both the president and the Mayor were from opposite poles in the political spectra, this communicational impasse delayed even more the implementation of emergency protocols, both local and national-wide. The first words of Bachelet when she arrived were to praise the *porteño* courage and spirit, as Image 34 shows on its title, appealing for a sense of symbolic unity within the country.



In the immediate aftermath of the Fire, many voices stood critical to the political establishment for what was called the most '*announced disaster of all*'. Urban planners, geographers, social leaders, NGO experts, just to name a few, propagated the view that this disaster was going to happen because of the insecure and hazardous abandonment of the up-hill areas.

Image 35: One of the many columns that discussed the most '*announced*' disaster of all: Valparaíso's 2014 Mega Fire.

Source: Salazar (2014).

What was related was the social injustice for living in risky conditions, as Image 35 shows in its title '*Valparaíso deserves another destiny*'. In portraying and communicating such voices, the media embodied *disaster citizenship* in claiming justice for the affected by empathetically becoming a disaster victim, and at the same time it applied *disaster geopolitics*, by emphasising were the disaster was most catastrophic geographically⁷⁵. The fact that both disaster citizenship and geopolitics were then present as a media phenomenon when covering a disaster event, implies the communication of an image of affected *helpless* victims⁷⁶, incapable to defend themselves.

This media coverage portrayed 24/7 the commodified *porteño*, the very last example of a series of commodified *porteño* images that have been communicated through the 20th century⁷⁷. On air, hill dwellers voiced their own catastrophe, the story of their family, without signalling the deep relationship of this event, its preparedness, readiness and/or mitigation as a process of both the communities and local/national government. Self-care,

⁷⁵ For a conceptual reminder from disaster studies for both disaster citizenship and geopolitics, and perceived injustice sufferers, see to Toolbox 1, p. 219.

⁷⁶ For a conceptual reminder of helplessness from behaviour studies, see Toolbox 4, p. 65.

⁷⁷ The previous local example of such a phenomenon was the 1985 Earthquake, which can be viewed in Appendix E, p. 235.

neighbourhood responsibility and coordination between all the involved communities was not perceived as a contributing factor, and with the family stories of how this fire was lived, reports of the urban conditions upon which these communities of hill dwellers lived amongst were also aired as a comparison factor to the rest of the country. In many ways, the explanation of the fire was signalled in the upper-hills poverty, lack of education and resources, and bad political management.

As the fire's '*disaster marathon*'⁷⁸ consolidated with passing days, the media rapidly evolved from an informative position -or *breaking news*- to seek justice in-depth reports.



But, in this transition, media started to tap into the emotionality of the disaster. A prime example of the above happened with a TV report by Claudio Fariña, from TVN (Televisión Nacional de Chile, National Television of Chile), where he was interviewing an 8-year old girl, shown here in Image 36, who he pushed to tears with his questions, and because she did not stop crying, the journalist gave her money to *organise* her cousins for lunch (Emol.com, 2014).

Image 36: Collage of images showing Claudio Fariña's interview with the affected and then homeless little girl. The second image shows the point in the report where he forces emotions and gets her to cry. Sources: Gamba.cl (2017) and ObservatorioFucatel.cl (2014).
Image 37: Selfie of the 2014 Mega Fire. This selfie turned into a trending topic and meme within Chilean social media culture. Source: @crissxx9 (2014).

⁷⁸ For a conceptual reminder from media studies, see Toolbox 5, p. 68.

Ultimately, what Fariña ends up developing is the spectacularising of disaster journalism with the 2014 Mega Fire. When the Comisión Nacional de Televisión, (National Council of Television, CNTV) denounced him, he explained that he was aiming to obtain a discourse that would offer unity for the victims of the Fire. Thus, from an informative standpoint, (Chilean) media evolved while incorporating emotionality to its coverage to transmit the injustice of the 2014 Mega Fire; all of which was facilitated, in its immediacy, by social media. As Ibrahim (2015) and Cottle (2012) discuss regarding the concept of '*selfie or self portraits*' and mediatisation in social media, personal experience in disaster contexts tend to locate within a spectacularising logic.

In the end, a disaster event is not only channelled by the media, it is also channelled through individual postings in various virtual platforms that portray the *longing to belong* to a one *disaster experience*, sustained through the emotionality of disaster communication. An example is Image 37, which shows a selfie⁷⁹ of a woman with the Fire as the background, which was immediately reposted as part of the moral judgement that prevailed in the



wake of the disaster, in the seeking justice context of the immediate aftermath. The critic narrative included higher moral standards from the local *porteños*, who could not explain the reasons behind such an image. When interviewed, the woman in the picture signalled that she wanted to have a *keepsake*, to *show* her grandchildren that she survived a disaster of this magnitude.

Image 38: Comic titled 'As Always', showing a man rebuilding his house. This image reflects the eternal reconstruction surroundings of one's home. Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (1985b).

⁷⁹ Image 36, while not technically a '*selfie*', is a self-made photograph through a timer-snapshot mechanism, done by this hill dweller in her smartphone.

5.3 *Porteñoness* through Spectacle

In Valparaíso, with every disaster event, a '*once and again*' idea comes through, which can be best summarized with the phrase "why did *this* happen to us *again*?", and is here satirised in Image 38 entitled *As Always*. Also, with every disaster, images of other events increase, which depict past crisis management, repercussions and reconstruction plans and phases.

Image 38: Comic titled 'As Always', showing a man rebuilding his house.
This image reflects the eternal reconstruction surroundings of one's home.
Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (1985b).

It could be argued that, at this point, the *city embeds images of itself*, as Debord would explain, through disaster events; which, in the matrix of resignification (eventually) means that the city lives symbolic alienation *of and by* its images of disaster events. However, this immediately raises the question as to what *reality* is being truly communicated within spectacle.

By linking individuals through a disaster experience, spectacle also links the individual interpretations of what happened, along with the personal views of the involved regarding *why* this happened and *why* it could not be more efficiently prevented and/or managed. Once these individual interpretations are socialised through media (as well as by any other form), and as a collective perception is being constructed regarding the particulars of the disaster event, the reality of what happened has thus become a social construct rather than an objectivised element of reality. If this is what is being streamed, then, what happens when it is continually remembered and repetitively streamed?

Rather than discussing what reality is, the pertinent question at this point is *what is being represented*. Chartier (1989) has stated that representations, whether individual or collective, are matrixes of constructive practices of the social world, which identify in *otherness* united symbolic relationships of the '*we*'. This explains why Valparaíso's image is frequently associated with disaster, not just because of its disaster-prone condition, but because of its tragic and sacrificial character; all of which emanates from a long historical relationship with disaster events, relationship which ends up in collective resignifications and validations of social representations; all of which emerges from a long-term analysis of the city's total disaster history

Images are based in *representations*, and representations distinguish *social experience*, according to Debord. As has been discussed throughout this chapter, the rise and fall of *porteñoness* can be understood in depth by the commodification of life in Valparaíso, always under the pressure of capitalism in its widest conception. From production, commerce, and finance, Valparaíso has been configured through the strings of economy applied to everyday life. When the change of function befell to its constitutive elements, or more precisely, when the port lost its economic relevance, first economic stagnation and then social neoliberalism impacted the core of *porteñoness*, leaving it unprotected to future challenges and change: the further matrixes of resignification, which appeared with every post-disaster reconstruction phase, signalled the distance with which this identity evolved from its original values. As Wark (2015) proposes, such commodification or fading-ness leave societies obsessed with old wounds, unable to *forget*, unable to get up, at its melancholy's end (p. 26).

In many ways, Wark's proposition makes understandable the current emotionality of present *porteños* when discussing *porteñoness* of the *good old days*. However, such emotionality is also linked to the spectacularising process and growth of mass and social media during the 20th and 21st century. As the 2014 Mega Fire showed -and the 1985 Earthquake before that-, various thoughts, sensations and acts have been socialised from disaster to disaster, which, in parallel, kept social memory of *porteñoness* alive in the *porteño* stereotype.

According to Gilles Deleuze (1994), thoughts, sensations and actions are what precisely link individuals to their reality, understood as the merging of individual perceptions to factual reality. This connection is based on the ideas that each of these pathways *represent* (Hughes, 2009). Thus, when Debord explains commodification through images of spectacle, and Deleuze explains reality through the notion of representation, both theorists are searching for the validity and scope of social interpretation. *Porteñoness*, then, both as a commodity and as a spectacularising of reality, are defined by the intensity upon which its most *representative images* can capture as its inner logics.

Through data analysis, what I detect as most relevant is the *representative* image of *porteñoness* in disaster, from which emerges with its most relevant logic in Valparaíso: *repetition*. In Deleuze's *Difference and Repetition*, I find the link between social memory (*porteño* set of values), and its cultural communication (*porteño* spectacle). Ultimately, this link positions *porteño representation images* as the connection between remembering and forgetting. This is the basis of Deleuze's concept of '*repetition*'; which, combined with Debord's concept of '*image*' gives us the depth of what I understand as *repetitive images*, which underlies *representative images of porteñoness*.

Thus, the notion of the '*once and agains*' examined here acquires a deeper meaning. Repetitive images obtained and socialised by spectacularising media, put forward representative images of commodification of *porteñoness*. With each repetitive image, the failings of disaster management in Valparaíso *become* the representative images of sustenance for the survival for the next disaster. However, what happens within a society that repeatedly finds itself in disaster recovery with disaster repetition of disaster images? This will be the discussion of Chapter 6, where *porteñoness* will be analysed through its political patterns of behaviour relating reconstruction post-disasters.

Chapter 6

Porteñoness, Politics, and Disasters

The present Chapter will critically discuss the configuration of *porteños* as portrayers of *resistant resilience*, a facet of their identity which comes through the examination of political and social *porteñoness* behaviour. Following the main argument of Chapter 4, which focused on how Social Memory is based on shared communal meaning of disaster events; and on Chapter 5's commodified *porteño* transformation argument; this Chapter will build on those arguments by critically recognising *porteñoness* political behaviours *regarding* disaster events.

After a diachronic analysis of the data collected through archival work and through the observation of patterns of thought in my interviews, it is apparent that *porteño* political behaviour -and with it its resistant resilience as its most important facet- is, at the same time, constantly Built and tested by disasters. As disasters become *the* great opportunity to change the city, disasters in Valparaíso have the flexible quality of both destroying and creating (physically and mentally) the city, as much as dwellers are city-makers themselves. Historically, the resistant resilience facet of *porteñoness* is traceable through *porteño* political awareness and political strive-ness for social betterment; all of which made *porteñoness* a true *political awareness vanguard* within the Chilean political context from the 19th century onwards.

Therefore, I propose that the resilience *porteñoness* acquired and developed over time is also a form of political resistance. Such resistant resilience is a product of an unstable context, where political answers, politicians, and negotiated politics in general do not have the scope to reach the profound issues of the city. By using Berger and Luckmann's (1991 [1966]) '*alternation mechanism*'⁸⁰ approach, which intends to integrate disruptive elements to established patterns of behaviour in order to maintain a meaningful reality of collectively valid interpretation; I will critically analyse *porteño* political

⁸⁰ For a conceptual reminder from behavioural studies, please refer to Toolbox 3, p. 65.

behaviour as one of the facets that explains the general conditions of the city pre and post 2014 Mega Fire.

Porteño political behaviour, understood as the rise and fall of *porteñoness*, examines and illustrates the political moments that surround 1866 and 1906, as well as the particularities in Valparaíso's life during the 1930s onwards, up until the 2014 Mega Fire. These three political moments examine the beginning of Chilean grassroots movements as a political vanguard for the rest of the country, and its decline related to the port's detriment function as the 'first port of the Pacific'. The deep exploration of these three political moments aim to articulate the deep meaning behind the changes in political patterns of behaviour pre and post 2014 Mega Fire. As framed in my third research question, the analysis of deep meaning highlights the impact of uncertainty (and/or potential) that disasters have in crafting particular forms of political behaviour within communities emplaced in disaster-prone places.

The close examination of these three political moments of Valparaíso's disaster history, are the foundations for my analysis of the *porteño* political behaviour pre, during and post 2014 Mega Fire, as shown in Table 18. With 2014, *porteño* political behaviour changed in its decayed response to disruptive events. This is particularly evident when considering *porteño* political reorganisation for the 2016 Municipal elections, which showed the emergence of a new type of grassroots movement that expressed the awakening of a long-lost *porteño* quality, that of political awareness. As a by-product of the 2014 Mega Fire, a citizen's movement seized power in democratic elections against the two most powerful Chilean political alliances. Eventually, this vanguard *porteño* grassroots movement had a countrywide impact in the recent 2017 Presidential Elections, where its political representation pushed forward a second ballot which denied the two biggest and traditional political alliances a landslide election.

I have organized this Chapter in four broad sections, which will discuss three development process of *porteño* political behaviour. First, I will discuss the rise and fall of *porteñoness* to contextualise the political behaviours that are crafted through 1866, 1906 and the port crisis of the 1930s. Second, I will characterize the political moment of the 2014 *porteño*, right before the Mega

Fire, which reflect on the political behaviour that hill dwellers exercised during and in the immediate aftermath of the Fire. Thirdly, I will argue that the political development of *porteñoness* transformed into a new ‘*rising*’ of successful grassroots movements, who were catalysed by the 2014 disaster itself. Finally, I will critically argue that disaster-prone places, such as Valparaíso, are the contexts where resilience and resistance are forged as repetitive patterns of behaviour, created not only to survive, but to manage uncertainty as a day-to-day certainty, ‘*scorched*’ by *extraordinary* events, such as natural or human-made disasters.

Table 18: Summary of Main Arguments: 1, 2, and 3 in relation to disasters.

Chapters	Social Memory (4)	Spectacle and disasters (5)	<i>Porteño</i> political behaviour (6)	
Estimated period of development	Moment of <i>porteñoness</i> Memory	Moment of sociocultural <i>Porteñoness</i> development	Moment of <i>porteño</i> political behaviour	Disaster/s of reference
c.1850s-1900s	Appearance of <i>porteño</i> denomination for the inhabitants of the port-city	1st Moment: crafting of Disaster Identity	Rise of <i>porteñoness</i>: Development of <i>porteñoness</i> as an emergent a political vanguard	1866 Bay Bombing
1906-1930s	Reconstruction for a city of entrepreneurs: city would show a buoyant city for the foreign and immigrant investor	2nd moment: visible organisation in the duality of cultures within <i>porteñoness</i>	Consolidation of Resistant Resilience through grassroots movements	1906 Earthquake
1930s-2014	Economic stagnation that led to social stagnation: collective solidarity yields to individual survival	3rd moment ”: sociocultural decay were meanings and set of values become questioned and changed	Fall of <i>porteñoness</i>: political behaviour changes (no longer political vanguard)	From the port crisis up until the 2014 Mega Fire (punctually)
2014 onwards	Activation of collective solidarity as means to recuperate what the city was once, in the reconstruction plan (the city we want)	4th moment: sociocultural questioning of <i>porteño</i> life during the 20 th century within the discussion of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan (the city we want)	2016 Municipal and National elections: the impact of the Citizens’ Municipality (the city we want)	2014 Mega Fire (aftermath)

Source: Own Crafting.

6.1 The Rise and Fall of *Porteñoness* as a Chilean political aware vanguard

This section considers the recent Chilean neoliberal political project and its main developments, comprising its insertion into neoliberal logics at the

beginning of the 20th century, and how this logic was reinforced with the 1973 ‘*coup d’état*’ through to its deep consolidation in the six democratic governments since the return to democracy. For this, *porteño* political behaviour will evidence such evolution throughout this section. Taking this into account, to understand *porteño* political behaviour, it’s necessary to delve into its grassroots beginnings, where 19th century industrialisation cradled its socioeconomic meaning and awareness quality in relation to other urbanized areas of Chile.

In the 1830s, Valparaíso started to face urgent consequential issues, never before seen in the country, related to its early industrialisation. Overcrowding, famine, pests, health and sanitation struggles, segregation and marginalisation of its working and vulnerable population; among others, were affecting the city in much the same manner that early industrialised European cities did in the 1700s. As it was discussed in Chapter 4, this is the context upon which the *double culture* emerges, where rich and poor inhabitants started to build a common mentality despite its economic breach, which was enhanced through disaster events, especially with the 1866 Bay Bombing.

Once the bay was destroyed during the bombing, its reconstruction reflected a ‘*vertical and hierarchical use of land*’, which aimed to show the buoyant city that was expected from the star of the Magellan route of the Pacific-Atlantic commerce exchange. As I previously analysed, the underlying narrative behind this use of land was not to show decay. Therefore, the Social Question issues were viewed as a nuance that would eventually fix itself through a successful economy.

Within this context, grassroots social movements⁸¹, like Mutualist and Resistance Societies, were among the first forms of social organisation of Chilean working class, which developed in parallel with bourgeoisie charity movements, such as the fire fighters’ initial organisations. The logic behind the above was assisstancialism rather than political inclusion, so that commerce and business would continue to grow, *especially* in the aftermath

⁸¹ For a cultural approach to this grassroots period, please refer to the analysis available in Chapter 5, sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 onwards.

of the 1906 Earthquake. In time, the political actions of these grassroots social movements were to find important places and roles within the constitution of the Chilean Communist (1922) and Socialist (1933) Parties; thus, showing its awareness and vanguard quality in the development of Chilean political thought.

These processes of '*political awareness and vanguard*' are what I understand as the *rise of porteñoness*, in terms of political behaviour. As a political vanguard, the political happenings of Valparaíso would eventually push forward national debates of labour conditions and labour rights; environmental concerns, and the propagation of scientific notions such as hygienism to an ever-growing industrialised city and nation. This political aware vanguard *porteñoness* will prove key to how national decision-makers would face the following social crisis related to northern miners and southern coal extractors during the first half of the 20th century. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the commodification of *porteño* society after the port crisis of the 1930s, would mean that it's development was economically and socially halted, and thus, its political awareness and vanguard quality was nulled as well.

In 1973, a '*coup d'état*' overthrew Allende's Government, after almost three years of bitter ideological battle which responded to the ideological dispute of the Cold War. Latin America became the *natural* expansion zone for Capitalism, which subdued Chile under profound and strict neoliberal dialectics for 17 years of Pinochet's regime in what would later be known as a Bureaucratic-Authoritative State (O'Donnell, 1982).

Valparaíso, which had lived in a socio-political daze for the past six decades, woke up on 11th September 1973 to see the port seized and surrounded by naval forces⁸². During the government of the Military Junta, and later, under Pinochet's regime, Valparaíso received investments that provided the

⁸² Interestingly, this act constituted the first development of the '*coup d'état*' itself. It was then followed with the seizure of Concepción in the south, the infantry control of informal settlements in Santiago that were known for their participation in Allende's government, such as *Población La Pincoya*. Then, the armed military seizure of the *La Modena Palace* as well as Allende's private home. Once targets were secure, the negotiations between Pinochet and Allende took place, ending with the *La Moneda* bombardment. For more details, see Salazar (2006) and Villalobos (2012).

necessary infrastructure to bring the old port up-to-date. But as for a major urban change that can be tangible and manifest, the city was left to the micro management of the city's Mayors, who focused on re-socialise Chileans through community-based teachings of capitalism and anti-communism⁸³. Therefore, Valparaíso's urbanism was maintained in the same shape as in the 1930s (Valdivia, 2012). Grez Toso explains that

Valparaíso, a city that has always home for to mostly poor populations, has seen its poverty enhanced in the last decades. Its productive base was destroyed by the dictatorship: de-industrialisation, summed to the later modernisation and privatisation of the port, together with neoliberal transformations have harvested terrible aftermaths, such as unemployment, precarious work, misery, delinquency and destruction to its social fibre.

Source: Grez Toso (2014, pp. 19-20).

As my participants depict, other cultural manifestations followed this decay and fading in the city context from the 1970s onwards. In many ways, the behaviours post 1970 are remarkably similar to those of the 16-18 centuries, where Valparaíso was not yet an urban area, and lack its economic and political stronghold characteristics. Behaviours such as litter in the streets; stray dogs and working children; bus transport that does not respect traffic laws; traditional markets turned into direct network for narco-traffic, sex exploitation, homelessness; while at the same time being surrounded by nauseating smells of rotten fish and vegetables, flies, rats and other rodents' infestations- this all became the new cultural patterns of *porteño* behaviour (Participant-38, 2015; Participant-42, 2015; Participant-50, 2015)⁸⁴.

Urbano, Rosas, and Mundaca (2006) argue that this is the context upon which the '*periphery subject*' rises, when government is more worried about

⁸³ These refer to the transformation of local councils into public bimonthly local reunions where local decision-making was entwined with the fight against communism, such as the segregation and vigilance of communist urban areas i.e. informal and poor '*tomas de terreno*' (land seizures), where public lighting and sanitation were henceforth cancelled as a municipal service.

⁸⁴ Participant 38 is a male hill dweller, historian, and National Prize of History 2008. Participant 42 is a senior female hill dweller. Participant 50 is a male hill dweller.

democratic governability and institutional instability, all the while leaving those who voted for them in the un-comfortability of knowing that they are not a priority. Old notions of what it meant to live in this city became the stereotype of the '*good old days*'. In the distance created by the changed functions of its core elements from its original situation, the *porteño* became idealised for *what it used to be* and at the same time *became socially and politically harmless*.

The significant underlying impact of the economic and political stagnation, left the citizenry lacking trust in the political establishment. The once active individual who participated socially and politically in the city, who sought solutions through own and collective initiative, started to fade with every passing year. Meanwhile, in the background it remained a deep feeling of social unrest that *embedded deeply* into the 2000s decade, as it will be discussed later in Chapter 7. Flores (2005) notes that the infrastructural and port-activities in decay left the city-dwellers abandoned:

The helplessness and abandonment of the citizens is expressed in poverty, in the chaotic map of conventillos both in the plains as in the city's hills, in the eternal lack of tap water and sewers and water waste disposal, in the uncovered streams which are drain for the filthiness, the abandonment of the hills, with the exception of Cerro Alegre, Concepción y Bellavista; lack of pavement in the most transited streets, the absence of government politics and of municipality activities referred to sanity, hygiene, the development of a well-planned organisation, the winter flooding's in the city plains for months on, which become focus of un-healthiness. To that we have to sum the catastrophes that always blighted Valparaíso, like Fires, landslides, earthquakes, gorges' erosion usually inhabited, unleashed storms, as well as the insecurity provoked by police abandonment [...].

Source: Flores (2005, p. 29).

The *faded porteño* is now recognized as a collective of hill dwellers that *need and want* the authorities to help and assist them. Further, because of the depth of economic problems, working and vulnerable hill-dwellers started to inhabit the city vertically, via land seizure in the highest parts of the hills, where there was still the possibility to construct informal housing where residents did not

have to pay rent or basic services, such as energy or water. Participant 3 describes this process:

As a hill-dweller myself and as a researcher I have gone many times to the [upmost] up-hills. I have interviewed and worked with many communities and families. I have always asked the same question: 'why do you live here, like this? Now the government has put forward so many subsidiary bonuses, you could actually have tap water instead of going to fetch it via donkey transport to the nearest stream'. The answer is always the same, and probably is why so many hill-dwellers won't accept the relocation bonus from the government post-Fire: 'why should I move, if I have everything I need here for free?' At the very least this should be one of the many factors that is trumping the [2014] reconstruction development plan implemented by the government.

Source: *Participant-3 (2015)*.

For Rubio Soto, local and national government have deepened inequality in vulnerable places in Chile with its inefficacy to act according to an updated emergency protocol (2007, p. 163)⁸⁵. This historic narrative is empowered by the human rights' discourse following Chile's dictatorship, which turned social needs into a mass discourse of help as a state obligation. Behaviourally, social perception manifests as a mass mentality, herd-like, not worried about civic duties, politically and socially un-compromising; which, in the case of *porteñoness*, is evidenced in its *un-resistant resilient behaviour*. Participant 3 illustrates this point by using the city tax revenue as an example:

[...] I would say that the porteño, like the rest of Chileans, is a person who wants rights, but no obligations. So, the tax payment, the disposal of garbage where you are supposed to, and we are talking about state tax. It is assumed that there are 80% of porteños that don't pay state tax, but there has not been an actualisation on state appraisal. I think that from \$7 million 500 thousand pesos⁸⁶ you have to pay... and this tax means two things: one, evidently, municipal income, but also it is the garbage collection payment system. So, if 80% [of porteños] doesn't pay, it is equivalent to say there are an

⁸⁵ Also, please refer to Appendix A regarding disaster studies in disaster management, p. 219.

⁸⁶ Equivalent to £ 7,800 approximately in 2018 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

80% of people that assume they will get a subsidized garbage collection system: rights without obligations.

Source: *Participant-3 (2015)*.

Meanwhile, the decay of the *porteño* and the city has consolidated a new reality. It is in this context that the Mega Fire broke out, on 12th April 2014. How this faded *porteño* acted and reacted, during and in the aftermath of the disaster will be further analysed in the next section.

6.2 The Burned *Porteño*: The Immediate Before and the Immediate After of the 2014 Mega Fire

To understand this and other phenomena that surrounded the 2014 Mega Fire, it is necessary to have the *porteñoness* historical commodification process in mind. This background offers meaningful insight to the construction of political patterns of behaviour, which are related to a definitive mentality and set of values related to its resistant resilience. For an in-depth analysis, this section is subdivided in three parts, a *-before, during and after-* of the Mega Fire, which offers a characterisation of how *porteñoness* evolved in the 20th century up until the Fire and its political ramifications.

6.2.1 *Before the Mega Fire*

During Mayor Hernán Pinto Miranda government as Mayor of the Municipality of Valparaíso (1990-2004), the fading of *porteñoness* can be characterized as the *-invisibilising of poverty-*. This invisibilising process, as the late Anthony Carrigan (2014) would say, relates catastrophes which “have drawn attention to unequal distributions of risk (...). They have directed a spotlight on patterns of responsibility and irresponsibility, corruption and exploitation, planned and unplanned violence” (p. 3). The above statement, where fading *porteñoness* evolves into *porteño invisibilising*, consolidates and deepens during the return to democracy.

After the 1989 Plebiscite, it was negotiated between Pinochet and the new democratic President Patricio Aylwin, that certain cities should hold a designated mayor for a period of two years, where a high density of the

population had a historic past of powerful leftist political manifestations (Perez Contreras, 2013; Valdivia, 2012). As Valparaíso fitted into that category, Hernán Pinto Miranda was the designated Mayor of Valparaíso for two years, and then won the following three municipal elections with a large majority of the electorate. He was a founding member of the Democratic Cristian Party, same party as new President Aylwin-the party that had a major role in the '*Agreement of Parties for Democracy*' (Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia), political alliance that won the 1989 Plebiscite and that kept Presidential power for the following 20 years.

With these facts alone, it is easy to comprehend the vast political support that Pinto had at his disposal, in terms of finance, political endorsement and popularity. In every municipal election, there was no other candidate from the Concertación who would contest his seat, which, in time, made him seem to be untouchable with an undeniable political base (Perez Contreras, 2013). However, going into the Municipal Elections of 2004, Pinto was accused of being part of a pederasty network, known nationally as the – '*Spiniak Case*'-⁸⁷. This accusation was cause of his political demise, forcing him out of the race and out of the Municipality.

When Aldo Cornejo succeeded him as Mayor in 2004, many problematic issues were discovered and disclosed from within the Municipality itself. Cornejo, although from the same political party as Pinto, could not cover-up the defunding of healthcare and education, as well as public fraud charges⁸⁸. Yet, despite the disclosure of municipal documents, the endless political

⁸⁷ This was a national scandal, because not only because of the victims themselves, but because it involved high profile individuals, many of whom were in political parties and in local/national services/institutions (Zamora & Argandona, 2004).

⁸⁸ The huge deficit, which rose up to 20 million Chilean pesos of the time Approximately to £20,900,000 in 2018 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018). This deficit also generated the now known '*Historic Debt*' to teachers' pensions, which corresponds to 14 years of pensions to the total of teachers who worked in the public schools' dependant of municipal funding, which totals 57 educational establishments, each one with at least 40 teachers, thus totalising 2280 potential creditors. Official figures are difficult to obtain, due to the nature of each individual teacher's contract, according to Corporación Municipal de Valparaíso (2018).

debates, and the accusations in tribunals, Pinto managed to almost get elected again as Mayor, after eight years of political inactivity.

As Pérez Contreras (2013) and Otero-Auristondo (2009) argue, Pinto is the prime example of how to construct, manage and use *social networks of power*. This concept implies the creation of a community of followers that view a leader as the only alternative to their current state of life (Adler-Lomnitz, 2013; Adler Lomnitz, 2002). In this sense, what Pinto did was exchange particular favours for political votes. For one hill dweller:

El Guatón [sic] was an excellent person. He was on the hill every time we needed him. He went with the people, he arrived to the houses, he went into the seized lands... he was with us. You went to ask something to the Municipality, and he solved our problems... the problems that were real for us po' [sic].

He was quick to grant you an audience, he never left you on the curb. Here the people adored him, all the area of my neighbourhood council, we paved the streets here thanks to him [...].

That changed with El Negro [sic] [appellative to Jorge Castro, the mayor in charge during the 2014 Mega Fire]. It is not the same. He comes around to the hill every once and a while, but he once came for the inauguration of the new football pitch and took the picture and then left [...].

For the elections I always say to the people of the party to call me and I myself 'move the votes'. I have never cared for political positions, and never the discussions within the party, but this sector was built with the neighbours, and that's why I do the job politicians should do.

Source: *Perez Contreras (2013, pp. 99-100).*

And another hill dweller also recalled:

El Guatón [sic] was very [involved]. He was always here with the old bats [sic], when I was president of my neighbourhood council. He would deliver family baskets, optical glasses for the elderly, etc. He was, and still is very dear to the people, really. He helped a lot [...]. The image that I have of Pinto is that he was a go-getter, but, of course, that thing that he was associated with, of the Spiniak case, I find it appalling, it is hard to believe that of him, because he was always with his wife. It is hard to believe that he was a paedophile, but, in the end, I think he was absolved, right?

Source: *Perez Contreras (2013, p. 101).*

In Valparaíso's case, Pinto's social network of power actively disarmed political awareness and political activity in a city anxious to participate in a true democracy, after 17 years of Pinochet's regime. By exchanging particular favours for power, he stunned the rising social organisations post-Pinochet, such as sport or youth clubs, and left an imprint in younger generations suggesting *that was what politics was all about*, all of which was part of the 1990s Chilean context, where a politically diminished society, saw itself returning to democracy. In many ways, this political attitude corresponds to what J. Lynch (1992) calls the '*caudillo*' archetype, a perceived kind of person with charisma, a leader whose aims he socializes and makes them a community-wide, collectively valid aims; thus, making resistant resilience *redundant and unnecessary for everyday life*.

Importantly, for Valdivia et. al. (2012), the Pinto phenomenon is a corrupted evolution of the Municipality conception enforced during Pinochet's regime. Pinochet's idea of government was based on *corporativism*, which indicates the will to de-politicise citizens by empowering local areas of government. That way, issues of everyday life would be guaranteed and solved by a local institution, such as the Municipality. Public school, primary health care and attention, and other governmental services would be channelled via Municipality. Garretón et al. (2011) and Gomes (2011) argue that the logic behind this structure was to position the Mayor as close to the people as possible, involved in their problems and well-being; all of which was based on the offer of assistencialism and de-politising of citizenry.

Behind this structure, however, Valdivia et. al. (2012) sees in this phenomenon the opportunity to create *clientelist politics*, by the formation of social networks of power. For Pérez Contreras (2013), using Valdivia's concept, this is the '*Mayorisation of politics*', of which Pinto is a perfect example. Aldo Cornejo (2004-2008, Christian Democrat, part of the Concertación) and Jorge Castro (2008-2016, from the right wing Democratic Independent Union Party), *both* subsequent Mayors of Valparaíso, *used* the *same social networks* of power to get elected and maintain power, despite their clear ideological divergence.

During the Pinto years, *faded porteñoness* can be appreciated in *changed* patterns of *behaviour*. The littered street, foul smells and organic matter decomposing everywhere (Participant-49, 2016); unmaintained parks, squares, public lighting or bins (Participant-31, 2015); dangerous promenades, areas that were left to non-wary tourists (Participant-4, 2015; Participant-48, 2016); no inclination to maintain one's own façade or sidewalk (Participant-12, 2015; Participant-15, 2015)- all such examples and many more evidence the stale state of *porteño* society, which lacked private and public investment, and did not (and perhaps was not willing to) participate in politics, not as *porteños* did in the past.

The fading *porteño* process acknowledges not only changed patterns of behaviour, but the *changing* process of mentality as well. If disaster after disaster and election after election the same promises are heard; then, the *changed patterns of behaviour* can be read as *true symbols* that show that the archaic *porteño* way of life was not fit to survive in present Valparaíso. Individualism, potentiated by neoliberal social structures, became the only way forward; all of which *almost* obliterated resistant resilience as *porteño* way of living.

6.2.2 *During the Emergency*

At approximately 16:00 in the afternoon, the Mega Fire started its descent onto Valparaíso's hills, on the 12th April 2014. Its original focus was on the El Peral estate, from which, due to extreme wind power, high atmospheric pressure and low humidity, managed to cross a four-lane highway, into the upper areas of the hills; all in the timeframe of under one hour, as seen in Image 39.

Regarding the causes of the Fire, Elías Salazar⁸⁹, key eyewitness of the original Fire in El Peral, says that

⁸⁹ Salazar's testimony currently contradicts the forensic material that Carabineros and 'Civil Investigation's Police' (PDI, Policía de Investigaciones) had procured in the following days of the Fire. With the bodily rests of two *jotes* (native and local birds), it has been theorised that the original sparks identified in El Peral were from the clash between these birds and power lines, as shown in Image 39 at the back of the illustration.

First it was a Fire breakout that was small, and in minutes it was like a bomb exploded and, with the wind that was howling, it propagated quickly. I saw the mushroom of smoke and the first thing I did was to alert the Operation Central of CONAF [Corporación Nacional Forestal, National Forestry Corporation], and then I called the owner of the estate. I never thought that that breakout could possibly generate the Fire that blew away half of Valparaíso. I am shocked, the Fire took away homes and lives, it is a horrible thing.

Source: Zamora (2014).

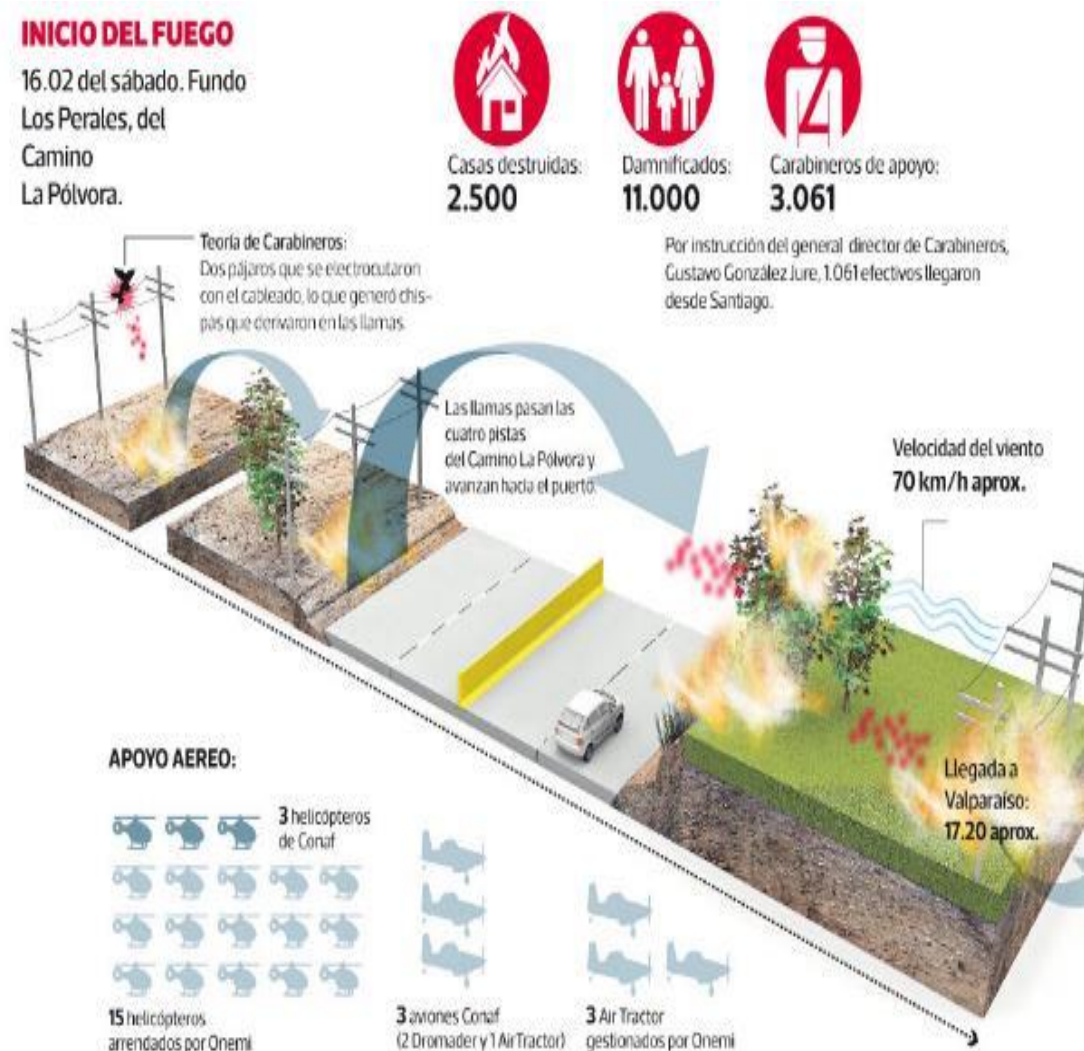


Image 39: Sketch of the Mega Fire route, indicated by 'Carabineros de Chile'.

Source: TYDW.Wordpress.com (2014).

On 13th April, at 20:00, the Minister of the Interior, Rodrigo Peñailillo, met with Oficina Nacional de Emergencia (ONEMI, National Emergency Office) directors in Santiago, after which President Michelle Bachelet sent him

immediately to the affected areas to take notice in person of the damage caused by the Fire. At this point the emergency had already claimed 3,000 houses and was still out of control. Later that day, Rear Admiral Julio Leiva was notified of the President's resolution to declare a '*Constitutional State of Emergency*', by which the city passed from local authorities to the hands of the Armed Forces, who from that day on patrolled the area and its access, as well as declaring martial law⁹⁰.

At that point, the only available data regarded vulnerability indexes and social precarity mapping made by Municipal employees. These indexes are updated yearly, and thus the information that those indexes had on maps and reports was available. Information such as overcrowding, poverty, economic diversity, and the use of land could have been triangulated to make better decisions in the moments post-emergency.

However, in the following quotes, four participants give accounts of how desperate the situation was. They all agree that decisions had to be made quickly, and even if some of the information related above were available, the emergency was such that at first it clouded political and administrative judgements of all the authorities involved⁹¹.

Well, things had to move quickly. I called the Fire brigades and organised them immediately, but the problem was how to get to the up-hills. I have discussed this issue at length with the Mayor, all the way back to Pinto as well. From him on, they all recognised the importance of having a clear emergency protocol for the up-hills, due to the extremely narrow streets, what, no, alleyways were the Fire

⁹⁰ It is relevant to point out that this was the second time that a democratically elected president in Chile post-1973 had called upon the Armed Forces to implement martial law. Both decisions were made by Michelle Bachelet, who was an exile herself and who had her father, member of the Chilean Air Force, executed for high treason after the coup. Her first decision related the social chaos unleashed following 27F Earthquake, where an 8.8 magnitude seismic movement hit the surrounding areas of southern city of Concepción on 27th February 2010. However, there is a qualitative change: in 2010, she waited days to make this executive decision, which not only meant millions lost during civic riots, but cost the lives of at least 20 people due to the excess of violence between the surviving population. With the Mega Fire, she made the call the very next day.

⁹¹ Because of the non-disclosure clause signed in my consent forms, I cannot directly link the above quotes with their respective names. However, within them are interview extracts of the following authorities involved in the immediate Fire management moment: Mayor Jorge Castro, as well as Regional Governor Omar Jara, the Chief Commander of the Fire Brigades of Valparaíso Enzo Gagliardo and Chilean Navy Rear Admiral Julio Leiva.

truck can't possibly move... So, yeah, I had to use my judgement and in situ communications with the trucks to decide on the spot as to how to get up there.

We as Fire Brigades have our own routes you see, but if they are not officially recognised by the municipality, there is no way they can help us to mobilise. People have more cars now, and so the already narrow alleys are impossible to transit up-hill. And when we got up there, there were no sufficient Fire hydrants, and those that remained on the streets are useless because kids use them for the heat in summer, and the municipality has to oversee its maintained and there are the results.

Finally, we just acted on our own accord to control de Fire, which, at that point, after an hour, was vast and dangerous [...].

Source: *Participant-14 (2015)*.

We were waiting for instructions from up-the-chain. I mean, I have authority in the region to use funding with discretion, and some authority regarding the security aspects of big shows and football matches, where the event must be controlled by police if it exceeds x number of people, you see... but, in a situation such as this, who made the calls? I am just the administrative representative of the President in the region, nothing more...

Source: *Participant-45 (2015)*.

After three hours of Fire, I called the President. There were decisions that I couldn't make on my own, but I did the best I could. I sent our municipal teams to the street, organised by themes, like, teams for aid, teams for shelter, and so on... It was desperate times. I contacted the police authority for backup, so they could assist the Fire brigades. I called the Intendent so he could help me organise an emergency budget for the city... and then I was met with our reality: the Intendent couldn't mobilise financial aid without the ok of the Ministry of Finance and the personal signature of both the Ministry of the Interior and the President herself... [gesticulating wildly in mock sarcasm] I mean, sure, let's by all means abide by the law, meanwhile I have thousands of people on the streets and the Fire wasn't even over!

Source: *Participant-43 (2015)*.

I got desperate calls from the Mayor for help. I would have gladly lent my support and sent them immediately, because our [institution's] mobilisation scheme is thought precisely for emergencies such as

this. But we are armed forces, and we act in civil scenarios only with the discretion of the President. And we respect that. In the meanwhile, I assured the Mayor that I would go ahead and proceed with emergency protocols which would ensure an immediate response when the President made the call. I had the exact same conversation with the Chief of Fire Brigade, because he knew he would need backup in the up-hills... for some reason up there they are not liked, and usually they get assaulted and robbed by the hill-dwellers [...]

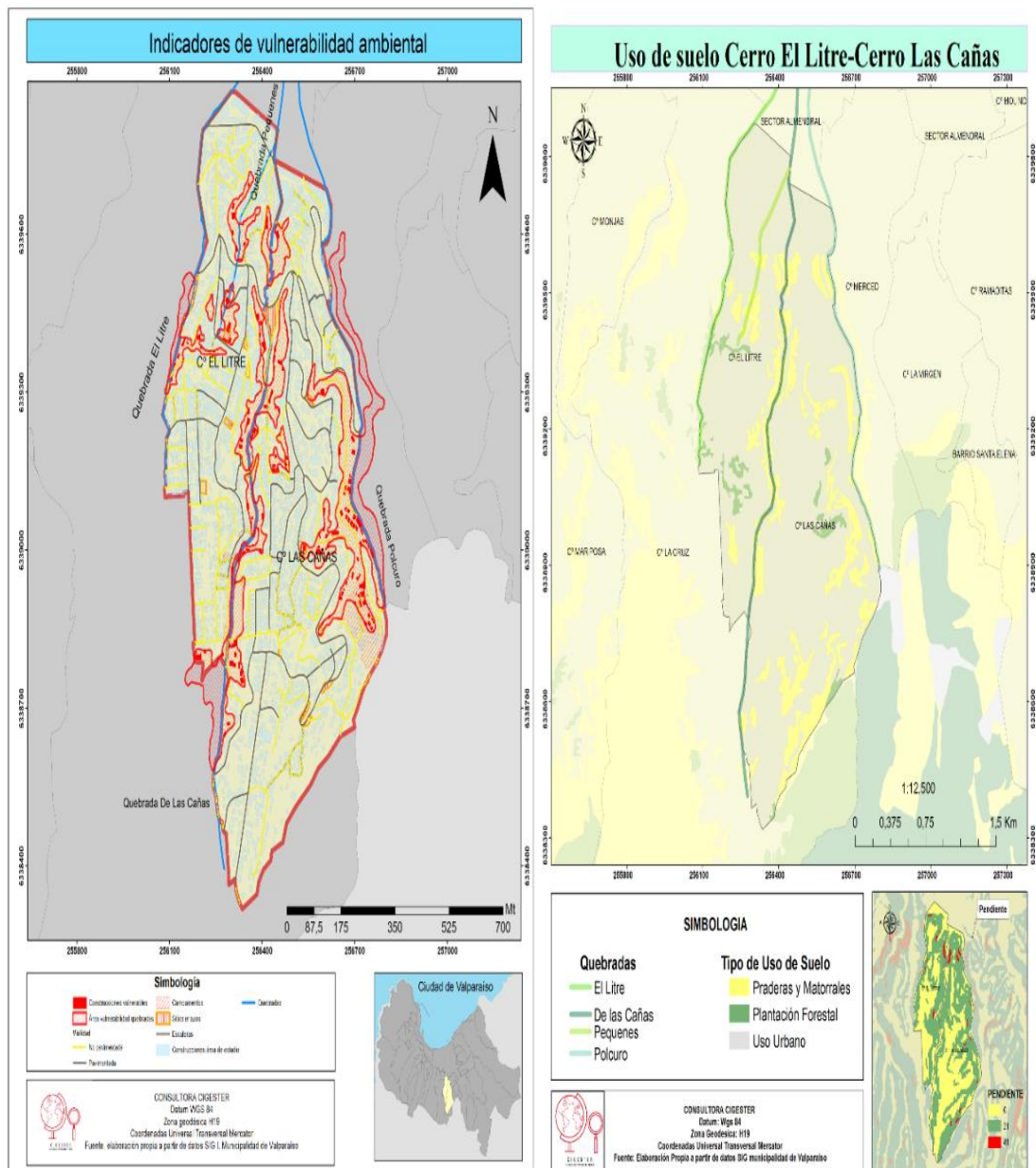
Source: *Participant-46 (2015)*.

Within the area of the Fire, the most devastated hills were La Merced, El Vergel, El Litre and Las Cañas. In terms of population characteristics, in the information that was available, this area's population consists mostly of vulnerable population, because roughly children and elderly constitute 50% of that population, with a high percentage of illiterate people. As for economic activity, it can be summarized as small commerce, bakeries, hair stylist and such; with a constant rise of drug addiction and drug trafficking (Ampuero, 2017).

These factors are here georeferenced in Map 5 and contrasted to the data of land use that is shown in Map 6. A simple comparison can evidence that the red areas in Map 5, that correspond to the informal housing and most vulnerable areas of the Las Cañas and El Litre hills; also correspond to the yellow areas of Map 6, which show the type of forestry within the land use, which in this case is scrubs and meadows. These areas, then, have highly flammable base material, and are usually used (the gorges) as micro landfills, near which informal housing is emplaced.

Also, by simple comparison, but now at a city level, Map 7 and 8 show the critical similarities between social and environmental vulnerability and the propagation of the 2014 Mega Fire. As Participant 1 has explained earlier, this city embodies the possibility of two types of vulnerability at the same time, those of the environment and those of society, as discussed in Chapter 4.

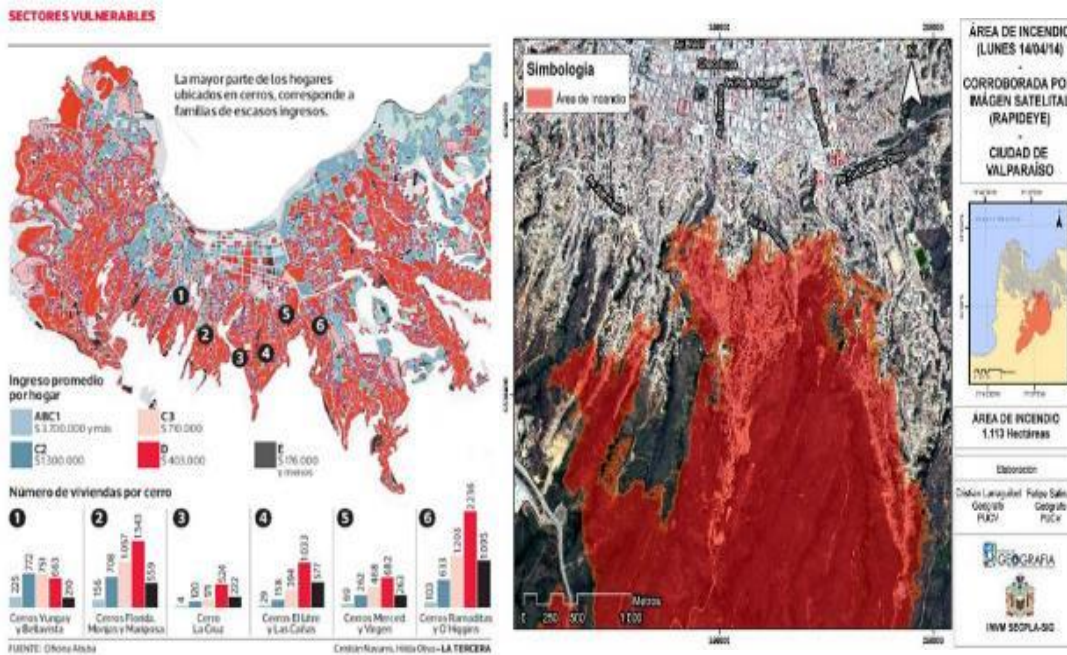
This simple factual analysis, where everybody knows that there is poverty and great risk in the upper-end of the upper hills, has been done and discussed many times, but up until the Mega Fire, it had not reached all its *deep meaning*. Map 7, indicating the most vulnerable areas of the city (in deepest red) and Map 8 is, which indicates the extension of the Fire as well as its intensity (in deepest red), perhaps, are the best visual aid: the poorest and most vulnerable are the ones that live riskier lives, and the most exposed to disasters.



Map 5: Environmental Vulnerability of El Litre and Las Cañas hills.

Map 6: Land use of El Litre and Las Cañas hills.

Source: Ampuero (2017).



Map 7: Valparaíso's vulnerability mapping.

Map 8: Satellite Image of the 2014 Mega Fire.

Sources: Map 7 – Navarro & Oliva (2014); Map 8 - Larraguibel & Salinas (2014).

Participants 4, 36 and 50⁹² relate here their situation as municipal employees:

Here, in the Emergency Office of the Municipality, we see many things. So many people that could have been spared the experience of a Fire just because they lacked a Firewall. Over the years, you see these kinds of micro-disasters and think that there is so much more we can do to prevent those, and this particular Fire.

Source: Participant-4 (2015).

People come up to me and ask for simple things when I make my rounds [for the Emergency Office of the Municipality] ... things like bricks to better their homes, and stuff like that, and it's ok and all. But when you tell them that they shouldn't throw their garbage down the gorges, and that they must maintain the upkeep of their homes they scream at you because, somehow, you are being insensitive to their economic situation... as if cleanliness had anything to do with poverty [gesticulating in exasperation].

Source: Participant-36 (2015).

⁹² Female and two male hill dwellers, all employees of the Municipality of Valparaíso's Department of Emergencies.

I see this all the time especially in my job in the social area of the Municipality; as well as in my job as part of a religious organisation that dedicates to help those living rough on the streets. To say that them up there are poor is an understatement. Many of them don't know how to read or write... can you believe that, today, in 2015? They just take land and multiply. They think that to have a roof over their family's head and sending the kids to elementary school is enough. They don't think further, on how they build their houses, of the risks they are taking just for being there.

Source: *Participant-50 (2015)*.

6.2.3 *After the Mega Fire*

After four days of burning materials and ground, the Fire was finally extinguished on late hours of the 16th April. That afternoon, the neighbours were given permission (only one person per household), by military personnel, to return and see if they had any remains. After an initial land registry, people were ordered to head back to the temporary shelters and set up public schools on the plains of the city.

Due to the Fire's vastness, the arriving of winter season and the social impact that this disaster had on Chilean society, the central government wanted to act quickly to facilitate aid and resources. Therefore, it was required of the Municipality of Valparaíso to tackle data gathering of everyone who was affected by this disaster; to get each family up-and-running again. Although the release of fiscal resources was available on the 16th April, the Municipality was unable to gather the required information. Without it, bond emissions, and the '*Fire Bond*', which assigned one million Chilean pesos⁹³ to each affected family -to buy essential supplies such as clothes or house appliances- could not be distributed fast enough. The main issue that the Municipality faced was the vastness of informal construction, ownership, rental and other type of inner deals that are not contemplated in Chilean legislation of land ownership. Simply put, there was no way to know who owned what, and thus to who entrust the monetary aid that was already available.

In parallel, aid started to pour into Valparaíso, as well as a great number of volunteers. The shelters, the aid (that private citizens brought), and the

⁹³ Approximately £ 980 in 2014 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

volunteers were not organised, and nobody knew exactly who was in charge. Meanwhile, many relatives also came into the city (mainly because the phone hotlines, offered by the government were saturated), demanding information about their family members.

At the other end of the spectrum, the Ministry of the Interior demanded information, at least in large numbers, to start putting together an initial aid budget; as required by the Treasury department and the Ministry of Finance. The government perspective was that the emergency and aid budget was already being put to use following the Earthquake in Tarapacá, in northern Chile, which happened only three weeks prior to this Fire. At a regional level, both the Intendent and the Governor of Valparaíso demanded an updated registry, with official numbers, area by area of the hills involved, information that would allow them to realise discretionary regional budgets for the emergency. The municipality deployed every one of their employees for the emergency, as required by law. Most of the senior staff was dedicated to organising the shelters and the food and water supply, middle managers were sent to take charge of the private aid that was pouring in, sorting clothes, water bottles, and so on. The rest of the personnel was put to work on hotlines and to make a list of the deceased and missing.

At this point, 220 hectares of land had been wiped away, before the President ordered a '*Presidential Delegate*' to handle the disaster, Andrés Silva, on the 17th April. However, this Delegate lacked political power, because its figure is not included by the Chilean Constitution, and so he, Silva, could not *order* nor organise Governor Jara, nor Intendent de La Maza, nor Mayor Castro, and least of all the Chief of the Disaster Zone Rear Admiral Leiva. Meanwhile, mass and social media were streaming and transmitting this disaster live, 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

After the initial and chaotic four days after the Fire, each of the issues listed above began to get organised. From the analysis of my interviews, all of my Participants depict the lack of organisation as the main problem, which was extremely upsetting for hill dwellers and relatives, who just wanted to account for all members of their families and friends.

Many elderly were alone... I tried my best to help a granny that had lost her cat; she said that she didn't have anybody else in the world... she was scared and shivering, and without her glasses. All she had was the clothes on her back. Now, how will a person like that stand up again?

Source: *Participant-33 (2015)*⁹⁴.

Participant-14 and Participant-15⁹⁵, both Fire fighters, believed that the biggest difficulty was the lack of communication and understanding between the authorities. Fire Brigades had liberty to proceed, but they were the only ones present in the disaster area and actually saw authorities fighting amongst themselves on what they ought to do on several occasions:

These people wasted so much time fighting amongst themselves, meanwhile I saw all around people desperate to recover at least one family photo, something, clothes, shoes... and they were lost because there was no piece of paper that told them what to do!?

Source: *Participant-15 (2015)*.

Participant 4, 36 and 50⁹⁶, municipal employees in the Department of Emergencies, believe that previous protocols were of no use. In this case, the disaster was so vast in every possible level that all of the assigned emergency tasks were futile in the face of what *had* to be done:

People were running around like crazy! Everybody needed something from everybody else, and no one knew exactly what to do... we remained in the municipal tasks as much as we could, because from that all the rest of the needs could be better sufficed... but it was chaos, especially trying to unburden years of papers that were not filed nor virtually backed up... so many pages lost....

Source: *Participant-50 (2015)*.

⁹⁴ Female social worker of the Instituto Nacional de la Juventud, (INJUV, Instituto Nacional de la Juventud) who volunteered during the aftermath of the Fire.

⁹⁵ Both male Firefighters and hill dwellers.

⁹⁶ Hill-dwellers, female and two males.

Is in this complex scenario that it is important to consider a no lesser fact: at the time, the Chilean national Government under President Bachelet, was of the Socialist Party; whilst the Municipality of Valparaíso under Jorge Castro was of the right-wing party Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI, Democratic Union Party). Presidential elections were held in 2013, and Bachelet had been in office for five months (this was her second presidential term), and while the Municipal elections were to be held in 2016. Both local and national governments *needed to be as efficient as possible* in this disaster.

6.3 The *Porteño* becomes political vanguard Again: From ‘*Castro’s Phrase*’ to the 2016 Municipal Elections



Image 40: Footage of the hill dweller's admonition and interpellation, and Mayor Castro's answer.

Image 41: Political Flyer of Castro and his phrase.

Sources: Image 26: Lau (2014); Image 27: LasRuinasDelEden.bligoo.cl.

On 22nd April an event happened which embodied in one episode the most vivid image of this disaster. It is known as *Castro's phrase* ‘*Did I invited you to live here? (¿Te Invité Yo a Vivir Aquí?)*⁹⁷, which is shown here in Image 39 and 40, and its context explained in Map 8.

This episode is, perhaps, the best summary of what has happened to Valparaíso historically. It puts forward the issue of the *invisible* Valparaíso, or,

⁹⁷ Please read in detail Document Insertion 2, p. 153, which plots and discusses rising issues that happened as a direct impact because of the underlying discourse of Mayor Castro's phrase.

as Participant 46 (2015)⁹⁸ comments, “that city that all know is there, we all know it’s up there somewhere, but we never suspected that it was like this”.

In the immediate aftermath of the Fire, many questions emerged regarding the state of the city and why this Fire developed the way it did. The most relevant of them being what happened to all the millions of pesos invested on the hills during Pinto’s period that were destined for the modernisation of urban structure as preparedness for future disaster. The second most relevant question related to the reasons why the Municipality has agreed to let entire communities live in hazardous areas. Although both these questions emphasize that the Fire is not only a product of Castro’s period, these questions were almost immediately disregarded after the event of ‘*Castro’s phrase*’. It was a social representation of poverty held for decades by the local authorities, which also went to the symbolic and historic root of the ‘*invisible Valparaíso*’ problem.

This event began earlier that day, when Castro was surveying the clearing of debris and the necessities of the volunteers and the military to make the clean-up of the area go faster. At midday, he had received all kinds of questionings and insults, and at this point he was now accompanied by the press. Osvaldo Wilson, the hill dweller of Image 41 asks:

I have been here three weeks without water, the toilet filled with shit. You come here because a disgrace happened, but you have never showed up here, and I say this to you and to your delegates, you have never been up here to show your face and own the problem of the water supply, and you cannot say that I am a liar. Would you live without water three weeks, without taking a shower?

Source: *El Mercurio de Valparaiso* (2014, p. 4).

Castro’s reaction, although spontaneous and visceral, was impressive when he retorted back ‘*did I invite you to live here?*’. Because he was surrounded by press, the immediate response was to take Castro out of the situation, amid angry whistles and stones. With Wilson’s reply, ‘*Castro’s phrase*’ became a symbolic flag of social outrage when he exclaimed that “the poor do not decide

⁹⁸ Male hill dweller, member of the Chilean Navy.

where to live Mr. Mayor”. That moment marked a *‘before and after event’*, where local authorities, without knowing or wanting to say it out loud, acknowledged the historic socioeconomic gap that separates the up-hill from life on the plains.

From the affected communities’ perspective, through the analysis of my interviews -and surpassing all ideological analysis-, I propose that the phrase represents, both literally and symbolically, the uncomfortable reality of neoliberal politics. It screams loudest in front of awkward political silence. Therefore, this event finally evidenced the reality behind *‘caudillo’* politics: to belong to a social network of power, *at this stage and with this disaster*, started to fade away in its value. Ultimately, this phrase shook the neoliberal mentality of gaining solutions to issues in exchange of political votes; which, in turn, also left its imprint in *‘new’* patterns of behaviour, where old contestation reactions are becoming more visible. As Participant 29 (2015)⁹⁹ states “[with proud voice intonation] He [Castro] currently cannot go back to this hill, or he will be received with a “shower of stones””.

From the national and local authorities’ perspective, this disaster was viewed as the biggest opportunity to change Valparaíso’s life (as were the ones that preceded it). Thus, to turn this disaster into an opportunity, on September 3rd 2014, President Bachelet announced the injection of US\$ 509 million¹⁰⁰ of the fiscal budget to the Municipality of Valparaíso, with the discretionary final decision-making relying on the Mayor and the Municipal Council. With this money, the Municipality could do whatever projects the city needed, as long as 71% of them got done on 2018, and final completion can be realised with a maximum deadline of 2021 (El Mercurio de Valparaiso, 2014, p. 4).

However, national authorities failed to focus in social participation and argued for a reconstruction plan that recovered all of Valparaíso, not just the affected hill areas. As Buckingham-Hatfield and Percy (2005) argue, “it is essential that participatory processes reinforce, rather than undermine, the legitimacy and

⁹⁹ Female hill dweller.

¹⁰⁰ £ 299,701,496.47 in 2018 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

authority of local government (...) [because] community visions [should empower] local governance” (pp. 18-25). An example is what Minister Paulina Saball of Housing and Urbanism declared: “it is not about recovering what was lost, it is about building better” (El Mercurio de Valparaiso, 2014, p. 5); or what Andrés Silva, Presidential Delegate stated that the: “pending task is to be able to build safer in the up-hills” (El Mercurio de Valparaiso, 2014, pp. 6-7). Thus, from national authorities, the *problem* with Valparaíso was to *build safer*.

For local authorities, however, like Mayor Castro, this disaster had to become key regarding recuperating the city, through its inhabitants. He saw it as the chance to change deep social logics, because “this city has always been serviced by political sympathies and without technical rigour. We *porteños* became accustomed to expect that the government and the sitting mayor would negotiate to obtain things, as if it were charity” (El Mercurio de Valparaiso, 2014, pp. 8-9).

As Participant-43 (2015) explains, the starting point, for Castro, was the socialisation of the Reconstruction Plan itself. In December 2015 the Municipality called on a large group of representatives to take part in the so called ‘*Mirador para la Reconstrucción*’. As I understood in the meeting, the idea behind this political ‘*reaching-out*’ to civic society was to integrate as many voices as possible to better guide the reconstruction plan that was being put together by a closed municipal committee.

While the local authorities put the reconstruction plan together and made many attempts to socialize it; the hill dwellers started to organise themselves. Neighbourhood associations, such as youth, sport and mother and senior ladies’ clubs started to gain influence and later on the definite right to redistribute the abundance of help and aid that was given to the city. As Participant-8 explained,

It was hard to steal it [the distribution logic] back from the old bats [sic], they have such support from the politicians! But at the end we did it, and our sport club could now be a collection centre, and we ourselves could give it according to people’s real needs.

Source: Participant-8 (2015).

These re-organisations of neighbourhoods, at a micro scale, started to proliferate in the rest of 2014 exemplifying small revivals of *porteño resistant resilience* behaviour. By the time of the first meeting of the '*Mirador para la Reconstrucción*' on December 2015, complete neighbourhoods were now organized far from social networks of power; all of which denotes a different relationship of place-making. Many of these organisations, such as old neighbours' councils, held new elections to choose new directives, and with this came the renewal of political discussions among neighbours and neighbourhoods; all of which can be seen in the graffiti of Image 42, where '*Castro's phrase*' was put in the very central wall of the patrimonial UNESCO area, highlighting the importance, in this case, of segregation through official and tourist-consumed culture.



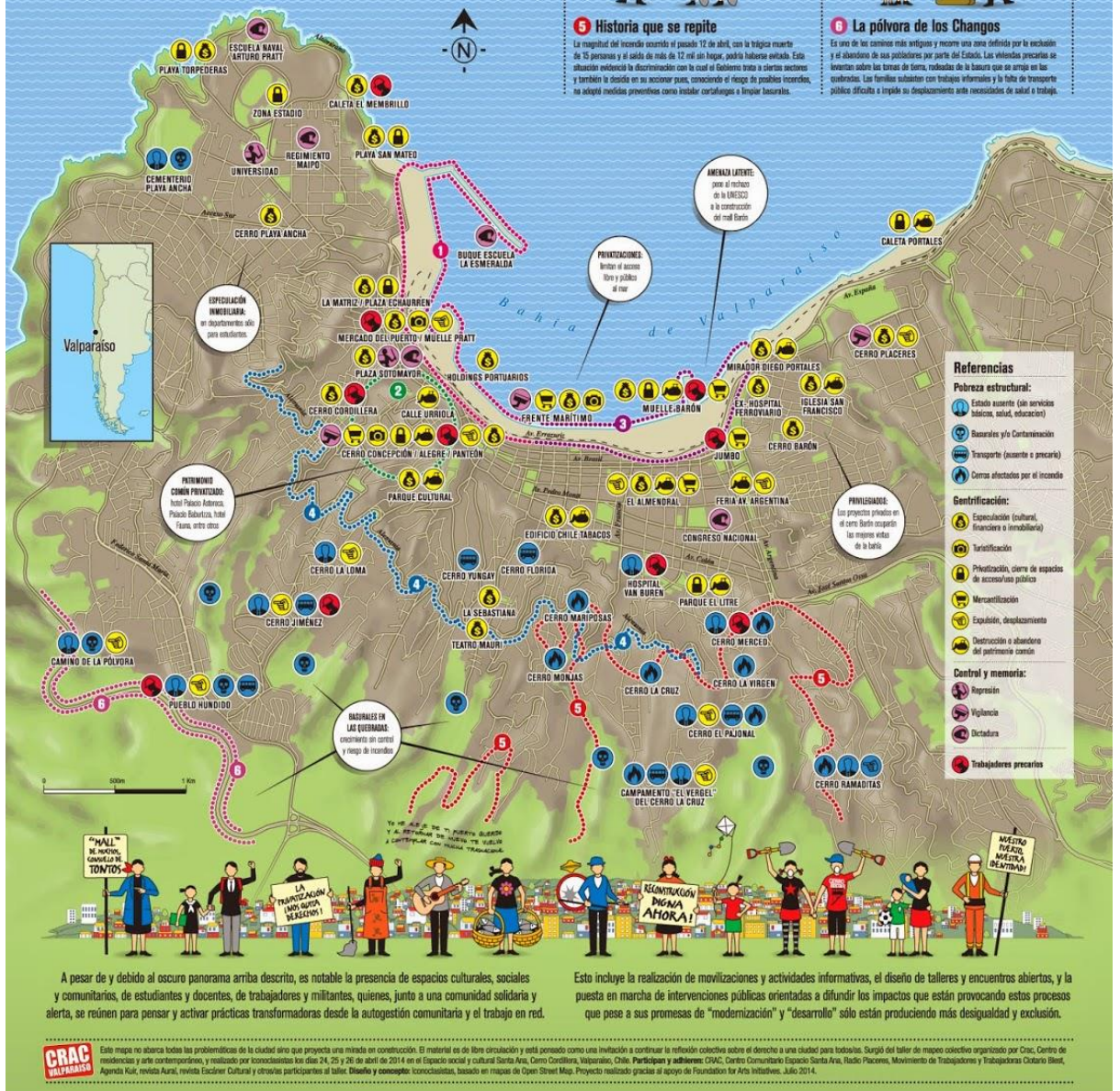
Image 42: Graffiti: "Did I invite you to live here?"
Located in Cerro Concepcion, one of the two hills of the UNESCO heritage site in Valparaíso.
Source: Otero-Auristondo (2016b).

Document Insertion 3: Did I invite You to Live Here?

CARTOGRAFÍA COLECTIVA CRÍTICA DE VALPARAÍSO

“¿TE INVITÉ YO A VIVIR AQUÍ?”

Con esta frase respondió el alcalde de Valparaíso ante el reclamo de uno de los damnificados por el incendio de abril, que dejó sin vivienda a miles de familias en los cerros. La única respuesta resume la actitud de diversas gestiones de gobierno que fueron transformando la ciudad al ritmo de los beneficios privados, financieros y especulativos, vinculados principalmente con los intereses de los holdings portuarios y el negocio del turismo. Este “Valparaíso para otros” se evidencia en la imposición de modelos de vida basados en un consumo de alto poder adquisitivo para unos, y la precarización laboral para amplias mayorías. La vida en barrios antaño populares se ha visto perjudicada por procesos de gentrificación desplegados a partir de la especulación inmobiliaria, la expulsión de vecinos y la privatización de espacios de uso público, privilegiando así el perfil de una ciudad construida para el visitante eventual.



Map 9 Collective mapping of the phrase “Te invité yo a vivir aquí?” (CRAC Valparaíso, 2014).

Map 9 is a collective product of various social organisations that worked with the NGO Iconoclastas, through their local branch CRAC Valparaíso.

In this document, many communities across the city identified the many problems that day-to-day life has on porteños - they are singled out in the colours and issues that are translated in the adjacent table.

With the mapping of various issues in their respective areas, Iconoclastas offers a political analysis relating the current state of the city. The lack of support of the State and the impact of Pinochet's regime are highlighted as factors that can explain the city's present, where social apathy and real estate speculation have seized what I have been discussing as the rise and fall of porteñoness.

Table 19: Map 9 Keys















<p>1. Structural Poverty: Blue</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  a. Absent State (without basic services such as education and health)  b. Landfills and/or Contamination  c. Transport (Absent or Precarious)  d. Hills affected by the Fire
<p>2. Gentrification: Yellow</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  a. Speculation (Cultural, financial or from real estate)  b. Tourist-ness  c. Privatisation (locked public spaces for public access)  d. Mercantilisation  e. Expulsion, or displacement  f. Destruction or abandonment of common spaces
<p>3. Control and Memory: Pink</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">  a. Repression  b. Vigilance state  c. Dictatorship
<p>4.  Precarious Workers</p>

Table 20: 'Did I invite you to live here?' Analysis.

With this phrase the Mayor of Valparaíso answered a claim of one of the many affected hill dwellers of April's Fire, which left thousands of families without homes. The cynic response synthesizes the attitude of diverse government management that turned the city by the rhythms of private benefits, both finance and speculative, entangled mainly to port holdings and tourism business. This Valparaíso 'for others' is evident in the imposition of livelihood models based on the consumption of buying power of some, and the employment prevarication for the large majorities. Neighbourhood life of yesteryear has been hurt by gentrification processes deployed from real estate speculation, neighbour expulsion and privatisation of common areas of public use; all of which favours the profile for a city built for the occasional visitor.

(1) **PINK**: "In closed doors".


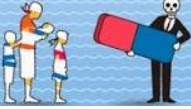




The port sector is privatised in an 85%, since Pinochet's regime. This means that from the intense exchange of merchandise and capital, the city receives minute benefits. Small-scale fishing was displaced by precarious and poorly paid jobs. Spaces that were of popular

(2) **GREEN**: Valpo Hill.



In Cerros Alegre and Concepcion are located the primordial space for tourism and cultural consumption. It was generated by a speculative process that used common assets for private entrepreneurship, expelling thus the elderly dwellers and old commerce through high rise of prices in food and housing. The result is a characterisation postcard of the former bohemian city,

<p>(common) use have been closed or redirected for touristic attraction.</p>	<p>controlled by vigil cameras and security forces.</p>
<p>(3) PURPLE: Mall of the many.</p>  <p>The Barón Dock and its surrounding areas are threatened by a speculative project of real estate in the coastline, in a hazardous zone prone to flooding. Its construction will further the destruction of common patrimony, the damage of natural landscape, and the expulsion of local informal commerce of which today thousands of families depend of.</p>	<p>(4) BLUE: Invisibilisation Crest.</p>  <p>The Cintura Road and Alemania Avenue divide the city into two opposing realities. From this limit upward, and as the crest surpasses 100 meters, the dominating landscape is of illegal landfills and lack of infrastructure and basic services, such as sewer and tap water systems, public lighting and energy. The disinterest of the government is astonishing regarding the reforms that could be made for the betterment of life quality of its inhabitants.</p>
<p>(5) RED: Ever-repeating story.</p>  <p>The magnitude of the Fire of past 12th April, with the tragic deaths of 15 people and the damage to 12 thousand people that are now homeless, could have been avoided. This situation shows the discrimination which the government treats different sectors of the population, and also shows the social apathy in communities in their auctioning by knowing about risk areas prone to Fires did not undertake preparation measures, such as Firewalls and landfill cleaning.</p>	<p>(6) PINK: The Changos powder.</p>  <p>It is one of the most ancient roads and now defines an area of definitive exclusion and abandonment of its dwellers by the State. Precarious housing stood above seizure lands, surrounded by the garbage of the illegal landfills in the gorges. The families' livelihood depends of informal jobs, and without public transport it makes it more difficult for their health or employment needs.</p>

At the end of 2015, other social movements arose, which took on a particular problem for a particular neighbourhood. An exemplary case is the '*Defence Movement of Parque O'Higgins*'. Located in Cerro O'Higgins, and inside the workers' villa of Chilena de Tabacos¹⁰¹ residences, the main aim was to defend the football pitch held by this housing complex had and keep it from getting sold to real estate building corporations. This pitch acquired deep meaning since the *Football Organising Committee* for the *1962 Chile World Cup* selected it as the training camp for Pelé's Brazil team the entire tournament. With passing decades, the forest was sold in small batches, where more and

¹⁰¹ Constructed in the 1940s this resident' complex counted not only with this football pitch, but with its own forest as well. The residents could buy their houses in instalments, and they kept up the up-keep of both the forest and pitch after the industry closed down.

more skyscrapers were built, and the pitch was left in disrepair. The aim was to safeguard the pitch, and to do so they went to court to make the Municipality change the use of land stature of the area. After months of debate, a small group of *porteño* citizens, here showed in Image 43, obtained a new ruling, which stated that the land should become a new park area for Valparaíso, thus, winning over the Municipality and real estate holdings that had already approved a series of skyscrapers constructions.



Image 43: Collage of of Movimiento Defensa de los Parques Barrio O'Higgins.

Source: Movimiento Defensa de los Parques Barrios O'Higgins (2018). Note that in the neighbours marching and in the municipal building, once they won the first battle against real estate corporations in 2015, at the centre of this photo is my Aunt, Jessica Auristondo. Also note the name of the building behind Pele on the bottom left that says 'Chilena de Tabacos', where the dressing rooms were at the time.

In the social movement in Defence of Parque O'Higgins, I depict the resurgence of *resistant resilience*, the *porteño* awareness quality that once again held authority accountable. With the Fire, other important issues for the city became relevant, such as social environmentalism in the city's most relegated areas of Laguna Verde and Placilla; pro-animal rights organisations; anti-real estate and skyscrapers organisations; 'Make Valparaíso clean again', and so on.

However, one of these social movements was the *big issue* by which the 2016 Municipal candidate's actions would be tested: the 'No al Mall Barón' project. As Image 44 illustrates, the coastal area beneath Cerro Barón, called Nudo Barón, served historically as the auxiliary dock for small vessels.

Image 44: A dramatizing of the container line and what the movement proposes.

Source: No al Mall Barón, 2017-2018.



The area surrounding this dock had a series of customs warehouses, which for the past 70 years had not been in use. In the past 30 years, it was converted into a storage unit for big containers that were on hold of normal port activities. Thus, between the un-habitation, rat infestations, drug trafficking and other disorders that happened in the area, the containers were piled up so high that it was impossible to see the shore from the street, as seen also in Image 44.

Image 45: Collage of photographs of the social movement 'No al Mall Barón'.

Images show the slogan: 'More beaches, less malls', its coordination strategy and the area of the *Nudo Barón*, where the project would have been emplaced, and what Mall Plaza corporation proposed as a "new shore, jobs and commerce for Valparaíso". **Source:** No al Mall Barón (2017-2018).

Although there has been an ongoing legal battle for over 10 years, this social movement went ahead taking Mall Plaza¹⁰² to the Supreme Court. It was discovered that the Municipal Site Manager approved the construction and the project violated the law: this area is emplaced above a tsunami reach zone, along the fault line of the Nazca plate¹⁰³. Once this happened, an indictment was ordered to survey the approved forms made by Mall Plaza, making this an illegality made by Castro's municipality. The debate on the '*Mall Barón*' issue became as relevant as the state of the reconstruction for the 2016 Municipal Election.

¹⁰² The Plaza is a big economic holding conglomerate with presence in the whole country, mainly by constructing commercial areas or malls.

¹⁰³ This geological fact, summed to the impossibility to expand Errázuriz Avenue for the control of vehicle impact, made the project illegal for the Controller General of the Republic (Ugalde Ramos, 2017).



Image 45: Collage of photographs of the social movement 'No al Mall Barón'. Images show the slogan: 'More beaches, less malls', its coordination strategy and the area of the *Nudo Barón*, where the project would have been emplaced, and what Mall Plaza corporation proposed as a "new shore, jobs and commerce for Valparaíso". **Source:** No al Mall Barón (2017-2018).

For the first time in Chilean political history, primaries were held *outside* the established political party system, and instead were organised by volunteer common citizens and without public funding. This is *the key event* that I see as the *new rise* of *porteñeness*, as a political vanguard, not only for the organisation of the primaries, but because the citizens' primaries contemplated the representation of five social movements that did not necessarily align politically nor ideologically. In the final tally, Solís (2016), establishes that from a universe of 5272 voters, Sharp won with 1703 votes against Daniel Morales (1675 votes), John Parada (1415 votes), Cecilia Gutierrez (157 votes) and Lorena Colivoro (303 votes); all of which can be seen in Image 46. After the citizens' primaries, Sharp said "today Valparaíso's citizenry has given a clear signal of wanting to do things differently" (Solis, 2016).

Image 46: Citizens' candidates at the end of the primary and the 2016 Municipal Candidates. Left to right: Jorge Castro, Leopoldo Dj Méndez, Jorge Sharp, Carlos Lemus
Source: Solis (2016a and 2016b).





For the Municipal Election, the four main candidates¹⁰⁴ started to held debates regarding the most relevant issues for Valparaíso. From left to right, Image 46 shows Jorge Castro (current mayor at the time, from right wing party UDI), Leopoldo “Dj” Méndez (singer, political exile under Pinochet’s regime, and main character of reality show *Los Méndez* about his family on channel TVN, National Television Network), Jorge Sharp (lawyer, who represented at the time a series of social movements under the new canvas ‘*Citizens’ Municipality*’ (‘*Alcaldía Ciudadana*’) and Carlos Lemus (fisherman, social leader and political activist for fishermen’s work rights).

Image 47: Social Organisations of Cerros El Litre and Las Cañas Meeting with the Candidates for mayor for Valparaíso: Reconstruction Forum Political Debate.

Source: Otero-Auristondo (2016).

Image 48: Three moments from Sharp’s political campaign: in the primaries, as a candidate, and taking hold of the mayor’s seat.

Source: Tapia (2016b).

Significantly, Sharp’s slogans were ‘*For a city that invites you to live in it*’, and ‘*Clean hand for Valparaíso*’. The campaign merged both of the most relevant issues for Valparaíso at the time, which were the reconstruction and the

¹⁰⁴ The candidates all had to participate in primaries in their respective sectors. In the Concertación (political alliance of parties that opposed Pinochet’s regime), Omar Jara (ex-Regional Governor) was removed from the race and Méndez was nominated in his place; in the right wing there were no primaries against a sitting Mayor; Lemus only represented the fishermen sector so he did not need any other validation; and Sharp was the only one of the final four candidates that *did* go to primaries; all of which are shown also in Image 46.

illegality of Castro's change of the use of land to push forward the Mall Barón project.

The final debate among the four final candidates for Mayor was held on 11th October, and the topic of debate was the Mega Fire and the reconstruction plan. Prior to the debate, the four candidates had pledged attendance, but at the last-minute Méndez did not show up, sending his advisor Daniel Sepulveda¹⁰⁵. This was explained before the debate started, which was not well received. The affected neighbours present in the audience did not like what was happening, starting to insult Sepulveda and not letting him speak.

As I witnessed, the people present were extremely agitated by this unforeseen development. A reporter also depicted that the hill dwellers were "very offended by the candidate of President Bachelet, who sends this guy, who knows him, what is he doing here... what does Méndez have to say about the Reconstruction?" (Navia, 2016). On election night, on the 23rd October, Sharp won with 53% of the votes, and said "Today the [national political] duopoly has ended" (Tapia, 2016).

After more than a year in office¹⁰⁶, Sharp has proceeded to put together an educational and institutional campaign to '*clean Valparaíso*'. After certain events held in the city; like the 21st May Presidential recount of the year carried out Congress¹⁰⁷, the *Mil Tambores Carnaval Festival* and the *New Year Pyrotechnic show*; Sharp has continually posted on his personal Twitter and Facebook account, and those of the Municipality, pictures that demonstrate how the new administration is keeping up his promise of a cleaner Valparaíso, as shown in Image 49.

¹⁰⁵ Daniel Sepúlveda is known to have close ties to companies involved in the reconstruction plan that were indicted by Castro in 2015 and has also worked in Bachelet's government in different position in the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism and the Ministry of Public Works.

¹⁰⁶ At the moment of writing this dissertation.

¹⁰⁷ For a description of the 21st May Day in Valparaíso, see Appendix C, p. 228.



After one year in the Municipality, perhaps his biggest impact, and that of his Citizen's Municipality, has been at a *national* level. For the Presidential and Congressional election of 2017, besides the left and right-wing party alliances, a third alliance came together, under the name 'Wide Front' (FA, 'Frente Amplio'). This alliance was put together in less than a year's time and consisted of all independent social movements *country-wide*; and most importantly, they aligned *because* of the success of the Citizens' Municipality of Valparaíso.

Image 49: Jorge Sharp's Facebook page on 1st January 2018.

Source: Sharp (2018).

I argue that this development is part of a renewed form of *awareness and vanguard* quality in *porteño* political behaviour. Sharp and other independent political alliances, now organized as the new political movement Wide Front, agreed to back-up candidates for the *diputados* and senators congressional race, as well as to backup their own Presidential Candidate. In election night, two *diputados* of the Citizens' Municipality were elected for Congress representing Valparaíso, another three *diputados* also got elected in Concepción and Coquimbo, and one senator was elected for Santiago.

As for the Presidential race, and after winning the primary, Beatríz Sánchez was backed-up as Wide Front's candidate for President. The FA obtained 20.27% of the vote, putting her in third place after the two big and traditional majorities of Sebastián Piñera (36.64%) and Alejandro Güillier (22.70%). Given the fact that this was Beatríz Sánchez's first ever political race, her percentage pushed through a second ballot, which Piñera finally won with 54.57% to Güillier's 45.43% (Servicio Electoral de Chile, 2017).

Since the 2016 Municipal Elections, the social movement 'No al Mall Barón' won the legal battle against Mall Plaza in late 2017. This meant that the

Municipality of Valparaíso did not meet its part of the contract with the corporation, which could mean, in the end, that the Municipality will have to pay compensation for the dissolved deal, with prejudice (Ugalde Ramos, 2017). In parallel, Irina Bokova, General Director of UNESCO, expressed that building Mall Barón would threaten the patrimonial title that Valparaíso holds (Bokova, 2017). Adding to an external threat and potential millions in legal compensation expenses, on 17th January President Bachelet announces that the location of the Mega Port project had been awarded to San Antonio, another port city south of Valparaíso; which means missing out on millions in investment, employment and infrastructure (Urbina Valenzuela, 2018).

6.4 Resistant Resilience as an embedded behaviour in disaster-prone places.

Disaster events have become the historical constants upon which mentality, set of values and political behaviours of *porteñoness* have developed through time. The very fact that these types of events can happen anytime, have created a political standpoint in *porteño* mentality, which integrates the flexibility of uncertainty into day-to-day life within the space where they share topophilia as well as identity and place making.

This flexibility trade in sociocultural constructions relates to what Ansell-Pearson (2012) argues regarding *constant repetition*, in this case, regarding (the possibility of) disasters. The repetition of (or possibility of) disasters leaves a cultural imprint, which, she argues, creates in communities contextualized by repetitive events the need to assume those repetitive events as constants of their life. This is what she argues when calling repetitive events as part of the '*germinal life*' of communities that live with(in) them. If disasters of any kind are the constant event in Valparaíso's social life, and if by enduring through them gives a sense of belonging to its communities, then disasters become part of what constitutes life in the city, acting like a catalyst for *porteñoness*.

Thus, the *hegemonic culture*¹⁰⁸ created in Valparaíso has been founded on the uncertainty of life, dependant on the eventuality of disaster events. As it has been discussed previously in this research, its construction depends also of the Social Memory gathered through time, and the significance and meaning that certain events have to be part of said memory; all of which are the nurturing elements of the sets of values, mentality and patterns of behaviour of *porteñoness* as Valparaíso's identity. However, what happens when a core element of *porteñoness* changes and how this impact the development of *porteño* political behaviour?

The *porteño* as a leading political figure, eventually starts its fading process when it is stripped from its natural context, the port. When the port's modernisation stalled, and when its function was slowed and diminished, it affected *porteñoness*' profoundly, almost stripping away its political edge, its vanguard quality. From political leadership, the *porteño* became a political follower, surrendering its own political representation in national debates. With 1973, such quality was forcefully silenced. To survive, the *porteño* had to negotiate within the *caudillo clientelistic* political scheme of neoliberal social networks of power. This new behaviour was later emphasised and reinforced by democratic governments' post-Pinochet, making this new political behaviour, *caudillo clientelism*, a consolidated characteristic of *porteñoness*.

Nevertheless, this macro political analysis does not forget what I have discussed previously in Chapter 4 about the importance of social memory. Within *porteñoness*, memories are a powerful reminder of what once was a *porteño*, through its core set of values. Whether by education, by family stories, or by social myths attached to the city's *stereotype* (the faded *porteño*)¹⁰⁹, *the heritage of resistant resilience lives on*.

Thus, I argue that the *2014 Mega Fire was the catalyst porteñoness needed to reactivate, and, crucially, re-appropriate its own memory, through the protection of porteño topophilia*. This dramatic and tragic process also became

¹⁰⁸ For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, see Toolbox 2, p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ For a conceptual reminder of both stereotype and matrix of resignification from identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

the one upon which social reproduction, of a non-dangerous politic behaviour, of a *clientelistic negotiator*, stopped; which also highlights the tragic circumstances upon which Lefebvre's '*right to the city*'¹¹⁰ was reclaimed by *porteño* communities.

The reconstruction plan, offered in late 2015 was and still is so contested because it did not offer cultural possibilities to keep regaining *porteñoness* political behavioural characteristics. With social movements as local as the '*defence of Parque O'Higgins*' to wider ones as '*No al Mall Barón*'; and Sharp's election with its national political consequences; once again social representation and *topophilic* city-making gained political weight, against the old logic of political party negotiations and the meddling of *caudillo* social networks of power.

This argument gives profound insight into Castro's phrase '*I didn't invite you to live here*', which is deeply linked with the historic construction of the 19th century *porteño double culture*. As J. P. Mellado (2014) argues, it should not be a surprise that a Fire devastated Valparaíso; the surprise was the '*helplessness*' of national and local authorities¹¹¹. It was known, voiced, argued and discussed endlessly. And yet, the end result was the same. As Undurraga (2014) proposes, there is a social need -in Chileans- to face current challenges but only when a huge catastrophe forces them to confront uncomfortable realities.

With 1866, 1906 and 2014 the *porteño* and Chilean citizenry were forced to face those uncomfortable realities. The disasters between these dates; although relevant for the nurturing feedback that the matrix of resignification offers and needs for *porteño* identity, were not as devastating, nor as insightful. In sum, the in-between disasters were not as *topophilically-meaningful* as 2014.

Politically, with 1866, 1906 and 2014 the behaviour was similar: to resist *outsiders'* logics. Such resistance, based on ancestral social memory, regards

¹¹⁰ For a conceptual reminder from place studies, see Toolbox 3, p. 60.

¹¹¹ For a conceptual reminder from behavioural studies, see Toolbox 4, p. 65.

collective experience as the validated exchange of reality through the alternation mechanism. As unprovable as it may seem, *porteño* political resistance nurtures *porteño* resistant resilience *because* it gathers the values, mentality and behaviours of those who live by surviving in uncertainty. As Chapter 7 will discuss, remembrance, the in between passageway of both resistance and resilience according to Conde (2017), is the concrete manifestation of *porteñoness*, especially when reconstruction plans fail.

Chapter 7

On *Porteñoness* and False Expectations

Within everyday life in a disaster-prone place, uncertainties of the next disaster become part of normalcy, or at least, they *become an expectation* for its inhabitants. This social expectation, already mentioned in previous chapters, develops in a construction-destruction-reconstruction dialectic, which depicts the complexities of identity and place-making under this particular *uncertain* condition. As Participant-20¹¹² explained to me

[...] in this city you live from one [disaster] to the next. Me, I have lived through at least three big disasters in my life... you ask about the reconstruction... I don't think that anyone knows when one reconstruction started and when it finished, if it ever did...

Source: (2015).

In this Chapter, therefore, I propose that *social crises* are as relevant (if not more) to a society which is emplaced in disaster-prone places as natural disasters. With this final argument, framed in my fourth research question, I will advance on what Wyatt (1997) understands as disasters, that is, that human-made crisis can be as risky and hazardous¹¹³ as natural/environmental disasters. Agreeing with Participant-1 (2015)¹¹⁴, human-made crisis positions *porteños* in an unusual, human-made vulnerability context as well. Furthermore, this vulnerability pairs, merges and catalyses the already risky city natural environment, creating a *double condition of vulnerability*. In other words, both environmental and socioeconomic vulnerabilities contextualize *porteño* everyday life. In his words:

On the day of the Fire, it had to do with a non-managed handling of vulnerabilities. Hazards we can't handle, but we can handle vulnerabilities. We have nurtured those vulnerabilities in relation to

¹¹² Female hill dweller who worked in the Instituto Nacional de la Juventud (INJUV, National Youth Institute). She was involved with the volunteer work carried on during the 2014 Mega Fire disaster.

¹¹³ For a conceptual reminder from disaster studies, see Toolbox 1, p. 219.

¹¹⁴ Male hill dweller, geographer.

the making of the city [inaudible], which make the city more precarious in the end. But the other side of the territorial coin, of the coin toss, is to have a damaged natural environment.

So, in the end, Valparaíso's vulnerabilities are a mixture that you don't wish to have in a territory, precariat on both sides: socio-urban precariat, city precariat, and environmental precariat. That is exceptional, and it happens in Valparaíso, were this double condition of vulnerability actually happens.

And that explains the tremendous vulnerability that we have been nurturing, in this logic on which the levels of vulnerability keep growing and allowing also the settling of regular hazards. In this case, the greatest hazard that has been settling in Valparaíso is the low levels of humidity: when this happens, Valparaíso gets exposed to any accident. And how the vulnerability has been constructed, that makes the process, let's call it destructive or of disaster, takes the size and scope of said vulnerability.

Source: *Participant-1 (2015)*.

Moreover, when this *socially-made* disasters develop, they tend to come from what I call *urban recuperation plans*, which relate to a distinctive plan, configured by local or national authorities, that aims to '*Fix Valparaíso*', to save it from decay. When these urban recuperation plans fail to satisfy their very own aims, they become another *social-let-down*, upon which feelings and perceptions of what authorities do or can do generate a feedback within the *matrix of resignification*¹¹⁵, where new meaning is attached to old phenomena, empowering commodified *porteño* political behaviour and the detachment of local communities, furthering the decay on *porteño topophilia* as well.

These type of phenomena is what I call *False Expectations*. This argument finds its basis on the *double vulnerability condition* articulated before, which has its roots in the late 19th and early 20th century social schemes and the socially hierarchical and vertical use of land imposed on working-class communities after the 1866 Bay Bombing. Under that scheme, the inhabitation of the bay proceeded in much the same way, having a deeper imposition post 1906 Earthquake, and undergoing consolidation during the port-city's industrialisation process, up until the 1930s, when only the plains of the city

¹¹⁵ For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

were the areas considered *worthy* to improve and reconstruct. In the fading and commodification of *porteñoness* (c. 1930 - c. 2000), social stagnation perpetuated this inhabitation scheme; which reached its peak at the turn of the century, when gentrification, segregation and marginalisation logics erode *porteño* political behaviour and delayed its communal resilient reactions.

Thus, this Chapter is divided in three subsections. First, I will trace the *double vulnerability condition* and its historical backgrounds to contextualize this Chapter's discussion; consists of a deep exploration of two examples, the 1980s relocation of the National Congress in Valparaíso and the 2003 UNESCO denomination. This first section is the critical analytical foundation upon which the 2014 Mega Fire Reconstruction Plan is critically evaluated, both in its planning and in its implementation. Finally, I will argue the impacts upon which a perpetual state of false expectations can mark and embed a collective perception of social crisis within identity and place construction, sifting into its meaning, sets of values and patterns of behaviour, as well as the development of its own topophilia.

Table 21: Summary of Main Arguments 1, 2, 3, and 4 in relation to disasters.

Chapters	Social Memory (4)	Spectacle and disasters (5)	<i>Porteño</i> political behaviour (6)	False Expectations (7)	Disaster/s of reference
Estimated period of development	Moment of <i>porteñoness</i> Memory	Moment of sociocultural <i>Porteñoness</i> development	Moment of <i>porteño</i> political behaviour	Moment of sociocultural deception regarding political authorities	
c.1850s-1900's	Appearance of <i>porteño</i> denomination for the inhabitants of the port-city	1st Moment: crafting of Disaster Identity	Rise of <i>porteñoness</i>: Development of <i>porteñoness</i> as an emergent a political vanguard	1st Example: 1866 hierarchical land use of the city	1866 Bay Bombing
1906-1930s	Reconstruction for a city of entrepreneurs: city would show a buoyant city for the foreign and immigrant investor	2nd moment: visible organisation in the duality of cultures within <i>porteñoness</i>	Consolidation of Resistant Resilience through grassroots movements	2nd Example: urbanisation post 1906 regarded the plains for economic and commercial use only	1906 Earthquake
1930s-2014	Economic stagnation that led to social stagnation: collective solidarity yields to individual survival	3rd moment ": sociocultural decay were meanings and set of values become questioned and changed	Fall of <i>porteñoness</i>: political behaviour changes (no longer political vanguard)	3rd Example: the 1980's Relocation of the National Congress and the 2003 UNESCO denomination had no impact in betterment of the city	From the port crisis up until the 2014 Mega Fire (punctually)
2014 onwards	Activation of collective solidarity as	4th moment: sociocultural questioning of	2016 Municipal and National elections: the	4th Example: the 2014 Reconstruction	2014 Mega Fire (aftermath)

	means to recuperate what the city was once, in the reconstruction plan (the city we want)	<i>porteño</i> life during the 20 th century within the discussion of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan (the city we want)	impact of the Citizens' Municipality (the city we want)	Plan, which did not contemplate common <i>porteños</i> and instead pushed forward resistant resilience as a major manifestation of political behaviour	
--	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

Source: Own Crafting.

7.1 Historical Traces of the Double Vulnerability Condition

This section will delve in an overview of *porteñoness double vulnerability condition* through the experience of *false expectations*, with a deep exploration of the two most recent and most relevant urban recuperation plans of the past decades, the 1980s National Congress Relocation and the 2003 UNESCO denomination.

7.1.1 False Expectations during the Rise, Fall and Commodification of *Porteñoness*

During the period between 1830 and the 1930s, Valparaíso became a consolidated liberal place of national and international commerce. Life there was '*economy-driven*'¹¹⁶, which involved the city's social classes with entrepreneurial spirit in diverse ways.

This particular view of the world did not vary when disaster struck. Even in these early stages, the economic vision of life destroyed by disasters prevailed, which is best synthesised by *La Unión de Valparaíso* in the following text of 1903:

Yesterday's storm, apart from the loss of human life that is immeasurable, costed four million in material disrepair to the port of Valparaíso. Although some of it are of foreign capital, they all will affect indirectly the port's interests and those of the nation [...] there are other class of indirect prejudice whose evaluation is rather impossible: those who come from the earned discredited of

¹¹⁶ One example is the following opinion: "The swings and political unrest of the Chilean Civil War, 1891] did not majorly affect the port's citizenry, who lived worried about the value of the sterling pound and of the arrival and departure of merchant ships; the rest of the country was relatively foreign for *porteños*" (Piacenti & Passadore, 2013, p. 13).

Valparaíso as a commercial port: insurance rises, taxes rise, business turns difficult, business that turn impossible ...

Source: *La Unión de Valparaíso (1903)*.

As was detected in my archival analysis, municipal authorities during this period had to deal with rapidly increasing demands related to present and future disasters, which were also entwined with the complexities of the emerging *porteño* social question. According to Schmutzer (2000), after the extension of the port developed during 1873-1883, the amount of ships (from boats to vapour steam-engine ships) that could use the port's infrastructure rose above a thousand units; and taking into account the gross registered tonnage, it took up to 710,015 tons of cargo and merchandise (pp. 100-124). With this amount of exchange, the work-force each day multiplied. Vitale states that salaries fluctuated between 20 cents and 1 peso¹¹⁷ for a day's work, which spanned 12-18 hours (Olivares Jatib, 2006; Vitale, 1967, 1986). With constant immigration averaging 7.02% of Valparaíso's population according to the censuses of 1865 to 1907 shown here in Table 22, population increase¹¹⁸ also meant (precarious) work availability in every possible niche. But, with population growth also came informal and overcrowded housing, work exploitation, and *marginality*.

Table 22: Immigrant rate of Valparaíso's population, c. 1855-1907.

Decades	Population total number (thousands)	Immigrants total number (thousands)	Immigrant rate regarding the total population during the period (percentage)
1855-1865	70.438	4.992	7.1%
1865-1875	97.737	6.921	7.1%
1875-1885	104.952	7.662	7.3%
1885-1895	122.447	10.300	8.4%
1895-1907 ¹¹⁹	281.385	14.630	5.2%

¹¹⁷ Approximately £5.38 in 2018 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

¹¹⁸ Closer to the 20th century, immigration to Valparaíso also relied upon Chilean rural-urban displacement, in search of jobs *with* salaries. Work in rural areas provided permission to reside in the property of the owner, and the right to a ratio of food. Cities, such as Valparaíso, offered an escape and the possibility of a salary, which did not include a labour contract, safety regulation nor housing rights (Diaz, 2014; Hidalgo & Sánchez, 2013).

¹¹⁹ Due to the 1906 Earthquake, the census incorporated this factor into the total numerical values (Arretx & Salinas, 1984).

Source: Own Crafting based on Arretx and Salinas (1984) and Estrada Turra (2012).

One strong tendency detected in my archival work -regarding the Social Question developing in industrialized 19th century Valparaíso- was the *bourgeoisie's need* to deal with it to potentiate the port-city's stature of commercial destination. Thus, street vendors, vagabonds and homelessness were directly related to corruption and felony, and the initial instinct was to segregate the landscape. Such *need*, which I can trace back to the 1866 Bay Bombing reconstruction plan, establishes a *hierarchical and segregated use of land*. Filth, pests, and foul smells were all part of a disgraceful way of living, which *should* be better tucked away in the up-hills, far away from the restored plain areas that surrounded the port, the main squares and avenues, as well as the great manor houses reconstructed at the foot of the hills¹²⁰.

As a first consequence of this land use scheme, as Álvarez Aránguiz (2001) points out, the *hygienic discourse* was implemented city-wide. This European discourse had arrived in Valparaíso with William Rawson, who demonstrated scientifically the relations between miasma and putrid emanations and diseases. Thus, the state of the port-city *had* to change *because* marginalising was not sufficient¹²¹. Manheim, a second-generation German *porteño*, who published his *Critical Study about the General Evacuation of the City of Valparaíso* in 1876 pointed out that mortality and disease rates were improving¹²², which he explains due to the upgrade and maintenance of the sewer system:

¹²⁰ In that spirit, small scale legislation was developed to control this incipient segregated urbanisation, such as the sale of water (gathered from the same source where clothes washing was done), or to tax milk street vendors and their cows (who literally sold milk *at the foot of the cow* while walking around with the animal in the city) (Acuña Anguita, 1912, p. 79).

¹²¹ Examples of the above are the National Law n°3380 of 1888, which gave extraordinary resources to the Municipality of Valparaíso for the maintenance of sewers and the city's cleanliness (Acuña Anguita, 1912).

¹²² Flores (2005) also points out that since the authorities started vaccination plans and maintenance for the sewer system, in the period of 1865-1899, the median lower steadily every year, achieving a 23% decrease per year (p. 45).

Good hygienic conditions of a city are the principal element for the development of a vigorous and healthy physique, and to obtain it healthy food, clean water, good soil and above else fresh air, all of which constitutes a good climate.

[...] The stagnation of harmful materials, animal excrement and faeces in general reek the atmosphere in such a way that life in Valparaíso would be unbearable, if it lacked the winds that come in and drag away the foul smells to the sea. Even the bathing that is done in the ocean shore are dangerous because of the daily decomposition of waste and faeces.

[...] To the harmful gases expelled by miasmas and its effects we owe epidemics such as typhus, cholera, yellow fever [...].

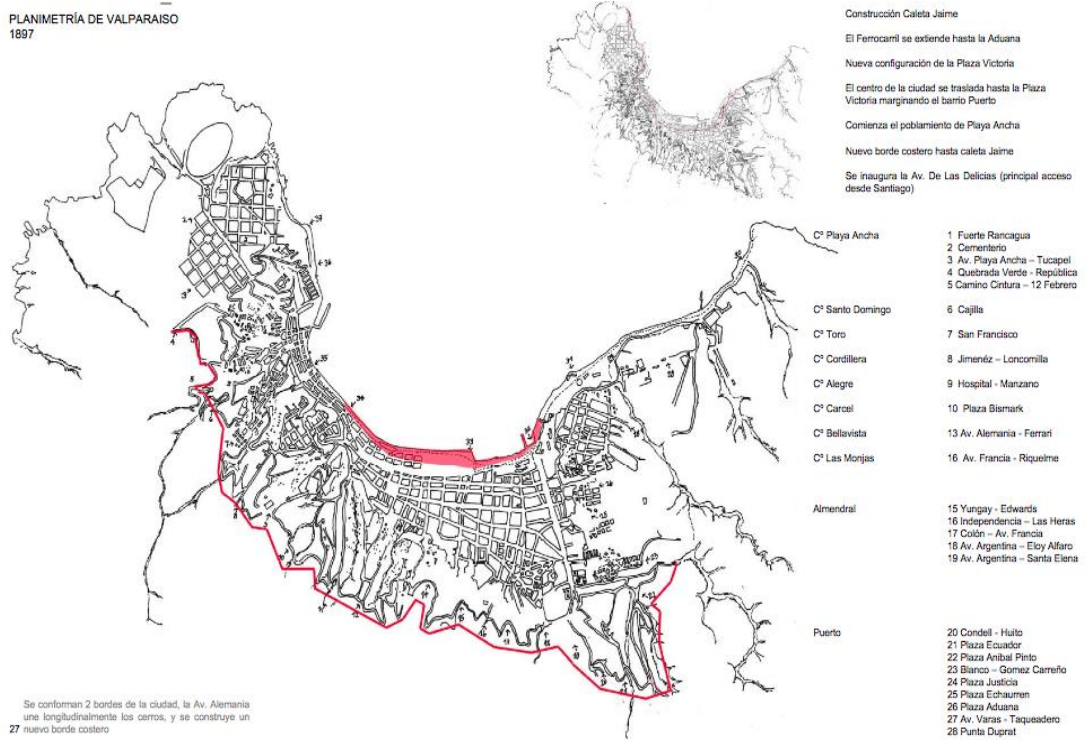
Source: *Mannheim (1876, pp. 3-9).*

A second relevant consequence of the hierarchical use of land regards the city-wide benefits of a *clean environment* within the port-city. From 1866, notions of nature, the benefits of clean air and water, and the management of sewers are elements that were used in the reorganising of the city centre post-bombing, as shown in the highlighted section in Map 10, in its highlighted section. Significantly, both hygienism and environmentalism were deployed first in Valparaíso than the rest of the country¹²³. As Map 10 shows with pink outlines, the city was reorganised according to clear limits. The areas closest to the bay were benefitted with the use of sewers and aimed to declutter the zone nearer the port. Up-hill, the limit was Alemania Avenue, which was the city limit for the same sewer system. Further up-hill, the most vulnerable communities dwelled.

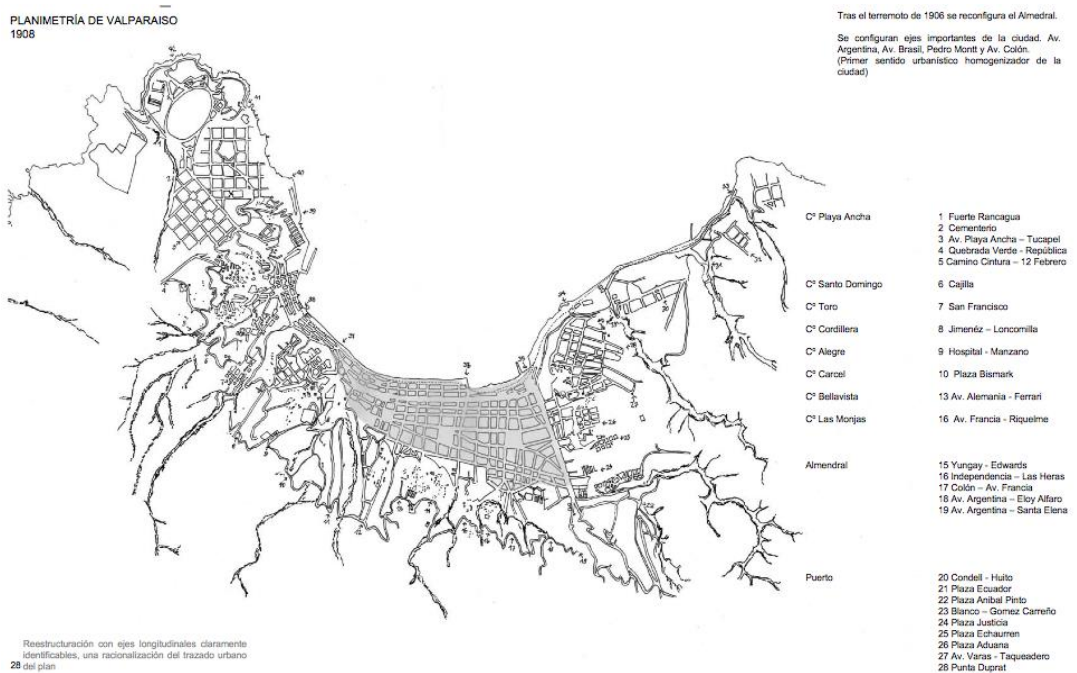
The hierarchically segregated use of land consolidated with the 1906 Earthquake, where decision-makers faced, for the second time (after 1866), the abhorrent conditions that surrounded life in the up-hills. Map 11 indicates in its grey shadowed area, a complete re-urbanisation in the plains, according to the guidelines of the Garden Movement. This means the application of main ideas into a new and clear perpendicular Valparaíso grid, which introduced the benefits of air, light and greenery within urbanism ideas. Also, the

¹²³ This decision is another example of political awareness and vanguard quality in *porteño* political behaviour, as discussed in Chapter 6.

shadowed area indicates the location of the municipal buildings, clubs, important businesses, manor houses and the growth of spaces towards the sea in the coastline. Beyond this limit, the foothills start to show modest inhabitation in a vertical income-related manner.



Map 10: Marginalisation of Valparaíso post-1866.
Source: Casiopea.wiki.ead.pucv (2014).



Map 11: Re-urbanisation and Segregation post-1906.
Source: Casiopea.wiki.ead.pucv (2014).

Since the 1930s, during the fall and commodification of *porteñoness*, segregation has deepened through gentrification actions. This process has been achieved through the issues evidenced on the municipal change of land use. However, this legally-binding process is also contextualised by the lack of housing areas in and around the city. As a manner of practical solution, many dwellers started to live in more and more up-hill in hazardous areas, like gorges that lacked all manner of urbanisation elements. This process of risky vertical informal housing has been '*allowed*' for decades, according to Participant-4 (2015), who, as a municipal employee, observed

The issue of informality and land seizure is so old, it is in the books for decades... yes, you can actually trace it. Nobody has been able to solve it, so the only thing that can be done is to '*catch up*'. This means after a camp [land seizure] has been in constant living condition, say 30 years or so, then the Municipality goes up there and starts to urbanize [...)].

Source: (2015).

To the developments mentioned above, Pino-Vásquez (2012) has added the importance of inhabitation logics and its implications to city life. She argues that the social hierarchy imposed in the early 19th century, which provoked the vertical and unsafe inhabitation logics of the up-hills, produced urbanisation units, seen here on Image 50. Agreeing with F. Valenzuela (2017), who proposes that these up-hill communities are *tolerated but not integrated*; it is in these conditions that the Municipality '*catches up*' with every day *porteño* life, where the (risky) dialectic implied in the double condition of vulnerability lies.

The '*catching up*' scheme signalled by Participant-4 aims to regulate self-construction housing without urban planning and infrastructure (i.e. sewers or tap water piping). To solve Valparaíso's informal and risky housing reality, institutions like the Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, (MINVU, Housing and Urbanism Ministry) and the National Congress incorporate this informal reality

into a legal framework by creating a specific law for this situation. This process is known as the *Ley del Mono* or the ‘*Sketch Law*’¹²⁴.



Image 50: Everyday life in 2015 Las Cañas Gorge, one year after 2014 Mega Fire.
Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

Significantly, the *Ley del Mono* has had an unplanned consequence: it allows social stratification of neighbourhoods, furthering urban hierarchical segregation. This is intensified especially in some areas of the city that are now being valued according to the new land capitalisation and capital gain tax which are being promoted by the 2015 Tax Reform (Ministerio de Hacienda, 2015).

¹²⁴ ‘*La Ley del Mono*’ or ‘*Sketch Law*’ is a Presidential Decree of 1998, modified on 2001 and 2016, which regulates informal expansions to informal housing, with a cap metering of 90 square metres of inhabited space (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, 2016). It is so called because it is not necessary to get an accurate architectural plan of the property, it is only required a sketch of the owner to start regulation procedures. In Chile, ‘*mono*’ is the equivalent lingo for a child’s drawing or sketch.



Image 51: Gentrification in the up-hills: Cerro Las Cañas, looking into the bay.

Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

Image 52: Gentrification in the up-hills.

Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

This kind of urbanisation, in this kind of risky geomorphological conditions, has built a risky human-made environment. The disruption of the general access of view to the bay and most importantly, the low density urbanisation that is proper to up-hill development¹²⁵, where block towers are creeping higher into the up-hills as seen in Image 51 and 52; where areas of the city are being purged of senior citizens through (unintentional) micro Fires; and the use and abuse of the change in the land use by the Municipality, are concrete gentrification actions that benefit skyscraper real estate development.

7.1.2 The 1980s National Congress Relocation

After the 1985 Earthquake, the city of Valparaíso fell into an economic and urbanistic state of decay. The disaster obliterated many of the big constructions, avenues, and buildings that lacked anti-seismic technology.

¹²⁵ I.e. streets too small to host 25 floor-4 apartments per floor-100 parking spaces-towers that increase car flow in areas that do not have the street grid to sustain such transit flow. Eventually, this puts pressure into the sewer and urban lighting systems, which barely accommodate the existent precarious urbanization.

Thus, the Military Regime, in power at the time, decided to implement national construction plans to absorb unemployment and revitalise damaged urbanism. For Valparaíso, the reconstruction plan focused on relocating the National Congress from Santiago to the city, after much criticism of reconstruction neglect to other areas that were not directly associated with Chile's capital.

The construction of this institution's building promised economic development and urban revitalisation for *The Almendral* area of Valparaíso. Despite the fact that the National Congress has functioned in this same location without interruption, now, 28 years later, it is still surrounded with the signs of urban decay that where there to begin with: a sinking Argentina Avenue¹²⁶, a blighted church¹²⁷ on one of its sides, a public square and a flea market that overtakes the whole of Argentina Avenue every Wednesday and weekend¹²⁸, as Images 53 and 55 show.

¹²⁶ Argentina Avenue is a carpeted road built over a natural stream that, in this past decade, has seen its infrastructure start to sink, due to the high transit demand and the increase of automobiles and public transportation.

¹²⁷ The *Parroquia de los Doce Apóstoles* a church built in 1869, has been currently protected as a Historic Monument since 2003. With the 1985 and 2010 Earthquakes, its building integrity was destroyed, and because it is a monument, it cannot be repaired. It has been closed to the public since 2010, but masses are still held in a tent in the church's front yard.

¹²⁸ This itinerant market has been located in Avenida Argentina for over 50 years. Around the 2000's, it has seen attached to it a flea market, which overtakes more and more blocks of Argentina Avenue. Due to its popular and exponential growth, it has seen the creation of a union, which charges \$1,000 Chilean pesos, approximately £1.19 a day (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018) for a daily spot in the flea market; all of which is overseen by the Municipality. However, these spots are not permanent, and it has fostered *clientelic* practices and behaviours among workers of the same union (Berliner Araos & Brito Vásquez, 2010).



Image 53: Collapse and sinking of Avenida Argentina, 2015.
At time of writing, the bridge has still not been repaired. **Source:** Cooperativa.cl (2015).



Image 54: The state of disrepair post-2010 Earthquake of the Twelve Apostles Church.
This was one of the first churches ever built in the city. **Source:** PlataformaUrbana.cl (2015).



Image 55: Collage depicting the Flea Market in Avenida Argentina, behind the National Congress.
Sources: Images on the right from VisteLaCalle.com (2017); images on the left from Reclamos.cl (2013)

Eventually, the (now failed) *urban recuperation plan* was expected to mobilise new housing projects in the immediacies of the building itself, in the area of *The Almendral*, as indicated previously. Due to the thousands of people which were going to work in the building itself, not only was housing expected, but a new and renovated Pedro Montt and Argentina Avenue (the building's crossroads), full of restaurants, book stores selling everything from stationary supplies to law codices, convenience stores, and other economic activities. In short, it was expected that this building would eventually become a new economic pole within the city, which would have mobilised, in time, thousands of workers and, thus, eventually absorb unemployment¹²⁹ as well.

However, the above did not happen, because of the city's proximity to Santiago. The urban renovation plan, and the list of expectations explained above, were dependant on the fact that the *Diputados* and Senate Houses, specifically that each *diputado* and senator *would* establish a congressional office in the city, thus triggering the hiring of public service employees emplaced in Valparaíso, who would have housing and social needs, and so



on. But, as the National Congress building is located an hour and a half away from Santiago -by bus and car seen here in Map 12-, the majority of *diputados* and senators have remained in their Santiago offices in the ex-Congress building (whose function was changed to house offices), and commute only when debates or voting made it necessary (Guiñez Almarza, 2013).

Map 12: Valparaíso to Santiago Route.
Source: Ruta Chile Tour Operator (2018).

The urban renovation plan, then, aimed to revitalise *The Almendral* area of the city and turn it into a new economic destination. This area was previously

¹²⁹ The unemployment rate reached 20%, equivalent to 440,000 individuals was, according to El Mercurio de Valparaíso (1987a), the most urgent of tasks, even two years after the Earthquake itself.

used by the Enrique Deformes Public Hospital of Valparaíso, shown here in Image 56, which was the only public health institution of its kind in the region and performed over a century's service in the same location.

After the initial assessment made by Pinochet a day after the earthquake, as showed in Appendix E (p. 220) it is the opinion of critical voices outside the Military Regime that Valparaíso was, quite literally, left behind in the reconstruction plans that mostly focused on Santiago. In this sense, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* assumed the outlet function through which the city



complained about its abandonment. As discussed in Chapter 5, the media emerged assuming disaster citizenry¹³⁰ characteristics, which imply the *necessity* to voice injustice over a reconstruction post disaster period, despite its own right-wing political allegiance.

Image 56: Enrique Deformes Public Hospital, c. 1975.
Source: Santibañez (2016).

As my archival work showed, when analysing *El Mercurio*'s editorials of the time, this newspaper explained to its readers that Pinochet's solution was a *scam*. Rather than bringing one branch of the government to Valparaíso and face three issues; such as post 1985 reconstruction, de-centralize the capital in favour of other regions of the country and solve unemployment at the same time; this urban reconstruction plan that planned to quickly '*fix*' was nothing more than the usual centralisation of resources for the capital, rather than de-centralize and invest in the rest of the country:

It is logical to go creating in the length of the territory attraction centres able to generate in their environment stable communities in which both the public and private sector can develop their activities in an autonomous manner, with an administrative connection to the economic, social and cultural apparatus of the rest of the country.

¹³⁰ For a conceptual reminder from media studies, please refer to Toolbox 5, p. 61.

The north, the centre and the south of the country offer niches for activities that present comparative advantages in various export categories. Such advantages should be reaffirmed by official channels through which the great gravitational pull of the capital can be better managed.

Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (1987b).

On Saturday 18th July, Pinochet himself appeared in front of the press to declare that he had commissioned a study to relocate the National Congress to Valparaíso. His second in command in the Military Regime, Admiral José Toribio Merino Castro, on 18th December of 1987, announced Law n°18.678, which stipulates:

De-centralisation of political power of the Nation [is now a reality], diminishing thus the excessive concentration of activities on the Capital, and, likewise, it gives a vigorous push towards regional development, by offering the possibility to enhance the city with an important historical tradition in our republican life which counts with a geographic location of great privilege, by studying the expedite vial connections with the Capital and the future construction of the airport (of Torquemada)¹³¹, that will bring a fast and direct relationship with the most important cities of the country.

Source: BCN.cl (2011).

According to Guiñez Almarza (2013), this announcement was received with enthusiasm across the whole political spectrum¹³². As it was built in the period 1987-1990, it was viewed as the true impulse of economic development for the city. Such was the enthusiasm that the designated Mayor of Valparaíso, Francisco Bartolucci, published a press insert in El Mercurio, shown here in Image 58.

¹³¹ Construction that did not take place, Torquemada is in the outskirts of Viña del Mar.

¹³² That is, of recognized political movements that were allowed to act, from the far-right National Party to the centre Democratic Union.

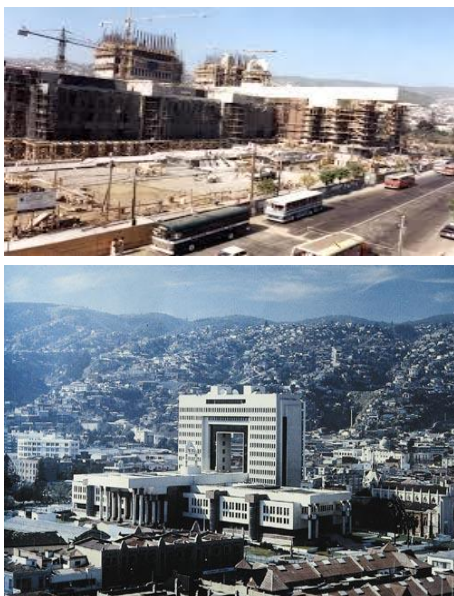


It was envisioned that, not only would the congressmen use the new dependencies, but also the many civil servants, visitors and political, diplomatic, economic advisors and other governmental workers from both Chile and the world would too. With that plan in mind, it was expected that the sole relocation of the National Congress by itself would become an important push to recover the decaying economy, absorb unemployment and recover the urban area of *The Almendral*, as seen in Image 59.



Image 57: Covers of *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* and *Revista Ercilla* announcing Pinochet's relocation of Congress to Valparaíso. **Source:** @GolpeDirecto (2017).

Image 58: Mayor Bartolucci's public thanks. The caption reads: "Valparaíso salutes its President and the Honourable Government Junta and appreciates the decision of installing the National Congress in our city. Valparaíso, in the new age of the Pacific". **Source:** CRAC Valparaíso (2013).



The relocation of the National Congress gathered not only social enthusiasm, but also a wide political spectrum of agreement. In this sense, it portrayed many elements that Pinochet held dear, such as the validity of the 1980 Constitution, and the effective and visible reconstruction process that had been left behind in favour of Santiago, but most importantly, de-centralisation.

Image 59: Collage of *The Project*, *The Construction*, *The Building of Congress*. **Source:** BCN.cl (2011).

The relocation became a personal project for Pinochet, not only because he was born in Valparaíso and carried out his life in the city before his pursuit of a military career; but also, because it solidly symbolised his legacy in the most tangible of ways. The building itself was inaugurated on the 11th March 1990, with the occasion of the investiture of Patricio Alwyn Azócar, first democratically elect president post-dictatorship, with the transfer of authority and power from the hands of Pinochet himself, here shown in Image 60.



Image 60: Transfer of Power from Pinochet to Aylwin, 1990.
Source: EICiudadano.cl (2016).

7.1.3 The 2003 UNESCO heritage denomination

In 2003, Mayor Hernán Pinto announced to the citizenry that he and his municipal team had nominated Valparaíso to UNESCO, as a city of World Heritage Patrimonial value. This denomination was finally awarded on 4th July 2003, as the front cover of *La Estrella* shows in Image 61.

Valparaíso, which rarely featured in news outlets nationally, was suddenly in the spotlight. Its nomination was taken as a matter of national pride, where President Ricardo Lagos also intervened diplomatically to fund and distribute information through national and international diplomatic channels. As this press cover shows, the image captures the first of a month-long celebration of this extraordinary achievement. From all political parties, people came together in enjoying Valparaíso's international recognition.



However, after the initial joy of this international recognition, *porteño* communities started to plan great things for the city, to salvage it for future generations, with the new money that was promised, because during the UNESCO application campaign, Pinto *pledged* urban revival associated to the new budget that UNESCO would give to promote patrimony to Valparaíso as a whole¹³³.



It was expected that with Pinto's pledge Valparaíso could finally have access to the financial support it needed to *reclaim* its *glorious past*, the one of the *good old days*. In this sense, the majority of *porteños* who were interviewed by the news outlets of the period have the tendency to rejoice in what this chance represents for Valparaíso. Therefore, as my archival work showed me for this event of 2003, the UNESCO denomination became the first opportunity, in many decades, to salvage the sets of values stored in the *porteño* stereotype¹³⁴.

Image 61: *La Estrella de Valparaíso's* cover reads: "Humanity's Patrimony: To begin with, 50 million dollars fall on our heads". The main photograph is of Mayor Pinto celebrating the nomination win.

Source: *La Estrella de Valparaíso* (2003b).

Image 62: Interview with Mayor Pinto, referring to the city's stray dogs' solution using UNESCO money.

Source: *La Estrella de Valparaíso* (2003).

¹³³ I.e. Image 61 shows an interview to Major Pinto, where he pledges to get rid of stray dogs (*La Estrella de Valparaíso*, 2003a).

¹³⁴ For a conceptual reminder from identity studies, please refer to Toolbox 2, p. 56.

Thus, the new funding was planned to act as a new *visibilising strategy* to put the city on the map of urban renovation through the cultural perception of the past *porteño* (De Nordenflycht Concha, 2004). But, as Gaffikin and Morrissey (2011) and Hernández, Kellett, and Allen (2013) discuss, within cities that are in cultural conflict, and who portray in their urbanism their inner conflicts (such as through hierarchically segregated use of land), urban renovation plans have to *aim* to involve all communities of the local citizenry and their most urgent needs; which ultimately means to harvest from the past and plan for the future around the question ‘*what is the city that we want?*’

In Valparaíso’s application to the *World Heritage Patrimony*¹³⁵, the main *aim* of the Municipality was to obtain recognition for a city that played host to an intangible patrimony that was in danger of extinction, which related the intangible first moments of early globalisation (López Namur, 2004). In a process that started in 1998, it was stated in the Application Report that the city was poised to comply with three out of ten criteria to become a UNESCO patrimonial heritage site:

- **Criteria 2:** to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.
- **Criteria 3:** to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living, or which has disappeared.
- **Criteria 5:** to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.

¹³⁵ For UNESCO, the concept of cultural patrimony, published in 1972, regards “Monuments, the architectural works, sculptures, inscriptions, caverns, and group of elements or structures of archeologic character that have a universal value of outstanding from historic, artistic or scientific perspectives; construction groups isolated or grouped, whose architecture, unit and integration on the landscape gives them universal value of outstanding from historic, artistic or scientific perspectives; and places and works of mankind or integrated works between man and nature, which include archeologic that have a zones universal value of outstanding from historic, aesthetic, ethnologic or anthropologic perspectives” (Unesco.org, 2018).

Fundamentally, these three criteria can be summarised as the capacity of the city to integrate and create a interculturality, from centuries of acculturation and sociocultural syncretism processes; all of which regards the relevance of Valparaíso as a place that connected Chile to the world both economically and culturally. According to the Chilean Government, which promoted this application in every international diplomatic meeting from 1998 onwards, such unique culture, which merged elements of Europe, Latin America and Chile, is singular in qualities such as its inhabitation process that is expressed in particular architecture, cohesive heterogeneity of urban adaptations to the geomorphologic scenario and the human scale of its cosmopolitanism (Gobierno de Chile, 2004).

Nevertheless, UNESCO only recognised the third criteria¹³⁶. As Moraga Lovera (2009) understands, the recognition was granted for “the material dimension of an evocation of a cultural tradition” (p. 18). This resolution, according to Pozo (2012), is sustained on the fact that “Valparaíso is an outstanding testimony of the early stages of globalisation in the later part of the 19th century, when it became a commercial port, leader of naval routes in the Pacific coast of South America” (Gobierno de Chile, 2004); all of which is showed in Map 13.

Since 2003, the patrimonial area of UNESCO has lived through various projects for its own urban revitalisation. Cleaner and safer streets, well-maintained private properties, a museum route and well-kept promenades surround a privileged area of the city, which has a prime view of the centre of the bay. This area is linked with the new refurbished port, where every year at least three cruise ships stop by, carrying thousands of tourists through *these* connections of port-patrimonial area.

However, the process of overview and protection of the local and national government to the UNESCO site has been in question over the years. In 2010, a report emanating from the Interamerican Bank of Development (*Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo*, BID), explained the many impacts that the

¹³⁶ Unanimous resolution for Valparaíso was done in the XXVII Ordinary Meeting of UNESCO in Paris, 30 June-05 July of 2003.

nomination has had on the life of Valparaíso, and stated that it has not resulted in great improvements for the city. Rather, the patrimonial site has had a somewhat detrimental effect on the protected area: buildings in good preservation diminished to 27% from a 77%; which increased the buildings with acceptable levels from 8% to 51%, as well as those of regular level from 7% to 13%. This report also depicts the turn in the use of land towards tourism endeavours, which has caused the “loss of original inhabitants by gentrification processes and the diminishment of the quality of life of those who still remain” within the heritage zone (Trivelli & Nishimura, 2010, p. 110 and ss.).



Map 13: Patrimonial Area in Valparaíso.

The red line depicts the patrimonial UNESCO zone; the yellow depicts buildings of historic conservation interest; the blue depicts historic monument buildings; and the dotted red line depicts the amortisation of the patrimonial area. This map also identifies the most recent Fire disaster-related news on this protected area. **Source:** Molina (2010).

Critically, this nomination also sent the message to the citizenry that the past was profitable, and all *future plans* of reinvigorating the city were dependant on *notions of the past*. This statement coincides with many current movements, such as ‘*No al Mall Barón*’, described in Chapter 6. As Participant-38 explains, this dialectic pushed away the future, by underlining the idealised or romantic past of the *porteño* city as a profitable stereotype for the tourism industry, which is also depicted in Document Insertion 3, ‘*Did I invite you to live here*’, p. 137. In his words,

This city was become its past in those hills [the patrimonial area]. It is the only thing that has become worth saving from decay. Tourism consumes it all, so why not? Now, we have movement like the ‘*No al Mall Barón*’, which try to save the city from neoliberalism. Yes, that is good. But how do we save the city from neoliberal tourism?

Source: *Participant-38 (2015)*.

7.2 The 2014 Reconstruction Plan

Almost a year and a half after the 2014 Mega Fire, the Municipality of Valparaíso called representatives of the communities involved (with the Fire) to a meeting that would render an account of the Reconstruction Plan. This took place on the public forum denominated ‘*Mirador para la Reconstrucción*’, funded by the Municipality itself, whose aim was to socialise the reconstruction plan as much as possible, and make it available to all who wanted to participate¹³⁷. Participant-43 (2015)¹³⁸ declared that

What the Department of Emergencies of the Municipality of Valparaíso has done here is to open the doors to the public. Anyone who wants to participate is encouraged to do so. It is thought as an open forum, which aims to stop the decades of imposed plans for our city. So, with this, for each person who want to get involved, it becomes one person less to whom a plan will be imposed.

Source: *(2015)*.

¹³⁷ This could be done over the telephone, email, or via website in <http://miradorparalareconstruccion.cl/wp/>. However, this is currently shut down in the moment of writing this thesis (MunicipalidadDeValparaiso.cl, 2018).

¹³⁸ Male hill dweller, employee of the Municipality of Valparaíso (2016).

In this first meeting of the 15th December 2015, the Reconstruction Plan Proposal was presented. Realised by the *Communal Planification Secretary* (SECPLA)¹³⁹, it showed the following objectives: housing solution, recuperation of neighbourhoods and lower vulnerability levels within the affected communities of the Fire. Such objectives, in this reconstruction plan, were tied to efficient urban planning, regularisation of informal housing and land seizure areas, control of risky geomorphic areas, and promotion of local economic activities.

These three objectives, as well as the public institutions involved, are also corroborated by the independent report of *Observatorio Valparaíso* (2015). This independent organisation put together a thorough analysis of what was planned by the Reconstruction Plan of 2014 and its state of development at the end of 2015. It contemplated data gathering made at fieldwork, drone-assisted mapping, and interviews and land surveys¹⁴⁰. According to the Reconstruction Plan explained by the Municipality in the Mirador meeting, which is also replicated in this independent report, from the total of US \$509 million contemplated, 80% should be used for urban infrastructure (US\$ 408.4 million, which implies connectivity betterment, mobility improvements and re-urbanized and accessible public spaces) and 20% for housing subsidies (US\$ 101.1 million) (p. 20)¹⁴¹, as described in Table 23.

¹³⁹ In this Reconstruction Plan, the Municipality saw itself as one third of the managing institutions which were going to be involved in its development; being the other two institutions the national government (through its ministries) and the Presidential Delegate (Gobierno de Chile, 2014). This last one is Institution created by Bachelet for this particular disaster, explained in subsection 6.2.3 of Chapter 6, p. 130.

¹⁴⁰ The Observatorio of Valparaíso's report, for data gathering, tried to obtain official data from all public institutions involved in the 2014 Reconstruction Plan. However, as this data was not facilitated, the Observatorio had to deploy other ways to obtain data, such as using drone and GPS devices for mapping crafting (Observatorio Valparaíso, 2015, p. 3 and ss.).

¹⁴¹ US\$ 509 million equivalent to £ 394,576,800.00; US\$ 408.4 million equivalent to £ 316,569,218.00; US\$ 101.1 million equivalent to £ 78,367,159.50 (MeasuringWorth.com, 2018).

Table 23: Overview of the 2014 Reconstruction Plan Budget.

ESCALA	AMBITO	AÑO / MONTO						
		2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
CIUDAD	Mejoramiento Conectividad y Accesibilidad	33.500	993.500	10.099.000	24.799.000	16.000.000	9.000.000	8.500.000
	Condiciones Ambientales y de	1.412.000	6.638.000	8.900.000	11.295.500	22.245.500	23.245.500	22.745.500
	Condiciones Sanitarias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Movilidad y Acc.	574.000	2.861.000	1.929.000	3.000.000	3.000.000	-	-
BARRIO	Espacios Públicos y Equipamiento	986.000	1.745.000	1.435.000	531.000	570.000	-	-
	Movilidad y Accesibilidad	935.000	5.265.000	1.000.000			-	-
	Seguridad	265.000	3.115.000	5.000.000	7.000.000	7.000.000	5.000.000	
VIVIENDA	Subsidios Habitacionales	7.494.021	25.940.862	20.176.229	4.035.222			
TOTAL (M\$)		11.699.521	46.558.362	48.539.229	50.660.722	48.815.500	37.245.500	31.245.500
TOTAL (MU\$)		20.525	81.681	85.157	88.878	85.641	65.343	54.817

Source: MunicipalidadDeValparaiso.cl (2018) and Observatorio Valparaíso (2015).

7.2.1 Objective 1: Housing solutions

Objective 1, which emphasised housing solutions, aimed to recognize the issue of informality in the upper-hill housing situation. To achieve this, the Municipality pledged to work closely with the most vulnerable communities through the deployment of social workers to help each family to understand their rights and access to local or national funding for self-reconstruction. Further, the Municipality would also deploy lawyers to the affected communities, so those families who had informal housing or had participated in land seizure could now start their regularisation process.



As I witnessed in this meeting, after a couple of questions from hill dwellers, it was explained that through these two actions, the affected communities would be completely supported in their efforts to impulse self-reconstruction (Municipality of Valparaíso, 2015). However, community leaders asked about concrete actions on how to rebuild in safer ways.

Image 63: Collage depicting a study of informal housing conditions in the up-hills.

Source: Garín Franz (2014, p. 25).

The Director of the *Department of Emergencies of the Municipality* at the time, María de los Angeles De la Paz, argued that there were four types of houses from which each family can opt amongst. Each family had an option to make their home safer, such as non-flammable paints, or cement Firewalls. This meant that each family could rebuild their home according to their income possibilities. For De la Paz, it was important to establish what the Municipality wanted to eradicate, which here is illustrated by Image 63 which depicts informal housing as an expansive phenomenon of each family (when more family came along in time, another room/little house was annexed to the main family house). De la Paz observed:

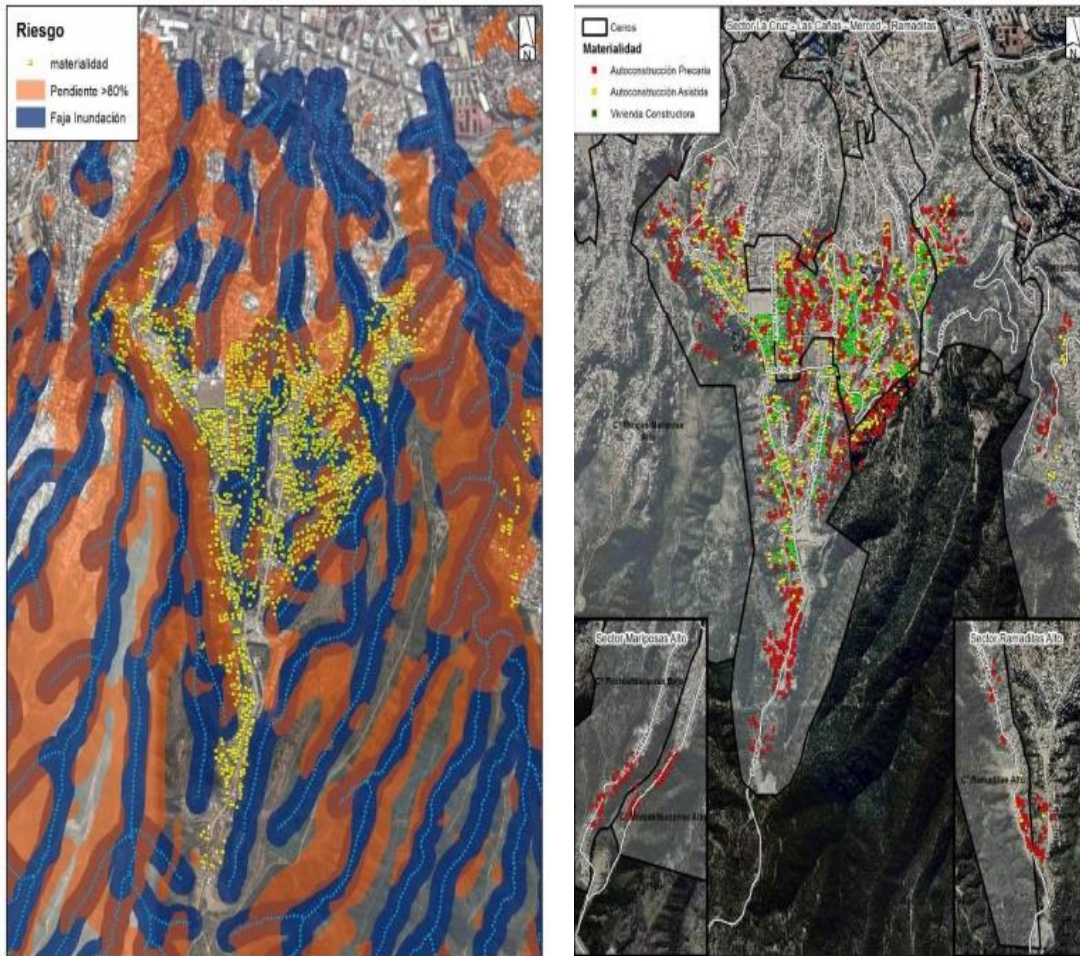
[...] It is the way of living that families in the upper-hills have that endangers them, because informal expansion means to do land seizure in areas that lack minimal urbanisation... I mean, you still don't have sewers and you already have a whole lot of families moving into risky areas.

Source: *Municipality of Valparaíso (2015).*

In the above explanation, De la Paz did not mention to the hill dwellers concrete actions to make new housing safer. As the Observatorio Valparaíso depicts in their report, urban planning instruments, such as the Metropolitan Regularising Plan of Valparaíso (Plan Regulador Metropolitano de Valparaíso, PREMVAL) and reports of the National Geology and Mining Service (Servicio Nacional de Geología y Minería SERNAGEOMIN), have a different approach to safer self-reconstruction.

From these two institutions, three major risks are identified in Map 14: flooding and landslides in the gorges' areas (in blue), Fire potentiality due to the city's closeness to forest areas (in red) -with highly flammable introduced species such as eucalyptus-, and gorges' micro landfills and the precariat materials used for self-reconstruction (in yellow). By crossing this information, Map 14

offers an illustration of these three risks, upon which it locates the self-reconstructed houses until December 2015¹⁴².



Map 14¹⁴³ (left): Synthesis of risky areas and self-reconstructed houses. The blue is flooding and landslide risk, the red is Fire risk, and the yellow square are the georeferenced self-reconstructed houses.

Source: Observatorio Valparaíso (2015, p. 63).

Map 15 (right): Synthesis of the alternatives for self-reconstruction in the affected area of the upper-hills. Red squares represent precariat self-reconstruction, yellow represents assisted self-reconstruction and green represents building companies houses.

Source: Observatorio Valparaíso (2015, p. 51).

The information above relates to the mapping of a land registry realized by the Observatorio Valparaíso. It highlights more specifically the risk that underlies the precariat materiality of the new self-reconstruction. The registry's main finding was the account of 1,147 houses emplaced in high risk areas (of both flooding and Fires); of which 630 (55%) correspond to precariat self-

¹⁴² This comparison is made up until the moment of publication of the *Observatorio Valparaíso's* report, December 2015.

¹⁴³ Do note that the map locates the coastline towards its top, making the upper-hill areas at the bottom. The same logic applies to Map 14.

reconstruction materials and 314 (17%) correspond to emplacements in downstream areas of the gorges. On top of this risk analysis, the Observatorio also highlights the associated risk factors that come attached with the type of self-reconstruction.

As De la Paz mentioned in the Mirador meeting, there are four alternatives to rebuild, which are: self-reconstruction without assistance, self-reconstruction with assistance, reconstruction through hired building companies, and to buy a subsidized house in other area of the city (or other city entirely) (Municipality of Valparaíso, 2015).

Of these four alternatives, the first one is by far the riskier, as it lacks architectural and technical supervision (which is given in alternative two). As shown in Table 24 and Map 15, alternative one is the most used, because it does not lower the bond amount granted by the State, which *would* happen with alternative two as a percentage *would* be taken from this amount to pay the assisting architect.

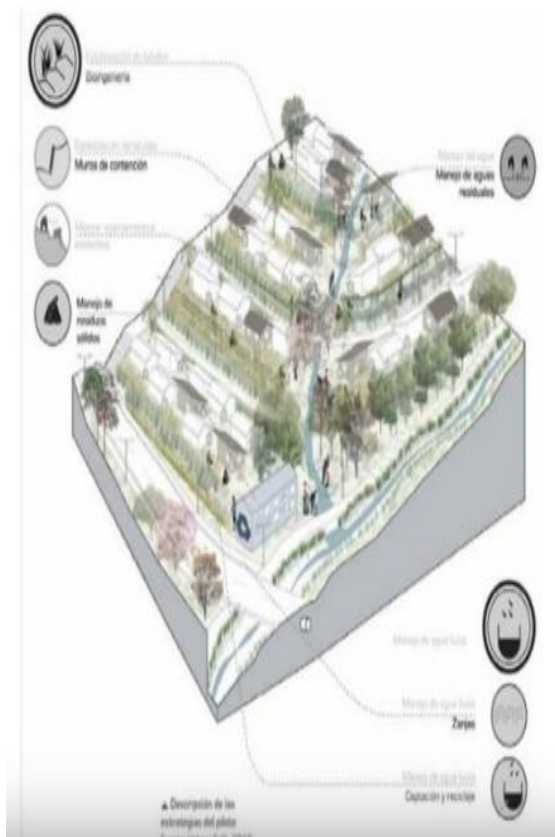
Table 24: Alternatives of Self-Reconstruction according to hill of precedence.

Cerros	Catastro Materialidad en Zonas de Riesgo (todos los riesgos)			
	Autoc. Precaria	Autoc. Asistida	Constructora	Total
La Cruz	235	127	28	390
Florida- Mariposa	15	0	0	15
Monjas- Mariposa	10	0	0	10
Las Cañas	282	194	129	605
Ramaditas	42	18	0	60
Merced	46	13	8	67
TOTAL	630	352	165	1.147
% Riesgo	54,9%	30,7%	14,4%	100,0%

Source: Observatorio Valparaíso (2015, p. 56).

7.2.2 Objective 2: To recuperate neighbourhoods

The second objective, which is the recuperation or reconstruction of local neighbourhoods, was posed as a binary issue with objective three, to impulse a thriving economy. In the view of the Municipality, if *porteños* enjoyed a healthy economy, they could apply and *thrive* from their entrepreneur spirit.



However, to promote such a socioeconomic dialectic, two situations had to be improved: transportation within the city to achieve a cultural reset of Valparaíso's gorges (Municipality of Valparaíso, 2015). Taking base on the renewed urbanisation of the city of Medellín, Colombia, here illustrated in Image 64, the general idea behind objective 2 was to *make happen* dramatic cultural changes and *teach* the local communities ways and means to make life sustainable in the context of a Valparaíso gorge.

Image 64: Proposed gorge use of land, based on Medellín's example of renewed urbanisation.
Source: Garín Franz (2014, p. 38).

When explaining this socioeconomic dialectic, which connects 'proper' use of gorge land to thriving entrepreneurship possibilities, De la Paz argued that:

If we are able to set the conditions to make the gorges an attractive economic possibility for private investors... and public as well, so they can invest in these neglected areas, the gorges will become an area which can even be exploited for tourism purposes.

We have looked into Medellín. I don't know how many of you know this, but in Colombia they made a complete renovation of the city of Medellín. They worked with local communities, and from there the authorities devised a plan that met their most urgent needs. That's what we are trying to do here, with all of you.

Anyway, the gorges, to become economically viable, will have to be properly occupied, and to make that happen, we need a good transport system, that can connect not only plains to the hills, but that can also connect hill to up-hill vertically, and hill to hill horizontally.

This surely will become a great touristic attraction with time, while at the same time it would allow the Municipality to connect even more to the patrimonial UNESCO area, and eventually, try and recuperate

what these neglected hills have to offer in the sense of patrimonial background....

Source: *Municipality of Valparaíso (2015).*

The analysis provided by De la Paz implies that the vulnerable situation of the up-hills was a self-made social crisis, which the Municipality was now, finally, financially empowered to tackle. In her words, the proper use of land can be redirected, making the up-hills a viable and possibly rentable place to live. However, as seen in Table 25, the reconstruction plan's budget which is focused for the neighbourhood recuperation objective, does not offer details regarding how any of the planned urban recuperation projects improve the housing and living conditions in the upper-hills.

Table 25: Expense rates and execution of projects in neighbourhoods and city-wide scale.

ESCALA CIUDAD	MONTO PROGRAMADO	MONTO GASTADO	EJECUCION
Mejoramiento Conectividad Estructurante	1.027.000.000	1.004.246.276	97,8%
Condiciones Ambientales y de Seguridad	8.050.000.000	2.746.666.625	34,1%
Movilidad	3.435.000.000	489.131.294	14,2%
Subtotal Ciudad	12.512.000.000	4.240.044.195	33,9%
ESCALA BARRIO	MONTO PROGRAMADO	MONTO EJECUTADO	EJECUCION
Espacio Público y Equipamiento	2.731.000.000	1.669.036.567	61,1%
Movilidad y Accesibilidad	6.200.000.000	3.865.795.102	62,4%
Seguridad	3.380.000.000	2.037.832.114	60,3%
Subtotal Barrio	12.311.000.000	7.572.663.783	61,5%
TOTAL 2014-2015	24.823.000.000	11.812.707.978	47,6%

Source: Observatorio Valparaíso (2015, p. 72).

The development of Objective 2 is sub sequential: to reduce the micro landfills in the gorges, garbage trucks had to be able to reach the up-hills. Then, to teach families not to expand their homes informally, they need to be working, and so, people need to be transported up and down the hills. To consolidate new land use for the gorges, the area needs to be connected to the opportunities that the plains offer, such as education (quality high schools), public health (quality hospitals), and access to governmental offices (the Municipality itself and other governmental buildings). And finally, to transform the gorges into a sustainable and thriving area of the city, it was necessary to connect this area to other economic and/or cultural poles, such as the port itself or the UNESCO heritage site; which is illustrated by Image 65 below.

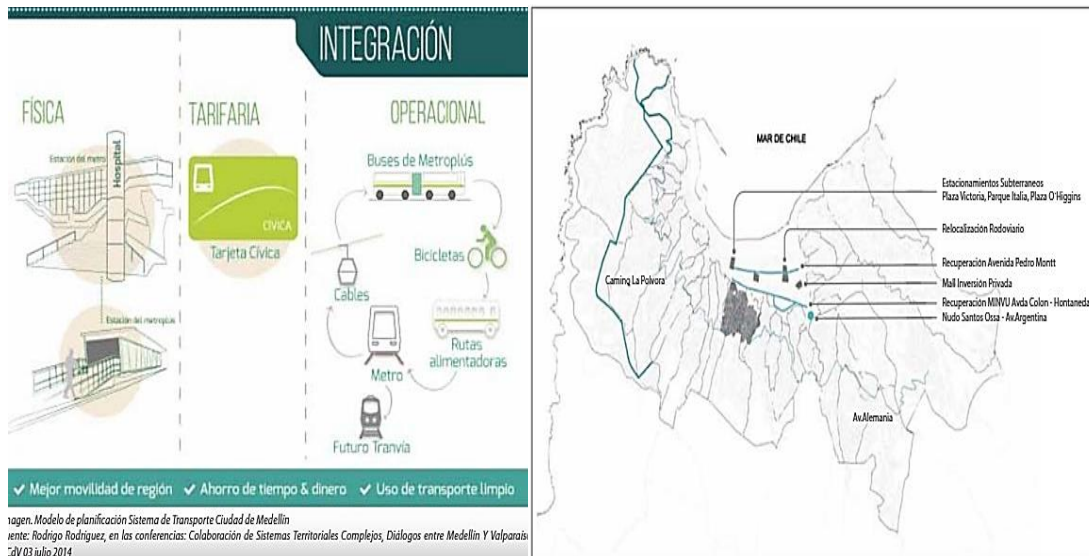


Image 65: Illustration and mapping of the New Transportation Plan for both up-hills and plains area.
Source: Garín Franz (2014, p. 30 and 36).

7.2.3 Objective 3: To lower vulnerability levels

One of the final presentations in this meeting regarded the financial discretionary budget that the national government had transferred to the Municipality for the Reconstruction Plan, which distributed in 79 urban projects the US\$ 509 million¹⁴⁴ granted by the national government. In the financial explanation, De la Paz mentioned the reorganisation of the reconstruction budget to accommodate the full development of the plan discussed above. The areas to be intervened are shown here in Maps 13 and 14, where most of the city is shadowed, leaving the plains as the only non-intervened area of the city.

As the first and second objective, the third one aims to position Valparaíso as a touristic area, city-wide. To achieve this main aim, issues such as connectivity and accessibility, reconversion of segregated areas, improvements in sanitary conditions, investment in preparedness of the city, control of the forestry and micro landfills, modifications to the urban normative and a new understanding of the sociocultural use of the gorges' land are key to the 2014 Reconstruction Plan.

¹⁴⁴ To view the list of the 79 urban projects contemplated in the 2014 Reconstruction Plan, please refer to Appendix F and G, p. 237 onwards.

Principales Sectores a intervenir en la comuna de Valparaíso

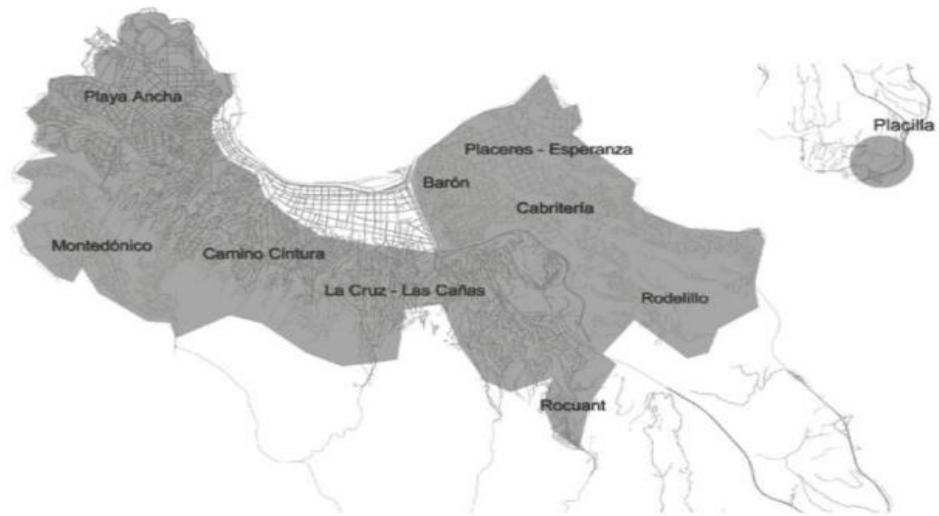


Imagen. Principales sectores identificados con microbasurales.
Fuente: Municipalidad de Valparaíso

Map 16: Principal sectors to intervene in Valparaíso.
Source: Garín Franz (2015, p. 47 and ss.).

As mentioned earlier, 79 urban projects were planned to lower vulnerability levels and control risky conditions, to concretely implement a *definitive* reconstruction, a new urbanisation for Valparaíso, to be developed during Castro's Municipal administration and further, if he won the 2016 Municipal elections. Projects such as expanding Alemania Avenue as the natural limit of risky conditions, to '*bring the State to the up-hills*' to create a more interactive relationship between local/national authorities to upper-hill neighbourhoods, treat and sanitize the gorges, and installing 18 micro dams in the upper-hills regarding preparedness for future Fires were explained as main examples of the projects that would eventually contribute to lower the vulnerable conditions of the city.

However, a local council representative (LCR) of Cerro El Litre community asked De la Paz (DLP) about the amount of money allocated to housing reconstruction provided by the Municipality. The exchange went as follows:

LCR: Can you explain to us why the Municipality doesn't have budget to invest in houses.

De la Paz (DLP): What do you mean?

LCR: On those tables and graphs there is no mention of budget to build houses. How are you going to do that without money?

DLP: Well, I have already explained the self-reconstruction scheme...

(...)

LCR: So, basically the integrity of our neighbourhoods will depend on those who self-reconstruct, those who have bonds from the government, and those who have their papers in order. You do realize that for that to happen it can take months if not years [referring to the regularisation papers]

DLP: Yes, but that's the law, and those are the conditions upon which we can act as a Municipality

LCR: But the neighbourhoods...

DLP: They will be reconstructed for future tourism... isn't that what we all want? To have a city where people come and leave money behind¹⁴⁵, to make it rentable once more?

LCR: No, not us. We just want our homes back".

Source: *Municipality of Valparaíso (2015)*.

7.3 The embedding of social disasters, through false expectations

In this chapter I have discussed the three-main urban recuperation plans that Valparaíso has lived through in the 20th century, but by no means are they the only ones. As my archival work has shown me¹⁴⁶, with every disaster, and with every election, new plans arrive with the intention of '*fixing Valparaíso*'. However, such plans have lacked the acknowledgement of the profound social crisis' that have been festering in subsequent Valparaíso reconstruction plans. Purposely or not, reconstruction plans have had strong social consequences, such as marginalisation, segregation and gentrification.

These many plans *do* depict one common denominator, which is the acknowledgement of authorities of the state of decay that contextualized *porteño* life for decades. In many ways, this acknowledgement is based on the fact that unemployment, scarce public and private investment, lack of update of urban planning instruments and the centralisation of Santiago as

¹⁴⁵ '*Chilenism*' that says that people come and buy, eat and enjoy the local culture by buying jewellery or other souvenir-type crafts.

¹⁴⁶ Please refer to Table 3, p. 29 for the summary of analysed disasters and their general timeframe.

the place to obtain better education and better jobs is even more catalysed by Valparaíso's geographical proximity to the capital. The three plans critically explored here, from 1980, 2003 and 2014 disasters, are mere overviews of their context and initial implementations.

In the case of the Relocation of the National Congress under the Military Regime, it had a clear objective: to show the citizenry the concrete possibility of the return to democracy; but under a canvas of de-centralisation dependant to the inner logics of Pinochet's regime. For the decision-makers of the time, it was relevant to pose this relocation as the foreground of many infrastructural works that were being carried out across the country. Although most of them had the geopolitical mind frame of the Cold War, such as the unification and connectivity of Chile through the realisation of the '*Carretera Austral*'¹⁴⁷, the relocation of the National Congress was a stepping stone for the Regime. By pushing the finalisation of the master work to 1990, it was set to inaugurate the democratic election of Pinochet after the *first free elections* held in the plebiscite of 1989. On no one's agenda was the idea that he *could* lose. Instead, by winning this election, the country would assure another 10 years under his rule, and thus securing Chile's future away from communism.

At the time, many voices were critical of the urban impact that the National Congress' building would achieve. But, as Eva Olthof¹⁴⁸ commented in 2013, "the building of the National Congress is the *Arc du Triumph* of Pinochet" (TheClinic.cl, 2013). It was supposed to bring a new, democratic era to a country that could *still* be vulnerable to soviet influence. Moreover, it should have been the crowing jewel of a Regime that prided itself as the most de-centralized government Chile had ever had. Despite Pinochet's electoral loss, his building remains as the clearest intent to separate the three branches of republican power within Chile, which, in the view of the Military Regime, became a guarantee for a '*nevermore*' of future political crisis.

¹⁴⁷ Austral Highway that covered the very south of Chile in times of possible invasion from Argentina during the (Almost) War of 1978.

¹⁴⁸ Renowned social scientist working in Valparaíso.

However, in terms of real urban impact on Valparaíso, the goal of re-urbanisation and revitalisation of the decaying *The Almendral* sector has not yet been achieved. As signalled before, the true impacts have been of overcrowding of the surrounding street network, getting to the point of sinking its nearest avenue, which also serves as the official entry from Santiago into Valparaíso. The bottlenecks and traffic accidents are daily testaments that the de-centralisation of Santiago through the relocation of Congress to Valparaíso did not work.

The 2003 Valparaíso UNESCO denomination is not the only declaration of World Heritage sites in Chile, but it has been the last successful one. In its original planning, it was important to situate Chile, through the city of Valparaíso, as a democratically functioning country, which was able to promote itself in the world league and was competent enough to maintain the compromises between Chile and the international community. From 1998 (application to UNESCO) to 2003 (UNESCO denomination), Chile was able to harvest more validation from many bilateral agreements and multilateral performances, which ultimately carried the country to one of the rotating seats on the Defence Council of the United Nations at the critical juncture of the 2001 attack on the Twin Towers.

However relevant this declaration was to Chile, it did not have the same effect in Valparaíso, both as a city nor in its urbanism. As discussed in Document Insertion 3 (p. 137), the expected rewards of the effort of national and local authorities, as well as part of the citizenry (that lived near the UNESCO perimeter) and of many experts that participated in the confection of the Application Report were not met in 2003, and neither since. Although it secured financial resources for security, infrastructure, cleanliness and to promote the arts within the perimeter, it had no major impact city-wide.

As my middle-aged participants explained to me¹⁴⁹, the wider discourse *involved all porteños*, and thus, its rewards *should have reached all porteños*.

¹⁴⁹ See Table 3, p. 32. This age group was the most involved in times of the 2003 declaration, by working on the betterment and/or beautification of the city, especially in their hills of origin, such as painting their façades in times that financially was a family's sacrifice for the city.

The level of disappointment, at the time of my fieldworks (2015 and 2016) was still palpable, because, amongst many things that were not delivered, it was Mayor *Pinto* that *did not deliver* for *all porteños*. This last phrase signals the decay of what the *Pinto* symbol represented, or what he himself hoped to represent, which was *porteñoness* itself. For Participant 38, the sense of betrayal and deception deepened the sense of city decay:

Because of the great exaggeration that 'Valparaíso as Human Heritage City' entailed, without previous stages of people's formation, without previous stages of betterment of ambience, without previous stages so as to make sure that authority and society took responsibility; all of these generated a great detriment to the city, because it caused high expectations which were never fulfilled.

Source: *Participant-38 (2015)*.

As analysed in the first section of this Chapter, social inequalities had been previously introduced (at least since) in 1866 and consolidated since 1906, through clear segregation schemes. These schemes which relate to the hierarchical use of land, in combination with the social crisis brought upon by various false expectations over time, have meant the disillusionment of the citizenry with its local authorities, furthering the commodification process discussed in Chapter 5. Ultimately, the huge and underlying impact of social crisis caused by not-met expectations, as Participant 38 explained above, left the citizenry lacking trust in the entire establishment.

The examples of the 1980s Relocation of Congress and the 2003 UNESCO declaration have played profound parts in the decay of the city as a whole, specifically regarding the development of topophilia within its citizenry. Furthermore, these three urban recuperation plan examples played a relevant role in the neoliberalisation of *porteñoness* as well, which becomes visible with the 2014 Reconstruction Plan. Meanwhile, underlining the false expectations created from these two examples, a deep feeling of social unrest imbedded into *porteñoness*. Flores (2005) notes that the 20th century Valparaíso decay has left its city-dwellers *helpless*¹⁵⁰:

¹⁵⁰ For a conceptual reminder from behaviour studies, see Toolbox 4, p. 65.

The helplessness and abandonment of the citizens is expressed in poverty, in the chaotic map of conventillos both in the plains as in the city's hills, in the eternal lack of tap water and sewers and water waste disposal, in the uncovered streams which are drain for the filthiness, the abandonment of the hills, with the exception of Cerro Alegre, Concepción and Bellavista [UNESCO perimeter]; lack of pavement in the most transited streets, the absence of government politics and of municipality activities referred to sanity, hygiene, the development of a well-planned organisation, the winter flooding's in the city plains for months on, which become focus of un-healthiness. To that we have to add the catastrophes that always blighted Valparaíso, like Fires, landslides, earthquakes, gorges' erosion usually inhabited, unleashed storms, as well as the insecurity provoked by police abandonment”.

Source: Flores (2005, p. 29).

As articulated earlier, the social crisis that has been festering during decades finally erupted with the 2014 Mega Fire. Both the State and the Municipality also promised to *fix* Valparaíso, but, as analysed previously in this Chapter, the 2014 Reconstruction Plan aimed to recover the city for tourism, which was not an aim of the city's affected communities, which explains, after the analysis of false expectations in a total history perspective that, 17 months post-Mega Fire, images as the one illustrated by Image 66 are visible again.

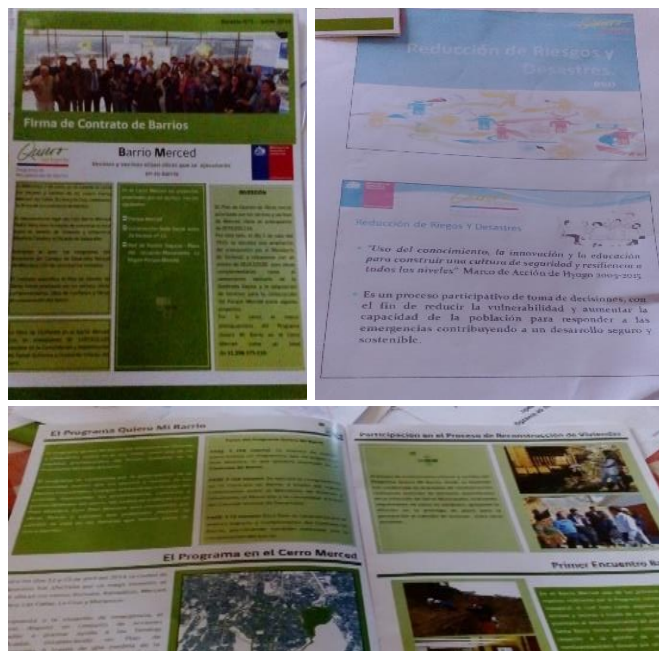
Image 66: Precariat self-reconstruction.

Source: Observatorio Valparaíso (2015)



As the Reconstruction Plan is not meaningful both in identity and place-making, and by not preserving the *porteño way of life*, resistant resilience emerged **once again** as the default pattern of behaviour. Thus, as Image 66 shows, place-making becomes (social) risk-making *once again*, thus creating topophilia through the 2014 Mega Fire.

Following the 2015 meeting of the Mirador, the 2014 Reconstruction Plan that aimed to fix Valparaíso becomes a failed urban renovation project. Analysing the reaction of its attendees, both the State and the Municipality changed their *modus operandi*. From socialisation to large communities, the new approach was to reach out to individual families. The underlying idea was to get in touch with the common hill dweller and rebuild the trust of the population one family at a time. State programs such as ‘*Quiero Mi Barrio*’ (‘*I Love My Neighbourhood*’ programm) were supposed to rescue and protect the way of life in the up-hills, here shown in Image 65. Municipal programmes such as psychologic help for PTSD for the affected hill dwellers were also promised. What arrived up-hill was zumba, knitting and crafts classes, as well as leaflets regarding self-care of the future homes, here seen in Image 67.



Once again, the responsibility to ensure and protect a particular way of life, the one of the *porteño* of the up-hills, was delayed. And, in parallel, the double condition of vulnerability gets more consolidated in *porteñoness* with the succession of false expectations post-disaster event scenario.

Image 67: Collage that features Leaflet of "I love my Neighbourhood" explaining the activities affected hill dwellers can enjoy, fully financed by the national government & Municipality leaflet regarding Fire Safety

Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015b).

Part III

Conclusions, Limitations and Future Possibilities

Chapter 8

Conclusions

To study a contemporary phenomenon has its risks, as closeness to the facts can contaminate the reflections and analysis of said phenomenon. However, what to do in the case of studying disasters as phenomena which is perceived as de-historicised, in terms of its *extraordinary* quality? When explored in different levels and angles, disasters do not happen every day: their consequences should last a period of time before *normalcy* returns, disaster management *manages* the *aftermath* and the sociocultural, environmental and economic impacts that involve affected communities are dealt -mainly- through the passing of generations through time, in the hope that things -someday- return to normal¹⁵¹.

In this sense, the case of Valparaíso is paradigmatic. For Valparaíso, living through the 2014 Mega Fire was not just about this Fire. It was about the countless previous disasters in its history. It was about past experiences, older generations, family stories, social myth, communal struggles and survival. It is -and was- about the helplessness of being homeless in a day, about the lost memories, about concerns of the immediate future and what to do about it. Ultimately, where the de-historicised extraordinary yields to everyday life.

The *normalcy* factor in Valparaíso as a disaster-prone place, whether from variety or from frequency, is what makes Valparaíso a *paradigmatic* case study for disaster studies, mainly due to its *transferability* quality. Further, this is the reason that sustains my decision of applying mixed methods and ethnography to my study. Moreover, its paradigmatic and transferability qualities are the reasons why this thesis took the reader through the city's extended disaster history in an effort to glimpse at the deep meaning behind the 2014 Mega Fire.

¹⁵¹ I am thinking here of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which to this day suffer the impacts of radiation; or Hurricane Katrina and its urban consequences of displacements and marginality; the Blitz Spirit that marked a period in British history as well as so many other disaster cases, past and present, worldwide...

This chapter will be divided in five (short) sections. First, I will go back to my main arguments and research questions, to analyse the answers given in my empirical chapters and elucidate this research's replicability. Second, I will put these answers in the perspective of the conceptual framework articulated in Chapter 3, to compare and contrast Disaster Identity to its fellow analytical tools there analysed. Third, I will delve into the discussion of Disaster Identity within its original conceptualisation by pairing it with the outputs of this research. Fourth, I will discuss the limitations of this research to finally, in a fifth moment, discuss the future possibilities of Disaster Identity as a new analytical tool for disaster studies.

8.1 The Four Main Arguments and their findings

Chapter 4 dealt with my first argument, which proposes Social Memory as a key element in understanding what happens to communities who *currently* live through a disaster event. In Valparaíso's case, by reducing *uncertainty by the certainty of uncertainty in social life*, levels of randomness and its immanent risky potentiality are also reduced in moments of extreme tension.

Many of my participants explained that *porteñoness* is a construct that goes beyond that of 'getting used to' disasters. Rather, *social memory portrays a feedback loop of validation* of meaningful sets of values. With each new disaster, *porteños* do not want to flee the city. Instead, they affirm the place where they have constructed homes and neighbourhoods, because *the city and its disasters have made them* who they are. In my interviews, social memory goes beyond the creation of sense of attachment to a space, *beyond the sense of belonging*¹⁵².

Social memory, in a disaster-prone place such as Valparaíso, crafts a deep *topophilic* relationship which entwines its communities to their place through the meaning gathered by collective experiences with disaster. Rather than being the virtual storage of past collective experiences, social memory revealed itself as the catalyst of meaning behind the sociocultural construction

¹⁵² The concept of '*beyond belonging*' is the intellectual construction of Shruti Vispute within the context of her PhD dissertation. For more details, please refer to Vispute (2017).

of collectively validated narratives. Thus, by using Tuan's topophilia concept, social memory performativity transforms from a simple container of the *past*, to a catalyst of survival strategies in *current* disaster experiences; all of which *nurtures place making in meaning*, as well as sustains *future* identity-related patterns of behaviours regarding disaster events.

Chapter 5 discusses my second argument, which depicts the sociocultural *changes* in a community emplaced in a disaster-prone place, through time and space. In the case of *porteñoness*, its rise, consolidation and fall process is depicted by one of my participants¹⁵³, who explained that *the porteño stops being a porteño when Valparaíso stops being Valparaíso*. This simple sentence explodes with meaning while delving into the city's disaster history. Globalization pressures, from the 1914 Panama Canal inauguration to the 1973 Coup d'état, proved sufficient in almost annihilating a particular way of life. As a disrupted logic, each new disaster deepened *porteño* commodification instead of nurturing its meaning. It took a major disaster with a deep set of meaningful consequences, such as the 2014 Mega Fire, to re-install the matrix of resignification feedback of old and new meaningful disaster experiences.

By using Debord's concept of commodification through spectacle, the rise and fall of *porteñoness* acquires more in depth meaning. As a neomarxist explanation of the cultural obsolescence caused by the port crisis of the 1930's onwards, the commodification of this social identity depicts the profound crisis of *porteñoness*' inner mentality and core values. Therefore, and since 2014, *porteño* patterns of behaviour have re-instated the dialogues and narrative construction mechanisms that were part of *porteño* social memory; all of which has resulted vital for the organization of new social movements, such as '*No al Mall Barón*'.

My third argument relates to the critical evaluation of *porteño* political patterns of behaviour during disaster events. As Chapter 6 emphasized, such patterns of behaviour are directly related to disaster events, and they can be categorized into what I call *resistant resilience*. In the context of Valparaíso,

¹⁵³ Participant-5 (2015) is a historian senior male hill dweller.

as one participant better explained, resistant resilience is necessary to have some kind of *defence against many ongoing decisions* relating the many reconstruction plans that are happening in the city¹⁵⁴. Moreover, the social use of resistant resilience also depicts the many adaptive processes *porteños* have endured and constructed over the centuries, that allowed them *to survive for living* in such a way that made their sense of belonging and topophilia that much stronger and a profoundly committed one.

As *porteño* life develops through endless repetitions of the *construction-destruction-reconstruction* dialectic related to disaster events, my findings enhance the role of resistant resilience as a socially valid mechanism that ensures the survival and maintenance of *porteño* way of life. By using Braudel's total history concept, resistant resilience can be understood in its contextual origin, in its exercise during reconstruction plans, and as part of *porteño* behaviour of everyday life. Therefore, to live in a disaster-prone place implies the necessity to develop a resilience that can be used *not only to survive, but to live* in endless reconstruction plans as current contextualizations of everyday life.

Nevertheless, and as mentioned earlier, life in endless reconstruction plans takes a toll. I have denominated this process as the impact of *False Expectations* in communities that are emplaced in disaster-prone places. Developed in Chapter 7, Valparaíso's case demonstrates that *effectiveness of urban reconstruction plans are not the real issue*. As frequent as reconstruction plans are to respond to as many disasters, they all seem to share one common denominator. By exploring 19 disaster events as part of the total disaster history of Valparaíso, my findings suggest the historic construction of '*Fix Valparaíso Plan*' as a tendency that usually is organised in between four walls and has a top-bottom scheme of implementation. Each time this happens, these plans present high percentage of failure of their main aims, due to the fact that decision-makers are not contextualizing their own decisions with the affected communities.

¹⁵⁴ Participant-42 (2015) is a senior female hill dweller.

As a disaster happens in disaster-prone places, decision-makers tend to appraise such events as big opportunities to bring about a new, improved place. Thus, reconstruction plans are configured as the plan that can fix all the issues that that places suffers; and, therefore, such reconstruction plans through their *fix promises*, aim to obtain social validation in exchange for the social acceptance of imposed political agendas. These are reconstruction plans that entail a detailed urban regeneration plan that, consciously or not, end up causing political segregation for the very same affected communities that live within disaster-prone conditions. Under this perspective, what disaster reconstruction plans achieves is to *critically embed social unrest within communities that survive for livelihood in uncertain realities*.

In the particular case of Valparaíso understood as a disaster-prone place, my findings indicate a strong pattern that suggests a social perception regarding disaster events. When disaster strikes, they are socially assimilated to a *once and again dialectic*. As such, in Valparaíso's case, the model of Disaster Identity shown here in Image 68, is contextualized by Mircea Eliade's (1959) prime notion of *eternal return*. By explaining a circular conception of time, where junctures have the inevitable tendency to repeat themselves in different contextual situations, Disaster Identity's model applied to Valparaíso acquires even more cultural meaning by locating its analysis within the historical construction of *porteño risk hegemonic culture*.

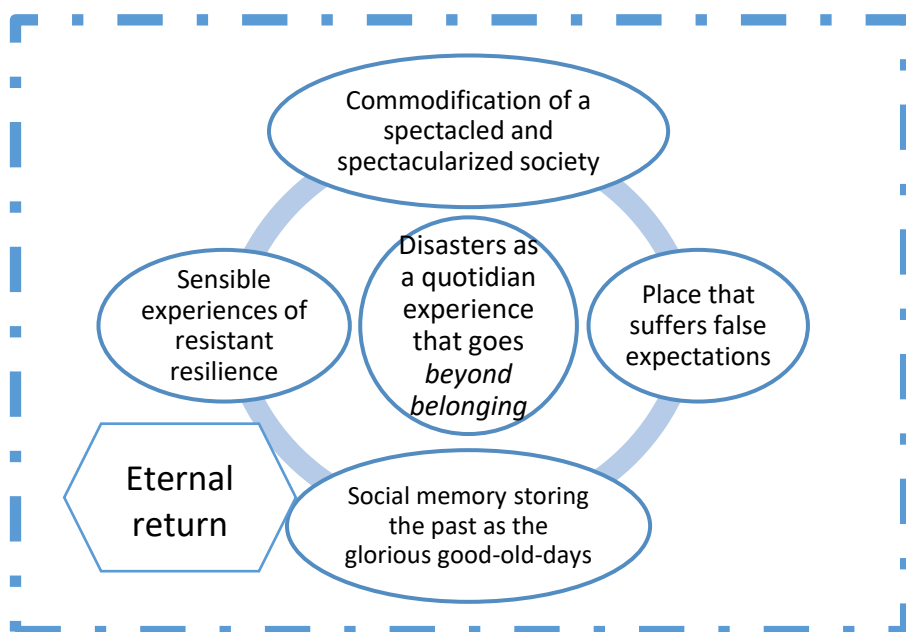


Image 68:
Disaster Identity
Model of
Analysis.
Source: Own
crafting

8.2 Comparison of Disaster Identity with other analytical tools in disaster studies.

In Chapter 3, I summarised the most relevant frameworks within disaster studies which understood the event of a disaster as a sociocultural phenomenon. In this section, I compare and contrast those frameworks with that of Disaster Identity.

Firstly, Sorokin (2017 [1942]) in his study of *Man and Society in Calamity*, depicts the significance of extraordinary events in social life. It is in this prime notion where Disaster Identity positions itself regarding the relevance of this type of study *because* of the potential impact that such an extraordinary event can have on the life of an individual and of a society. As Sorokin implies, these types of events can change how individuals think, feel and process; and, in the end, it can impact the performativity of an individual or a society.

Studying disaster proclivity and its impacts in rural communities, Hannigan and Kueneman (1978) acknowledged the creation of a subculture that was crafted and sustained by disaster frequency. This seminal study reflected on the characteristics that made the affected communities -in this case of flooding events in Western Canada-, unique in their response actions, signalling that this type of resilience was provided through generations of communal knowledge.

The above framework is remarkably similar to that of Disaster Identity, especially when highlighting what I described in this research as Social Memory. If anything can fuel determined patterns of behaviour in a disaster event, it would not be the official protocol implemented by the authorities when communal knowledge is strongly available. Not only is this because it is not a certainty that all members of a community know the particulars of a protocol, nor that the involved communities have a disregard for authority. Agreeing with Hannigan and Kueneman, the first reactions facing a disaster are critical, and they are based upon experiential knowledge accumulated through the generations. For Hannigan and Kueneman, communal knowledge is the basis not only for disaster response, but for the creation of a *Disaster Subculture*.

And, in this final argument, Disaster Identity diverges in two very specific ways. First, these authors, -although portraying the importance of communal knowledge- do not acknowledge the depth of the *experiential learning* process. In other words, they do not acknowledge the *semiologist meaning* behind such a statement. Instead, the communal knowledge argument just explains the patterns of behaviour of emplaced communities that are *conditioned by disaster frequency*. Likewise, Disaster Identity regards the importance of patterns of behaviour. However, Disaster Identity seeks a deeper understanding: that, culturally, social life is *symbolically sustained* by several signs that give the involved communities meaning and a sense of belonging which, in turn, is manifested through various symbols in daily life.

For example, if there is a more than average seismic event, local *porteños* tend to listen and focus on possible sounds coming from the sea instead of evacuating the area immediately. This pattern of behaviour is not only just sustained because of the communal knowledge built into a city that is right on the coastline and that has had various experiences with tsunamis. This *pattern of behaviour*, triggered by the *need to survive* a disaster event, is also sustained by what this type of event *means* socially: activation of social networks that organise evacuation from the coastline, and people redirecting towards an evacuation point in the city, streets or homes where they *feel safe*¹⁵⁵.

Those safe spaces are not *necessarily* safe (such as public lighting wires exist in abundance hanging from the lighting posts which makes running through the streets unsafe; or, if near the foot of the hills, landslides can become hazardous), but their culturally crafted design is *what makes them feel safe* (such as distance and height from the coastline inner home designs do not have any cabinets above beds, and the archway that is structurally safe has a cleared path, were the *earthquake backpack* should be nearly located). These small cultural manifestations are signs for *porteños*, which, in the end, symbolically nurture the notion of awareness of life in a disaster-prone

¹⁵⁵ For a conceptual reminder from disaster studies, regarding the subjective perception of risk, See Toolbox 1, p. 51.

location; and evolves into a particular (cognitive) mentality and particular (emotional) set of values.

Second, for Disaster Identity, disaster frequency or proclivity is not a fixed conditioning factor of social life. Rather, the same disaster events that provoke the sociocultural crafting of determined patterns of behaviour are the same nourishing events that *sustain* life in disaster-prone spaces. And this is where Disaster Identity intertwines with the creation of place in disaster-prone spaces: to create *topophilia* in those risky and potentially hazardous conditions, which immediately makes any community emplaced there a vulnerable one, is a situation that surpasses disaster frequency as a cultural element.

Therefore, the social structures created in disaster-prone conditions craft a sense of *belonging because* of disasters, and their sense of attachment to a place is *nurtured* by disasters. The above affirmation is the reason why Disaster Identity does not support disaster subculture as a *complete* framework. To be a subculture *implies* that there is a bigger cultural canvas, which is qualitatively different at least, if not opposed to the one being analysed. To be a subculture implies that the effects on communities who suffer from disaster frequency are particular to that reality and that that reality is *extraordinary*. To be a subculture implies that the inner working of its social structures are somehow limited to the disaster experiences that a community is exposed to.

On the contrary, Disaster Identity puts forward the understanding that the *reality* it studies is a *permanent* one, which is neither exceptional nor extraordinary because it is *normal*. Disaster Identity, thus, involves the whole sociocultural spectra, and it is not just a part of a single one, however relevant. It is *consistent* -throughout subsequent disasters, no matter its category (whether human-made Fire, earthquake, or false expectations) or frequency- because disaster certainty (or potentiality) *is* a permanent reality, an *ordinary* event. Rather, Disaster Identity signals a perpetual sociocultural condition; which is why this analytical tool becomes original.

Ulrich Beck's study of the *Risk Society* aimed to understand how risk distribution acted in social life. Beck's insight led his research to enquire into

social narratives, which allowed him to identify how certain social structures impose a self-legitimising discourse that validates risk distribution unequally, in the hope of preventing the (next) *not-yet-event* (disaster). Risk society, thus, contextualizes Disaster Identity as a constructivist framework, which allows to further comprehend the complexities of life in disaster-prone places. In this sense, Disaster Identity complements the interpretational analytical scope of *Risk Society*; while, at the same time, pushes forward the symbolic meaning of the social structures actions and interactions that are risk society's preoccupation.

Finally, recent studies have focused their analysis in different moments of a disaster event¹⁵⁶. As explored in this thesis Introduction, Drury (2018) focuses on how communities are transformed with disaster events; for which he depicts the importance of social organizations. Regarding this perspective, Disaster Identity agrees with the importance of communal knowledge, especially when its construction is contextualised by disaster events. However, Drury's view lacks a total history perspective, which could offer the necessary tools to understand *how* this communal knowledge was constructed. In doing so, the total history perspective that is one of the structural concepts of Disaster Identity, allows the researcher to explore communal transformations according to the meanings underlying the changes and continuities that those communities' social structures experience with each disaster event. Ultimately, total history highlights the topophilic meaning that contextualise the resilient capabilities of communities that are emplaced in disaster-prone places.

Manalu et al. (2018) poise the process by which disaster frequency assures the development of a local history that is conditioned, both in an environmental and in a sociological way, by disaster events. Although approaching the study of disaster events with a total history perspective, this approach lacks the meaningful contextualization that the commodification of spectacle offers as an analytical concept, which explores the reasons behind the development of a changing society. Without this second analytical concept, the total history

¹⁵⁶ With these sentences, I am referring to the different moments that are part of the disaster phases understanding, illustrated in Appendix A, p. 219.

perspective of any case study remains as a list of events -in an almanac manner- that do not explore *how* society changes, in this case, provoked by disaster events, nor does it explore the underlined meanings behind such changes both in environments and social structures of communities that are disaster-prone emplaced.

Finally, studies like that proposed by Melo Zurita et al. (2018) and Jarman (2017) enquire about the social capital that face top-bottom agencies that are underlined within disaster management, especially in reconstruction plans post-disasters. When city-making in disaster-prone places changes to obtain and/or maintain political power, communal knowledge experiences a cultural political behaviour change. In this, Disaster Identity agrees on the emphasis regarding the observance of political behaviour that is impacted and provoked by disaster events. In this agreement, Disaster Identity complements this analysis when depicting the importance of topophilia in the city-making process. When complementing with a topophilic perspective, the cultural political behavioural changes focused on these studies acquire the sociocultural contextualization of place-making of city-makers that pursue to obtain or maintain political power.

8.3 Disaster Identity's relevance and originality as a new analytical tool for disaster studies

Disaster Identity, here illustrated in Image 69, explores how social life in disaster-prone places is *not a traumatized* one. Rather, by *normalizing disaster* events as part of social life, disaster-prone emplaced communities *own* and incorporate disaster experiences into their cultural landscape. Taking into account the Dimensions and Categories upon which I explored Valparaíso's disaster history, the creation of *topophilia* is not only possible in secure and stable environments -which are the places explored by Tuan in his work-, but *in unsafe, risky and unstable conditions* too.

Ultimately, in Valparaíso's Disaster Identity construction, an *intertextual representation* of social participation is detected in *its risky hegemonic cultural* narratives, from where remembering, resisting, and living in social disappointment settles beneath the surface of social crisis.



Image 69: Volunteers facing post-disaster clean-up.
Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (2014).

In the case of disaster-prone places such as Valparaíso, life suffers from *repetitiveness*, which my participants argued as the succession of ‘*once and again*’ events. As Gilles Deleuze (1994) considers, *repetition* has a major role in social understanding by analysing cultural representations. In this sense, Disaster Identity applies where a *risk hegemonic culture* is fostered, which sustains sociocultural efforts to create and signify narratives that are related *directly* with disasters.

As articulated at the beginning of this chapter, for a phenomenon that seems de-historicised within the historical happenings of a place, the collective validation of such sensible experiences is based upon the *perceptions of risk* in a determined time and space. Thus, by analysing such happenings through Disaster Identity, *disasters* do not just nurture its core elements, test the collective validated construction so far, or unleashes resistant resilience behaviour as a survival strategy that turns the extraordinary into everyday life. Rather, it also provides meaning to life in disaster-prone places through a symbolic and semiotic validation of its gnarled memory and its burdensome legacy.

This analytical tool, thus, offers replicability possibilities, since Disaster Identity’s analytical results are *fully contextualized* to the case study. Also, the results obtained through Disaster Identity make the decisions related to disaster management *contextualized ones*; thus allowing the adaptation of

international disaster management models to the reality constructed in a disaster-prone case. Ultimately, this is a testament to Disaster Identity's transferability and replicability characteristics as a new disaster studies analytical tool.

8.4 Limitations of this Research

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, there are limitations to this research. First, Disaster Identity implies a thorough historic investigation of the place of research. This means that for any one case that this tool is applied to, it has to gather and work with archival data to sustain its outputs, and thus ensure the quality of its conclusions. To apply this kind of research at a regional, national or international level would imply the need for substantial resources and clear timeframe guidelines to coordinate and cross-reference historic and current (and future) disaster events in any location of research with each one of the four main arguments in its contextualised understanding.

Second, Disaster Identity as an analytical tool, depends on complete access to the historic development of a research site. However, access to historical records of any type, whether official reports or newspaper archives, is not always easily available around the world, and there are geographic areas that do not necessarily have written historic records; whether by not archiving, by destroying or by manipulating politically historical records just to name a few related issues. What to do with limited or denied access, or what to do when there are non-existent historical records will affect, without a doubt, the quality of the outputs of applied Disaster Identity in research held under any of the above conditions.

Finally, a possible limitation relates to what to do with the output of Disaster Identity analysis. The results and how to manage them may uncover social realities that are not expected nor wanted in the public eye. Thus, each government, whether local or national, can willingly embrace the results that Disaster Identity can offer, and act accordingly; while others may think best to carry on with their current disaster management schemes. Also, along similar lines, there could be delicate issues for various governments that could be uncovered when applying Disaster Identity to an international region, which

may get in the way of international treaties, such as the respect to the Human Rights scheme. Ultimately, what to do with the information gathered through Disaster Identity analysis is an individual decision of decision-makers and related authorities that conveys; all of which can, therefore, limit the social analytical potential that Disaster Identity holds.

8.5 Future Possibilities for Research

To further the discussion regarding Disaster Identity construction, it would be relevant to explore the application of Bourdieu's (2017) notion of habitus. As an understanding of social structures that develop through particular junctures and global structures, it could offer more precise ideas about the transitions between disaster events in a disaster-prone place, and the evolutions of its impacts in its inhabitants and communities. This idea was incipiently worked on my article regarding *The Role of Memory in Disaster Studies* published in 2017 in the context of Valparaíso. However, to apply Bourdieu's habitus' concept to transversally guide future research of Disaster Identity (instead of toponophilia) would surely provide a different applicability to Disaster Identity as an analytical tool, thus proving its theoretical transferability.

Along these lines I suggest, as a possibility for future research, the use of specific theoretical literature, such as postcolonial or feminists' studies. Due to their own framework and objectives, these literatures with their respective theoretical standpoints could benefit from the application of Disaster Identity as an analytical tool within their investigations, due to the thorough historical analysis that it portrays; all of which could be of use when studying extraordinary events within one determined culture.

Also, it would be equally interesting to take the Disaster Identity analytical framework and apply it on a regional, national or international scale. Although listed above as a limitation, if funding and research teams were available, this application of Disaster Identity could create interesting and critical cross-cultural studies paths. Moreover, it would further the examination of Disaster Identity by exploring its applications to disaster-prone cases such as California in a regional level or Japan at a national level.

It would not only be a challenge, but an interesting proposition to compare and contrast disaster urban questions in both scales; and in doing so, furthering our understanding of city-making processes in disaster-prone places in a deep, meaningful way. An example of future replicability would be the analysis of Disaster Identity on Hurricane Katrina. As a case study, and by studying all the historical records of the Mississippi area, whether it is in the variety of types of disasters and/or the frequency of them, the *topophilic* construction of identity and place can break a new analytical path. By understanding the *in-depth meaning* of Katrina, from a total history perspective of New Orleans and its surrounding areas; it could share light into the process of what it *means to live in that space*, why the reconstruction plan has been contested and/or resisted. Also, Disaster Identity could help explain -in deep contextualization- the political, economic and social ramifications of Katrina as a historic construction of social vulnerability.

Appendix A: Disaster Management Phases Models.

For disaster management to be effective in its mitigation aim, it follows a sequenced series of steps, otherwise known as the *Phases of Disaster*. The decisions taken to establish these general disaster phases, illustrated in Image 69, are based on risk assessments which sequence what society should expect on the public management of a disaster event.



Image 70: Disaster Phases.
Source: Hermann (2007).

On Image 71, K. Smith (2013 [1991]) provides a model which builds on sequence models such as that of Image 69, in an effort to understand social actions and reactions. Importantly, Smith's model acknowledges pre and post disaster phases regarding the impacts had on the affected population.

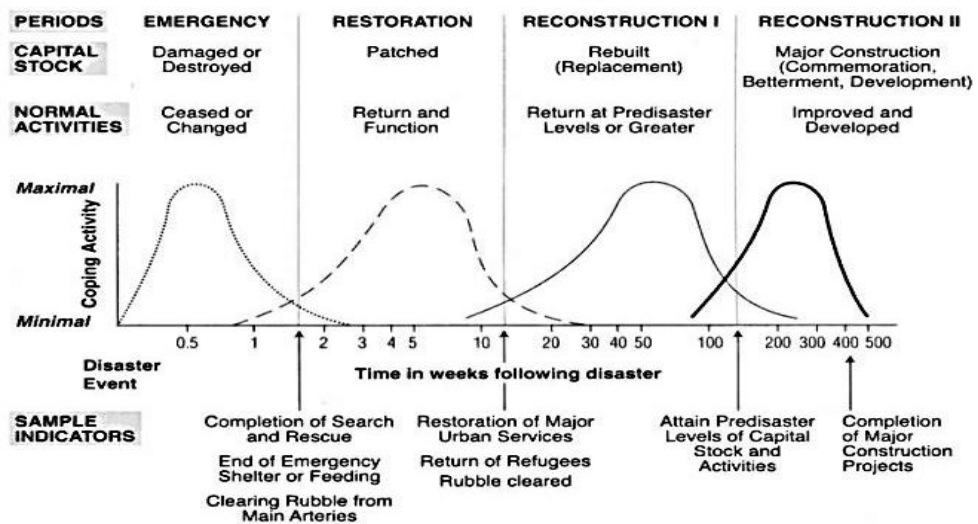


Image 71: Smith's sequential model of disaster recovery for urban areas.
Source: K. Smith, 2013 [1991], p. 87.

K. Smith (2013 [1991]) argues the possibility of modifying what is lost in hazard events or in human vulnerability as possible outcomes of risk analysis, all of which would credit this model in its predictivity capacity.

Risk and disaster assessment models, vulnerability is often amiss in such discussions. Image 95 shows the Pressure and Release (PAR) Model, which

portrays disaster as the connection between two opposing and creating vulnerabilities forces (social vulnerability and hazard proximity). This newer model, thus, engages more deeply with those elements that contextualize affected communities, therefore approaching the understanding of disaster as a sociocultural construction, seen in Image 72.

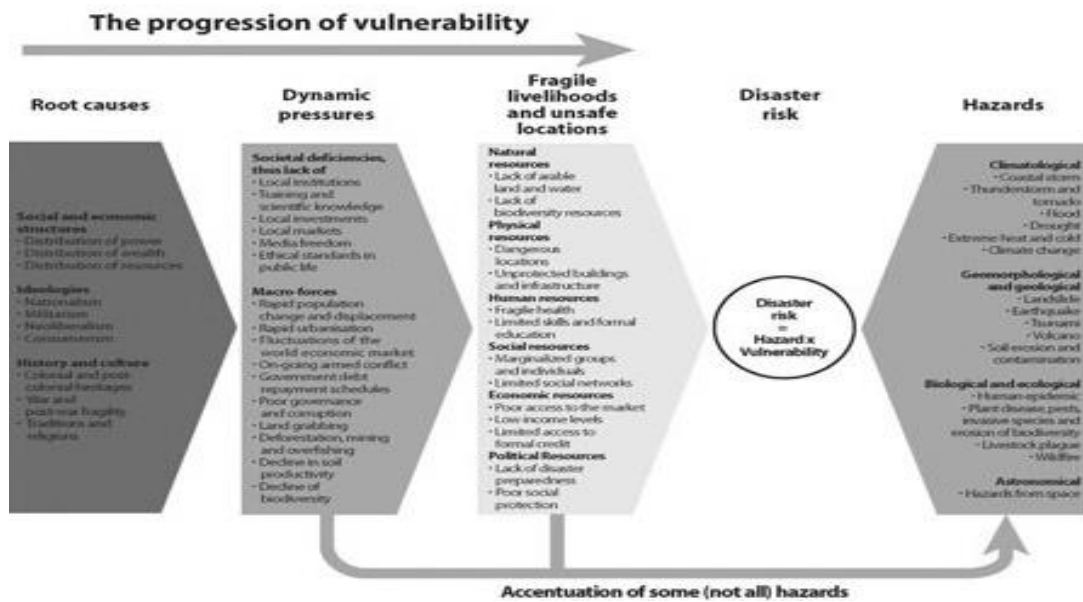


Image 72: PAR Model. Source: Blaikie et al. (2014, p. 23).

Coetzee and Van Niekerk (2012) argue that most of the efforts of these new focuses of research are to help strengthen the knowledge of the *disaster management cycle*.



A UNDP (United Nations Development Program) general scheme, it consists on what a government should face when stricken by a disaster, and in what manner the United Nations would collaborate and help coordinate reconstruction efforts, as shown in Image 73.

Image 73: UN Disaster Management Clusters. Source: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2017).

To better organize vulnerable spaces, decision-makers base their plans on a cost-benefit analysis. This analysis entails the weighting of both hazards and risk, and its implications to communities that are exposed to such conditions. Castree et al. (2009) depict cost-benefit analysis as a key part of risk assessment, here illustrated in Table 25.

Table 26: Risk calculation equation.

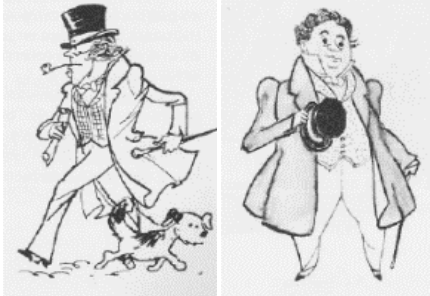
$$Risk = \sum (P \times S)$$

(where P is Probability of a given effect, and S is the severity of that effect)

Source: Own Crafting, based on Crawford-Brown (1999, p. 29).

Appendix B: Application of the proposed Conceptual Framework to Valparaíso.

Table 27: Examples of "Porteñoness" through Conceptual Framework. Own Crafting.

Concepts/Explanations	Data
<p>Hegemonic Culture</p> <p>Mary Graham, a voyager that arrived in Valparaíso in 1822, is one of many witnesses of what syncretism and adaptation meant in the consolidation of Valparaíso's culture. Graham and other foreigners¹⁵⁷ were witnesses of Valparaíso's <i>hegemonic culture</i> in the midst of its consolidation. She establishes that the port lived a fast-shuffling culture based on who arrived and who left. However, the port itself appeared as the transversal and permanent factor. For her, the best example was the life of her neighbours:</p>	<p>I used to go and take a stroll through my neighbours' land, where I find many fruits, figs, lemons, pomegranates and white roses. The lady of the house, who is a relative of my landlady, washes the laundry, which in no way demeans her, her social rank nor her pretensions, not like any lady who washes clothes in Europe. Her mother was the owner of at least eight of these farms; but because she is almost ninety years old, that should have been a hundred years back, when Valparaíso did not have the extension it has now, and so the farms were less expensive (...).</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><small>(Graham, 1822, p. 159)</small></p>
<p>Metacontrast Principle</p> <p>To Hogg and Reid (2006), the consolidation of an hegemonic culture implies the constant use of the metacontrast principle, where the "us and them" equation surfaces the normative aspects of this social structures, both to members and outsiders of an hegemonic culture.</p>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;">  <div style="margin-left: 20px;"> <p><i>Image 74: English and "German in Valparaíso.</i></p> <p>Source: Pecchenino, 1971, p. 34.</p> </div> </div>

¹⁵⁷ Valparaíso, as the first stop in the Magellan ship route was an actual pathway for many important voyagers such as Mary Graham (1822), Jean Jacques Moerenhout (1828) or Charles Darwin (1834) (Darwin, Fitzroy, & King, 1839; Graham, 1822; Moerenhout & Borden, 1993).

Self Identification

A key feature of *porteño* modern mentality is the *entrepreneurship spirit*. Accordingly, a sense of security is rooted in a common past, where its members consolidate knowledge that activates when faced to different, but similar, stimuli (Corballis et al., 2014). When in challenged conditions, where the sharing of meaningful experiences abound, Stryker, Owens, and White (2000) propose the location of the self-attribution process.



Image 75, 76, and 77:
Three moments of entrepreneurship: Baker selling up-hill with donkey, c. 1890; Newspaper boy, c. 1920; Newspaper Lady and stand, 1954

Source: Fotos Históricas de Chile, 1890, 1920, 1954.

Symbolic Universe

The importance of shared meaning of symbolism within a society. Once individual memories are socialized, shared in a meaningful way, a symbolic universe is being constructed by those who are part of this process. Its social validation happens when community members willingly merge their collective experiences into one broader objectivized experience (Znaniecki, 1986). Ultimately, the most relevant consequence of Valparaíso's evolution process of free space to safe space was the imprint of tolerance into "porteñoness".



Matrix of Representation

Heise and MacKinnon (2010) as well as Fivush and Haden (2003) agree on the importance of language as a way to share and enable symbolic universe's communication: the participants of a social situation can decode its meanings by catalysing social reflections conveyed by social memory. Said matrix orders phenomena according to a set of values attached to the original meaning obtained back in the original meaningful social situation. In doing so, a community constructs a narrative of shared, socialized and objectivized experiences.

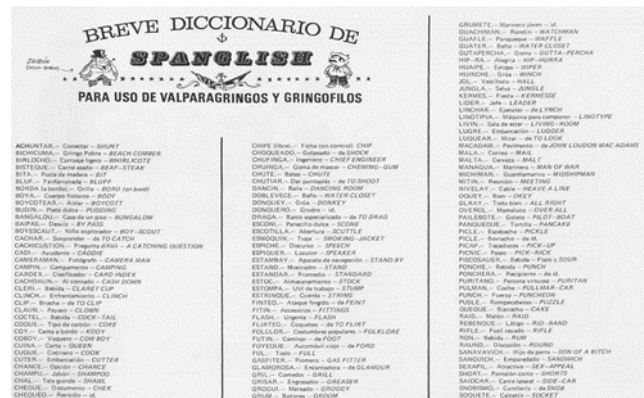


Image 80: Brief Spanglish Dictionary for the use of Valparagringos and Gringophiles, by Lukas.

Source: Pecchenino (1971, pp. 61-62).

Role Models and Stereotypes

Heinse and MacKinnon argue that it is in a changing environment upon which stereotypes are crafted, especially in societies that drift far from the values and behaviour that it once had as an original feature.

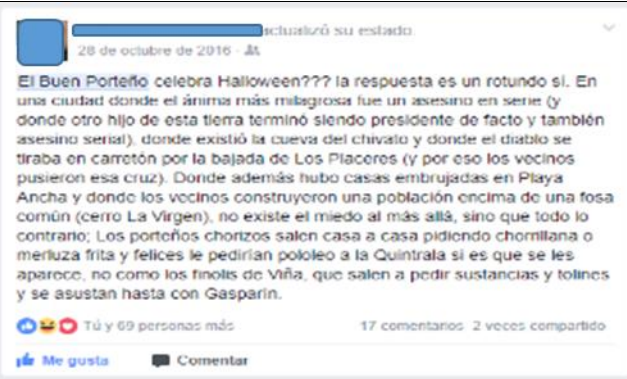


Image 81: El Buen Porteño Facebook Profile.
Source: Otero-Auristondo (2015a), Participant-15 (2015).

Alternation Mechanism

This mechanism refocuses social feedback into a re-socialization of social changes flux within a society, modifying behaviours and maintaining the set of values and meanings. That is why *porteño* society accepted and welcomed the settlement of non-Catholic communities in the up-hills of Valparaíso, which included declared Anglicans, Lutherans, Jews, Arabs, Gypsies and others.

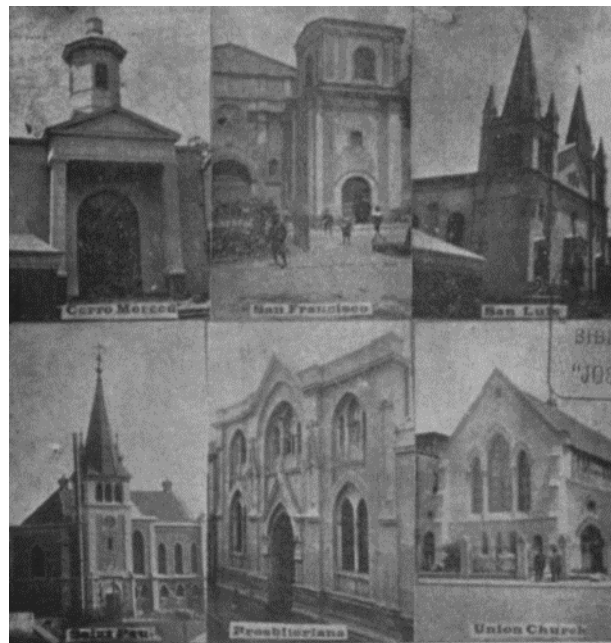


Image 82: Catholic temple surrounded by Presbyterian and other Protestant's churches.
Source: Ugarte Yavar (1910, p. 167).

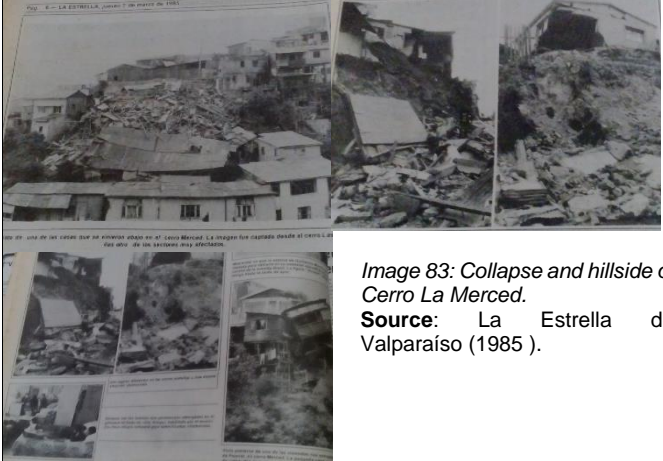
Trauma

Along these developments, the works of Caruth (1995) and Felman and Laub (1992) came as a breakthrough regarding the issue of (*traumatic representation*) in social science. This development portrays the importance of the collective experience which, ultimately, will contextualize and order the individual's trauma by recognizing him/herself in a bigger social understanding

We never thought that it could get this bad. It was unimaginable. We could see it so far away. But in a matter of minutes, the wind shifted, and balls of Fire started to burn houses a block away from me. It was like a scene taken from a war film.

(Participant-22, 2015)

(...) It was like nothing I have ever witnessed in my life, and I have been deployed in Haiti and in Afghanistan under the United Nations Peace missions... the depth of what happened and what

	<p>I imagined would have to happen to fix this was unimaginable.</p> <p>(Participant-46, 2015).</p>
<p>Disaster Marathon</p> <p>La Estrella newspaper that publishes this kind of images of the 1985 Earthquake four months after the event. Theoretically, as McNair (2006) proposes, media <i>should</i> aim to inform, educate, publicize and advocate from all the involved in one disaster, in democratic and liberal societies.</p>	 <p><i>Image 83: Collapse and hillside of Cerro La Merced.</i> Source: La Estrella de Valparaíso (1985).</p>

Appendix C: The Porteño as a current¹⁵⁸ visible social stereotype

Up until 2014, *porteñoness* is visible in two very distinctive instances: during the 21st May annual protests and in every match of the local football team Santiago Wanderers. While the second one is very understandable, by being a cultural construct of local dwellers, their family stories and the recognition of *others* (Thoits & Virshup, 1997) in the rival teams; the first one has to do with social perception of social rituals.

The **first** instance relates to the 21st May national events that took place in the city of Valparaíso. On this day, the Chilean Navy commemorates '*Naval Glories Day*' after the Naval Combat of Iquique and Punta Gruesa, during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). This national holiday has been used also by the most important tradition of the Chilean republic, the delivery of the '*Presidential Message*'.

Due to its relevance, and as an annual account of the previous fiscal year, this speech also inaugurates the new legislative year of the National Congress. Traditionally, since 1925, it is rendered on the 21st May; and since the relocation of the National Congress to Valparaíso in 1980 by Pinochet's regime, the Presidential Message is given in Valparaíso. To combine the two republican traditions, then, the speech is delivered first in front of Plenary Congress, and afterwards the President, the President of the *Diputados* Chamber, as well as the President of the Senate Chamber, the Chief Justice, the Chief Commanders of the four Armed Forces, religious leaders, representative authorities of other countries and other authorities are relocated to Sotomayor Square, as Map 17 shows. Here, in front of the commemorative mausoleum and crypt, where the mortal remains of the naval heroes of said Iquique and Punta Gruesa combat are; all of which is commemorated with a major military parade.

Importantly, the commemorations of the 21st May are not just a military/administrative event. Traditionally, all sectors of the citizenry and

¹⁵⁸ With the use of '*current*' I refer to the period just before the emergency of 2014 Mega Fire.

social movements are represented, and they also get to participate in the parade itself, which makes this day a day of social participation. Complete families would gather on the streets to see the processions and march-pasts, because family members, friends or their own social organizations participated or would be involved in some way with the festivities. Most of the participants that I interviewed mentioned their past relations to 21st May as a fond memory, and regarded it as a family-focused holiday, as Images 84 and 85 illustrate. Participant 17 smiled when remembering childhood memories:

The happiest day of the year, apart from Christmas, New Year and the 18th of September, was the 21st of May. We always went downhill to see the military parade, but in the days prior we also went downhill to see the student's parade. My brother [Participant 16] always managed to get a kiss from some girl of other schools... and my mum was so proud with their Club Social de Cueca, because she made the dresses...

Source: *Participant-17 (2015).*



Image 84 and 85 show Schools band's presentations, in front of the Naval Combat of Iquique and Punta Gruesa mausoleum and crypt; same place as the armed forces and other social organizations use to render homage.

Source: Image 103 (Pulgar, 2013) and 104 (EIMartutino.cl, 2013).

Although the Military Regime did not use this location to annually render account¹⁵⁹, since the return to democracy all governments had read their speeches and assisted to the Official Parade in Sotomayor Square. And with them, every 21st May, in parallel to the official speech, major protests are held in Pedro Montt Avenue, organized by the Unitary Central of Workers (CUT, Central Unitaria de Trabajadores,), as Map 17 shows, in the very avenue

¹⁵⁹ Keeping up with republican tradition, the Military Regime rendered account every year, from 1974-1980 by an official report, as a press insert in *The Official Newspaper* (El Diario Oficial) and from 1981 to 1989 Pinochet read the speech live in the Diego Portales Building, in Santiago, building used by the central government meanwhile *La Moneda Palace* was being restored after its bombing in 1973 (Candina, 2013; Salazar, 1999b; Villalobos, 2012).

where the National Congress stands. Local police and local authorities try to separate Valparaíso's space into three distinctive perimeters: Official Parade (here in yellow), the Protest area (in purple) and the Authorities' area (in red)¹⁶⁰.



Map 17: The three main events held in Valparaíso for the 21st May
Source: J. Mellado (2012).

¹⁶⁰ This red area is the same one used for the Inaugural Speech of the President Elect, traditionally held on the 11th March at the beginning of a presidential period.

The purple area, where the traditional political march takes place, is also the current city centre, where high commerce, best restaurants, universities and traditional public spaces such as Victoria Square and the People's Square of Salvador Allende are located. For every 21st May, Pedro Montt Avenue prepares for this day by boarding-up glass displays, kiosk owners retrieve their property and board-up as best they can, and the municipality removes urban infrastructure (i.e. public lighting posts, street benches, bins).

In the following Images, the visual account of the day can be appreciated:

1. In the **red area** of Map 17, the latest President review's the troops outside the National Congress Building as shown in Image 86, and then delivers the Presidential Message, as shown in Image 87.



Sources: Image 87 President Bachelet (Gobierno de Chile, 2014). Image 88: Plenary Congress (PuraNoticia.cl, 2016)

2. In the **purple area** of Map 17, social organizations, movements and political sindical unions gather for the protest. It usually starts with the CUT leader's speech, held in parallel to the Presidential Message, and the march itself commences, as Image 88 shows. Two blocks away from Congress, the street riots are unleashed, as seen on Images 89 to 91.



Sources: Image 88: (J. Mellado, 2012); Image 89 and 91: (PuraNoticia.cl, 2016); Image 109: (Decap & Totoro, 2016).

3. In the **yellow area**, the Official Military Parade is held. The authorities gather at the foot of the mausoleum, and the President is traditionally shown the insides of the underground crypt.



Image 92: 21st May Military Parade.

Source: (J. Mellado, 2012).

Following the return to democracy, in the successive six governments, every year the violence tends to be more intense. It is common knowledge that within the riots with police, some of the *'encapuchados'* (masked protestors) divert into looting of any kind, from the high street commerce to the small kiosk vendor. Over the years, the residents (both dwellers as well as merchants) of Pedro Montt Avenue have complained extensively about this situation, because local and national authorities face this issue by *'establishing lawsuits to whomever is responsible'* and letting those arrested in the march go free after imposing a week's signature in the local police department.

The *lawless-ness* perception of the 21st May had its more relevant highpoint in 2016. In the middle of that year's march, looters threw Molotov bombs into a municipal building, as shown in Image 93 and 95, and thus resulted in the death of the night-guard Eduardo Lara (Image 95), who was a 71-year-old municipal employee that actually voted for strike action, days earlier. This *event* motivated mayor Jorge Castro to request to the Presidency and the National Congress that the Presidential Message should be read in Santiago, thus separating the commemoration and the political republican tradition once again.



Images 93-95 of 21st May 2016 social riots.

Sources:
Image 91:
T13.cl, 2016;
Image 92 and
93:
TheClinic.cl,
2016.

In the **second** distinctive instance of *porteñoness*, the local football team Santiago Wanderers, is perceived as the ultimate reservoir of *porteño* values. As E. Valenzuela and Vergara (2013) state, “Valparaíso and Santiago Wanderers are notions that necessarily go hand-by-hand (as true as to everyone who declares as *porteño* but not a Wanderer [fan] has to give a much needed explanation). To be one is to be the other” (p. i).



Image 96: Santiago Wanderers Football Club plaque, with foundation date.

Source: Gaudio Nilsson (2017).

Santiago Wanderers Football Club is said to be founded on the 15th August of 1892. According to Lafrentz (2010), in what today is called Cerro Santo Domingo, a group of neighbourhood friends founded the team, in the same fashion that the English immigrants had already done. Due to the existence of a Valparaíso Wanderers, the foundational team decided to use Santiago Wanderers because “that way our club will be more ours by using the name of our capital” (Lafrentz, 2010, p. 337).

The deep connection of Santiago Wanderers with the city began early, with the 1906 Earthquake. The declarations, after losing all of the team’s records, were the following:

As long as we have a breath of air, our club will not succumb. We are collectively strong, stronger than this tragedy [...].

Santiago Wanderers cannot succumb, because we are Santiago Wanderers, its people.

Source: Lafrentz (2010, p. 338).

Through disaster too, the local club also connects with the city. Since 1906, its records show the participation of the team, its administrative staff, and its supporters in every disaster that the city has endured; from the clearing of debris all the way to the reconstruction phase. Image 97 shows this involvement with the 2014 Mega Fire. In words of a supporter:

I know what Santiago Wanderers means to *porteños* (people of the port) as I was born in Valparaíso and I have visited the stadium. Old grandmothers, toddlers, students and professionals, all loyal to their colours of green and white. I’ve witnessed how some die hard yet poor fans climb trees near the stadium to watch the team of their lives.

Sometimes required to stand on one foot for 90 minutes. Valparaíso is a city of sacrifice. It's very enchanting but it seems its glory days are behind it. Nonetheless, we porteños are proud of our city and proudly support its team regardless of whether it's doing well or not. We are beaten, we have lost, but we have not perished. We'll be here tomorrow.

Long live Santiago Wanderers, the team proudly supported by the city of Valparaíso Chile.

Source: *Bravo* (2012).



Image 97: Collage of Santiago Wanderer's actions during 2014 Mega Fire.

Source: SantiagoWanderers.cl (2014) (SantiagoWanderers.cl, 2014).

Appendix D: Representative Songs of Valparaíso

The following songs are not only culturally representative of two periods in the city's history; they are also two very different approaches to what it means to inhabit the city and thus, the diverse meanings in what is perceived as *porteñoness*.

Table 28: *La Joya del Pacífico (The Jewel of the Pacific)*, by Victor Acosta, 1941.
Source: González-Rodríguez and Rolle (2005).

<p>Eres un arcoiris de múltiples colores tú, Valparaíso, puerto principal, tus mujeres son blancas margaritas todas ellas arrancadas de tu mar.</p>	<p>You are a rainbow of multiple colours. You, Valparaíso, principal port, Your women are white daisies All of them pulled out from your sea.</p>
<p>Al mirarte de Playa Ancha, lindo puerto, allí se ven las naves al salir y al entrar el marinero te canta esta canción; yo sin ti no vivo, puerto de mi amor.</p>	<p>Looking you from Playa Ancha, beautiful port; there you can see the ships come and go; the sailor sings you this song; I can't live without you, port of my heart.</p>
<p>Del Cerro Los Placeres, yo me pasé al Barón, me vine al Cordillera en busca de tu amor, te fuiste al Cerro Alegre y yo siempre detrás, porteña buena moza, no me hagas sufrir más.</p>	<p>From Cerro Los Placeres, I went to Barón, I went to Cordillera in search for your love; you went to Cerro Alegre and I was always behind, Beautiful young porteña don't make me suffer no more.</p>
<p>La plaza de La Victoria, es un centro social, Avenida Pedro Montt, como tú no hay otra igual, mas yo quisiera cantarte con todito el corazón Torpederas de mi ensueño, Valparaíso de mi amor.</p>	<p>Victoria square is a social centre, Pedro Montt Avenue, like you there is no one else, But I would like to sing to you with all of my heart, Torpederas of my dreams, Valparaíso of my love.</p>
<p>En mis primeros años yo quise descubrir la historia de tus cerros, jugando al volantín. Como las mariposas que vuelan entre las rosas yo recorrí tus cerros hasta el último confín.</p>	<p>In my first years, I wanted to find out The history of your hills, playing kites. Like butterflies that fly in between the roses, I went through your hills as far as your last horizon.</p>
<p>Yo me alejé de ti, puerto querido, y al retornar de nuevo te vuelvo a contemplar. La Joya del Pacífico te llaman los marinos y yo te llamo encanto, como Viña del Mar.</p>	<p>I moved away from you, dearest port, And by returning I can again contemplate you. The Jewel of the Pacific is what sailors call you. But I call you delight, like Viña del Mar</p>

While the first one sings praises to the beauty and sensitivity of *porteño* society, an ideal childhood and fond remembrance to the ‘*good old days*’; the second one shows a dramatic change in topic and in the sentiments attached to them. Issues of poverty, fear, distance, difficult way of living and sadness seem to overtake the once *ideal city*.

Table 29: *Valparaíso*, by Osvaldo “Gitano” Rodríguez, 1969.
Source: González-Rodríguez and Rolle (2005).

<p>Yo no he sabido nunca de su historia, un día nací allí, sencillamente.</p> <p>El viejo puerto vigiló mi infancia con rostro de fría indiferencia. Porque no nací pobre y siempre tuve un miedo inconcebible a la pobreza.</p> <p>Yo les quiero contar lo que he observado para que lo vayamos conociendo. El habitante encadenó las calles la lluvia destiñó las escaleras y un manto de tristeza fue cubriendo los cerros con sus calles y sus niños.</p> <p>Y vino el temporal y la llovizna con su carga de arena y desperdicio. Por ahí paso la muerte tantas veces la muerte que enlutó a Valparaíso y una vez más el viento como siempre limpió la cara de este puerto herido.</p> <p>Pero este puerto amarra como el hambre, no se puede vivir sin conocerlo, no se puede mirar sin que nos falte, la brea, el viento sur, los volantines, el pescador de jaibas que entristece nuestro paisaje de la costanera.</p> <p>Yo no he sabido nunca de su historia...</p>	<p>I haven't ever known about its history. One day I was born there, simply.</p> <p>The old port guarded my childhood, With a cold distant face, Why wasn't I born poor and always had, an unconceivable fear of poverty.</p> <p>I want to tell you what I have observed, So we can keep on knowing each other. The dweller chained the streets, Rain washed down the staircases, And a mantle of sadness was covering, The hills with its streets and its children.</p> <p>And then came the storm and the drizzle. With its cargo of sand and waste. Through there death passed so many times, The death that mourned Valparaíso, And once again, the wind, as always, Washed the face of this wounded port.</p> <p>But this port ties like hunger, You cannot live without knowing it, You cannot see without lacking, The tar, the south wind, the kites, The crabs' fisherman which saddens Our landscape of the coastline.</p> <p>I haven't ever known about its history...</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Appendix E: 1985 Earthquake

It has been discussed throughout this dissertation that although there is a double culture in the city; that of the plains and that of the up-hills; *porteñoness* is an identity that integrates both cultures through the common experience of disaster. In Images 97 and 98 there is a purposeful separation in the images of the up-hills (97) and the plains (98); and they even have titles representative to their socioeconomic situation and cultural importance (97, devastation has other form in the up-hills; 98, *The Almendral* [part of the plains] destroyed as in 1906, **the** disaster to be compared to).

This image opposition is portrayed by *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*. As a right-wing newspaper, one that historically focused on commerce and international relations and the importance of Valparaíso in naval trade routes, it had never portrayed such a clear social opposition regarding a reconstruction in Valparaíso, at least not in the disasters researched for this investigation listed in Table 3 (p. 29).



Image 98: An example of the up-hills destruction. On the right, Image 99: An example of the plains destruction.
Source: El Mercurio de Valparaíso (1985a).



Exemplifying economic differences, both images were published with one day of publication between them. As Image 96 is from 5th March and Image 97 is from 4th March, they portray all the faces of disaster: the human and the infrastructural side of the city, both part of *porteñeness*.



Through the 17 years of the Military Regime, the 1985 Earthquake was the only natural disaster that, as a government, it had to face. It happened at 19:47 local time, and its epicentre situated in the south of the bay's coastline. This earthquake stroke in one of the Copa Davis tournament tennis matches, where Chile hosted Sweden. Most of the population where home watching on the few available TV's or listening on the radio broadcast. Those families that had TV's usually relate that one of their party had gone to embrace the TV set, to save it from the destruction. This example relates the importance and scarcity of them, and the value that any sport championship had as a '*social outlet*' in times of dictatorship.



Image 100: Collage of Pinochet's actions during the 1985 Earthquake.
Source: (El Mercurio de Valparaíso, 1985b, 1985c).

Appendix F: List of the 79 urban projects within the 2014 Reconstruction Plan¹

PROYECTO	ETAPA		Entidad Financiera	Unidad Técnica	M\$ MONTO							TOTAL		
	ACTUAL	SIGUIENTE			2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020		2021	
1. ESCALA CIUDAD														
1.1 MEJORAMIENTO CONECTIVIDAD ESTRUCTURANTE														
Mejoramiento y prolongación Avda. Alemania hasta cerro Barón	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU	32.500	350.000	287.500						670.000	
	Ejecución		MINVU	SERVIU y MOP		400.000	5.100.000	10.000.000	3.000.000	3.000.000			21.500.000	
Mejoramiento y prolongación Avda. Alemania conexión cerros Barón - Placeres	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	MOP		100.000	400.000						500.000	
	Ejecución		MINVU	MOP				3.500.000	7.000.000				10.500.000	
Construcción Camino del Agua*	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU			80.000	720.000					800.000	
Etapa 1: El Vergel		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU			1.000	499.000	4.500.000	2.000.000			7.000.000	
Enlace El Vergel/Camino La Polvora		Diseño	MOP	MOP	1.000	60.500	393.500						455.000	
		Ejecución	MOP	MOP			1.000	2.200.000	3.799.000				6.000.000	
Etapa 2: Cuesta Colorada (transversal "Caminio del agua")		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU			1.000	499.000	3.000.000	1.500.000			5.000.000	
Etapa 3: Mesana (transversal "Caminio del agua")		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU					1.000.000	2.000.000	3.000.000		6.000.000	
Etapa 4: Aquiles Ramirez (transversal "Caminio del agua")		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU					1.000.000	2.000.000	3.000.000		6.000.000	
Etapa 5: Construcción Camino el Agua		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU					500.000	2.000.000	2.500.000		5.000.000	
*Este proyecto incluye 5 productos (etapas) del cual El Vergel es el primero en ejecutar. La secuencia de las siguientes etapas dependerá del avance del diseño de ingeniería														
TOTAL CONECTIVIDAD ESTRUCTURANTE												69.425.000	121.798	
1.2 CONDICIONES AMBIENTALES Y DE SEGURIDAD														
Estudio Básico Intervención Integral Quebradas	Idea	Estudio Básico	MOP	DOH	100.000	500.000							600.000	
Obras derivadas del est. integral de quebradas: O. HIDRAULICAS QUEBRADAS	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MOP	DOH		300.000	300.000	400.000	11.000.000	11.000.000	11.000.000	7.020.000	41.020.000	
Obras derivadas del est. integral de quebradas: PARQUE URBANO QUEBRADAS	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU					7.000.000	8.000.000	8.000.000	8.680.000	31.680.000	
Diseño Obras Hidráulicas de Cauces Primarios*	Plan Maestro	Diseño/Ejecución	MOP	DOH	1.000	299.000	1.350.000	4.245.500	3.245.500	3.245.500	3.245.500		15.632.000	
Plan de Tratamiento Forestal	Idea	Estudio Básico	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	CONAF	10.000	90.000							100.000	
Obras Derivadas Estudio Tratamiento Forestal	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/CONAF			1.000.000	400.000					1.400.000	
Estudio Básico Geotécnico	Idea	Estudio Básico	MINVU	SERVIU	50.000	250.000							300.000	
Diseño Construcción Unidad Operativa Control de Emergencias en Cerros de Valpo	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA	1.000	199.000	500.000	1.000.000	1.000.000	1.000.000	500.000		4.200.000	
Sistema de Alerta Sonora de Emergencias	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA	100.000	250.000							350.000	
Habilitación Matriz de Grifos	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/BOMBEROS	100.000								100.000	
Habilitación Estanques	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/BOMBEROS	300.000								300.000	
Red Húmeda Zona Afectada por Incendio	Idea	Ejecución	MOP	DOH	500.000	4.000.000	5.000.000	4.500.000					14.000.000	
Programa de Control de Microbasurales	Idea	Ejecución	INTERIOR/SUBDERE	MUNICIPALIDAD	250.000	750.000	750.000	750.000					2.500.000	
*pendiente definir obras en detalle														
TOTAL CONDICIONES AMBIENTALES Y DE SEGURIDAD												112.182.000	196.811	
1.3 MOVILIDAD														
Circuito Integrado de T.P.	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MTT	MERVAL	150.000	2.411.000	429.000						2.990.000	
Diagnóstico de la Conectividad y Accesibilidad de la Zona Siniestrada	Idea	Estudio	MTT	SECTRA	24.000								24.000	
	Idea	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU		250.000	500.000						750.000	
	Idea	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU			1.000.000	3.000.000	3.000.000				7.000.000	
Programa Gestión de Tránsito	Idea	Ejecución	MTT	UOCT	400.000	200.000							600.000	
TOTAL MOVILIDAD												11.364.000	19.937	
1.4 CONDICIONES SANITARIAS														
Red Agua Potable Sectores Altos*	ESVAL entregó propuesta la que es compatible y coincidente con la visión de ciudad post incendio												0	
*coordinado con ESVAL. Coincidente con ejes transversales viales													0	
TOTAL CONDICIONES SANITARIAS												0	-	
TOTAL ESCALA CIUDAD												192.971.000	338.546	

¹ Images 101 and 102 were extracted from Gobierno de Chile (2014) official report.

2. ESCALA BARRIOS

2.1 ESPACIO PÚBLICO Y EQUIPAMIENTO													
Quilero MI Barrio (4 Barrios de Interés regional (BIR))	Idea	Diseño y Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	306.000	925.000	1.435.000	531.000	570.000			3.767.000	
Plan Proyectos locales I	Diseño	Ejecución	SUBDERE	Municipio	600.000	150.000						750.000	
Plan Proyectos locales II	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	SUBDERE	Municipio	80.000	670.000						750.000	
TOTAL ESPACIO PÚBLICO Y EQUIPAMIENTO												5.267.000	9.240
2.2 MOVILIDAD Y ACCESIBILIDAD LOCAL													
Infraestructura Vial (7 Ptos. Críticos)	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	885.000	3.615.000						4.500.000	
Plan Reconstrucción vial (Rotura y Reposición Mejorada)	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	50.000	1.650.000	1.000.000					2.700.000	
TOTAL MOVILIDAD Y ACCESIBILIDAD LOCAL												7.200.000	12.632
2.3 SEGURIDAD													
Plan Mejoramiento vías de evacuación peatonal (Escalas)													
Fase I	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		500.000						500.000	
Fase II*	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		500.000	500.000					1.000.000	
Plan Mejoramiento Muros de Contención **	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		1.500.000	4.500.000	7.000.000	7.000.000	5.000.000		25.000.000	
Infraestructura sanitaria	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	265.000	615.000						880.000	
*esta fase se activa cuando se resuelva problema legal para intervenir en terrenos privados en donde se emplazan las escalas													
** Este plan considera intervenciones en zonas comunes y espacios públicos. Las obras de contención asociadas a las viviendas se incluyen en la estimación de la inversión de la Escala Vivienda (soluciones tipo)													
TOTAL SEGURIDAD												27.380.000	48.035
TOTAL ESCALA BARRIOS												39.847.000	69.907

3. ESCALA VIVIENDA

Valor Inversión Viviendas	Asignación	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	7.494.021	25.940.862	20.176.229	4.035.222				57.646.334	
TOTAL ESCALA VIVIENDA												57.646.334	101.134
												290.464.334	509.587

	RESUMEN GENERAL POR ESCALA		
	M\$	MUS\$	%
INVERSION ESCALA CIUDAD	192.971.000	338.546	66,4%
INVERSION ESCALA BARRIOS	39.847.000	69.907	13,7%
INVERSION ESCALA VIVIENDAS	57.646.334	101.134	19,8%
TOTAL PLAN RECONSTRUCCIÓN VALPSO 2014 - 2021	290.464.334	509.587	100%

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
TOTAL AÑO M\$	11.699.521	46.558.362	48.539.229	50.660.722	48.815.500	37.245.500	31.245.500	15.700.000
TOTAL AÑO MUS\$	20.525	81.681	85.157	88.878	85.641	65.343	54.817	27.544
% GASTO ANUAL	4,0%	16,0%	16,7%	17,4%	16,8%	12,8%	10,8%	5,4%

Appendix G: List of the 79 urban projects within the 2014 Reconstruction Plan contemplated for the 2014-2018 Presidential Period of Michelle Bachelet².

PROYECTO	ETAPA		Entidad Financiera	Unidad Técnica	M\$ MONTO					OBRAS TERMINADAS	TOTAL	
	ACTUAL	SIGUIENTE			2014	2015	2016	2017	2018			
1. ESCALA CIUDAD												
1.1 MEJORAMIENTO CONECTIVIDAD ESTRUCTURANTE												
Mejoramiento y prolongación Avda. Alemania hasta cerro Barón	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU	32.500	350.000	287.500			COMPLETO	670.000	
Mejoramiento y prolongación Avda. Alemania conexión cerros Barón - Placeres	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	MOP		400.000	5.100.000	10.000.000	3.000.000	SOLO LA PROLONGACION	18.500.000	
		Ejecución	MINVU	MOP		100.000	400.000			COMPLETO	500.000	
Construcción Camino del Agua*	Prefactibilidad	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU		80.000	720.000			COMPLETO	800.000	
Etapas 1: El Vergel		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		1.000	499.000	4.500.000	2.000.000	COMPLETO	7.000.000	
Enlace El Vergel/Camino La Polvora		Diseño	MOP	MOP	1.000	60.500	393.500			COMPLETO	455.000	
		Ejecución	MOP	MOP		1.000	2.200.000	3.799.000		COMPLETO	6.000.000	
Etapas 2: Cuesta Colorada (transversal "Camino del agua")		Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		1.000	499.000		1.500.000	COMPLETO	5.000.000	
*Este proyecto incluye 5 productos (etapas) del cual El Vergel es el primero en ejecutar. La secuencia de las siguientes etapas dependerá del avance del diseño de ingeniería												
TOTAL CONECTIVIDAD ESTRUCTURANTE											49.425.000	86.711
1.2 CONDICIONES AMBIENTALES Y DE SEGURIDAD												
Estudio Básico Intervención Integral Quebradas	Idea	Estudio Básico	MOP	DOH	100.000	500.000				COMPLETO	600.000	
Obras derivadas del est. Integral de quebradas: O. HIDRAULICAS QUEBRADAS	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MOP	DOH		300.000	300.000	400.000	11.000.000	SOLO ALGUNAS ETAPAS	12.000.000	
Obras derivadas del est. Integral de quebradas: PARQUE URBANO QUEBRADAS	Idea	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU					7.000.000	SOLO ALGUNAS ETAPAS	7.000.000	
Diseño Obras Hidráulicas de Cauces Primarios*	Plan Maestro	Diseño/Ejecución	MOP	DOH	1.000	299.000	1.350.000	4.245.500	3.245.500	SOLO ALGUNAS ETAPAS	9.141.000	
Plan de Tratamiento Forestal	Idea	Estudio Básico	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	CONAF	10.000	90.000				COMPLETO	100.000	
Obras Derivadas Estudio Tratamiento Forestal	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/CONAF			1.000.000	400.000		COMPLETO	1.400.000	
Estudio Básico Geotécnico	Idea	Estudio Básico	MINVU	SERVIU	50.000	250.000				COMPLETO	300.000	
Diseño Construcción Unidad Operativa Control de Emergencias en Cerros de Valpo	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA	1.000	199.000	500.000	1.000.000	1.000.000	SOLO ALGUNAS ETAPAS	2.700.000	
Sistema de Alerta Sonora de Emergencias	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA	100.000	250.000				COMPLETO	350.000	
Habilitación Matriz de Grifos	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/BOMBEROS	100.000					COMPLETO	100.000	
Habilitación Estanques	Idea	Ejecución	GOBIERNO INTERIOR	INTENDENCIA/BOMBEROS	300.000					COMPLETO	300.000	
Red Húmeda Zona Afectada por Incendio	Idea	Ejecución	MOP	DOH	500.000	4.000.000	5.000.000	4.500.000		COMPLETO	14.000.000	
Programa de Control de Microbasurales	Idea	Ejecución	INTERIOR/SUBDERE	MUNICIPALIDAD	250.000	750.000	750.000	750.000		COMPLETO	2.500.000	
*pendiente definir obras en detalle												
TOTAL CONDICIONES AMBIENTALES Y DE SEGURIDAD											50.491.000	88.581
1.3 MOVILIDAD												
Circuito Integrado de T.P.	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MTT	MERVAL	150.000	2.411.000	429.000			COMPLETO	2.990.000	
Diagnóstico de la Conectividad y Accesibilidad de la Zona Siniestrada	Idea	Estudio	MTT	SECTRA	24.000					COMPLETO	24.000	
	Idea	Diseño	MINVU	SERVIU		250.000	500.000			COMPLETO	750.000	
	Idea	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU			1.000.000	3.000.000	3.000.000	COMPLETO	7.000.000	
Programa Gestión de Tránsito	Idea	Ejecución	MTT	UOCT	400.000	200.000				COMPLETO	600.000	
TOTAL MOVILIDAD											11.364.000	19.937
1.4 CONDICIONES SANITARIAS												
Red Agua Potable Sectores Altos*	ESVAL entregó propuesta la que es compatible y coincidente con la visión de ciudad post incendio											0
*coordinado con ESVAL. Coincidente con ejes transversales viales												0
TOTAL CONDICIONES SANITARIAS											0	0
TOTAL ESCALA CIUDAD											111.280.000	195.228

² Images 103 and 104 are extracted from Gobierno de Chile (2014) official report.

2. ESCALA BARRIOS

2.1 ESPACIO PÚBLICO Y EQUIPAMIENTO											
Quiero Mi Barrio (4 Barrios de Interés regional (BIR))	Idea	Diseño y Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	306.000	925.000	1.435.000	531.000	570.000	COMPLETO	3.767.000
Plan Proyectos locales I	Diseño	Ejecución	SUBDERE	Municipio	600.000	150.000				COMPLETO	750.000
Plan Proyectos locales II	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	SUBDERE	Municipio	80.000	670.000				COMPLETO	750.000
TOTAL ESPACIO PÚBLICO Y EQUIPAMIENTO											
2.2 MOVILIDAD Y ACCESIBILIDAD LOCAL											
Infraestructura Vial (7 Ptos. Críticos)	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	885.000	3.615.000				COMPLETO	4.500.000
Plan Reconstrucción vial (Rotura y Reposición Mejorada)	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	50.000	1.650.000	1.000.000			COMPLETO	2.700.000
TOTAL MOVILIDAD Y ACCESIBILIDAD LOCAL											
2.3 SEGURIDAD											
Plan Mejoramiento vías de evacuación peatonal (Escalas)											0
Fase I	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		500.000				COMPLETO	500.000
Fase II*	Idea	Diseño/Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		500.000	500.000			COMPLETO	1.000.000
Plan Mejoramiento Muros de Contención**	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU		1.500.000	4.500.000	7.000.000	7.000.000	MAYOR PARTE TERMINADA	20.000.000
Infraestructura sanitaria	Diseño	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	265.000	615.000				COMPLETO	880.000
*: esta fase se activa cuando se resuelva problema legal para intervenir en terrenos privados en donde se emplazan las escalas											
** Este plan considera intervenciones en zonas comunes y espacios públicos. Las obras de contención asociadas a las viviendas se incluyen en la estimación de la inversión de la Escala Vivienda (soluciones tipo)											
TOTAL SEGURIDAD											
TOTAL ESCALA BARRIOS											

3. ESCALA VIVIENDA

Valor Inversión Viviendas	Asignación	Ejecución	MINVU	SERVIU	7.494.021	25.940.862	20.176.229	4.035.222		COMPLETO	57.646.334
TOTAL ESCALA VIVIENDA											
TOTAL PLAN DE INVERSIONES											
TOTAL AÑO					11.699.521	46.558.362	48.539.229	50.660.722	46.315.500		

	RESUMEN GENERAL POR INSTITUCIÓN FINANCIERA		
	M\$	MUS\$	%
MOP	42.196.000	74.028	20,7%
MINVU	149.013.334	261.427	73,1%
SUBDERE	4.000.000	7.018	2,0%
GOBIERNO INTERIOR	4.950.000	8.684	2,4%
MIT	3.614.000	6.340	1,8%
TOTAL PLAN RECONSTRUCCIÓN VALPSO 2014 - 2018	203.773.334	357.497	100%

	RESUMEN GENERAL POR ESCALA		
	M\$	MUS\$	%
INVERSION ESCALA CIUDAD	111.280.000	195.228	55%
INVERSION ESCALA BARRIOS	34.847.000	61.135	17%
INVERSION ESCALA VIVIENDA	57.646.334	101.134	28%
TOTAL PLAN RECONSTRUCCIÓN VALPSO 2014 - 2018	203.773.334	357.497	100%

Appendix H: Valparaíso's Disaster History¹⁶⁴

H.1 1536- c.1850: Quintil Arrival: the beginnings

It is often said that Valparaíso, as a formal city, was never founded. The *conquistadors* had a royal decree that specifically forbade the construction of cities in the coast, not only because they instantly became vulnerable to weather events, but because they became instant targets of piracy from Spain's enemies, especially from the English piracy, corsairs and buccaneers; and navy of course.

As a guarded bay, looking north, Juan de Saavedra arrived on the *Alimapu* bay (indigenous name), by foot, on autumn of 1536. Legend states that he looked around and taking in the surroundings, he called this place "**Valle del Paraíso**", from where the city's name can be explained as a shorter version of the original. After the utter failure of Diego de Almagro's campaign, the territory that was to become Chile was left to chance, until the appearance of Pedro de Valdivia's *hueste*.

To understand this, we have to take into account the fact that these campaigns where a private enterprise, and so to find gold was, at the very least, the ultimate reward that made their sacrifices worthwhile. Almagro found silver in the Aconcagua River, but in very small amounts; and so his expedition, far from its proper reward, was one of pure self-pride, in so because he wanted to take over the territories that King Phillip II had appointed him. He could live without the coveted gold mines, because there were a lot of territory to explore yet, but he came across a mighty tribe of native Indians, the *mapuches*. This made it impossible to go further, and in his attempt to gather support from the Peruvian Viceroy, Francisco Pizarro, he landed into a bloody Inca revolt, where he took the losing side and died in battle (Battle of Saxahuaman, 1538). This development meant for Chile to gain a bad reputation, that one of a very difficult territory, home to a violent southern tribe, and ever lacking gold. This, ultimately, meant to be forgotten until the arrival of Valdivia, in 1542.

Valdivia, in comparison, was a very ambitious man; he was a proper renaissance man. He wanted the fame that arose by becoming a governor of a new territory and did whatever it took to gain this title. He was confident that going south, he could discover

¹⁶⁴ This historical account has been written by this researcher. It is based on the academic literature referenced in this thesis, as well as from the archival work described in Chapter 2. Likewise, It is organised according to the city's periods of development.

the mines of *El Dorado*, the city made entirely of gold. Is in his time as governor, that the foundation of cities took a revived impulse, after the ones left here by Almagro. He set to take real sovereignty of the territory, and so he took it upon himself to create cities in a north – south paradigm, based in the logic of '*plano de damero*' design, with a local square in the middle surrounded by the important landscapes and housing, and expanding to its limits in order of class importance. To accomplish this plan, he needed ports that interconnect the territory, and to connect Chile with the Peruvian Vice reign as well. This would provide not only logistical support (fast carrying material for the foundation of cities along the coast line), but it was thought out to provide military support in the conquest of the south.

Is in this period that Valparaíso enters to the general scheme of Chile's history, and Valdivia's conquest desires. The ultimate goal was to conquer the south, because it was known that somewhere south, there was a connection between the two oceans, the Pacific and the Atlantic. It was, finally, a geopolitical goal to the crown, and Valdivia was forced to come through with this conquest. Chile was not important for its mineral resources; at this point it became important as a mayor piece of the integrity of the Spanish empire against its European enemies.

The bay fitted into this plan as a middle port between the south and the capital of the reign, Santiago; but it also functioned as a middle port between Santiago and Callao, Perú's main port. It is mentioned in the Acts of Valdivia's government that Valparaíso was to become the general port of Santiago; and, upon his death, the successive governors made it the port of Quillota, a rural area that was the main source of food resources for the capital. It remained so for 90 years.

During this period, Valparaíso was a place of exchange, where big storage areas were built, and ongoing construction for accommodation for the harbour workers were expanding the first port area inwards to the hills. Soon, with this initial development, followed an infirmary, a market, and a church (Santa María de la Inmaculada Concepción de La Matriz, 1580). With the arrival of the church, Valparaíso gained a certain kind of order. Priests and monks were appalled at the immorality conditions of the area: prostitution, *barraganía*, illegitimate children lose in the streets, working in the harbours, alcohol and tobacco. Their general impressions are recorded in the first religious foundations in Valparaíso, where there were more pubs than apartments to sleep in. They were the ones that, in parallel of the foundation of concrete church buildings, impulse the construction of apartment buildings, schools, and street infrastructure. This works attracted migration from the adjacent fields, and population grew as the general construction works grew. But there was a problem. The bay was not big enough for the

growing population. Many historians record this impulse to be the one that first engaged people to start living on the skirts of the hills.

At this point, the future modern city of Valparaíso was a false union of two subareas, known as the *Almendral* and the Puerto. They were fractioned by the sea, and only at certain times of the day, when the tide allowed it, you could pass between the two, by a very narrow site called *La Cueva del Chivato*. The first settlement was on the Puerto area, where we can find the first buildings of the 16th century, and the only representatives of this initial period that are still standing are the Puerto Market and La Matriz Church, where, in the past, was allocated the first square that was at seaside level. This area expanded as much as it could, and after discovering the Chivato Cave, it was able to begin settlement in the *Almendral* area. This historic settlement goes back to the 17th century, and its main function was that of housing the first wave of migrants of the near fields. Is at this point where the influence of the church was a point of inflexion, so as to *urbanise* the original housing with orderly infrastructure: cleared streets, initial tree locations and public night lamp lights. With this increased town-like life, the traditional trades entered the community: the milkman, the aguatero (water transported by mules), the lamparero (the man charged with hand-lighting the street wax lamps), and so on.

During this 90 year-period and after, Valparaíso adjusted to new materials also, the streets were rapidly abandoning dirt to become stoned ones, and the houses, initially of one floor display, were constructing second and third floors, depending on the income of the owners. This could reflect, to the naked eye, the class and social statue of a certain street, which gave way to the construction of neighbourhoods' communities.

All throughout the colonial period, Valparaíso was left to its own fate. After serving the 90 years to Quillota, it became a port of its own, and it flourished and blossomed because of trade. There is something to be said of its geographical emplacement, which allowed it to become the most important port in the Pacific, after crossing the Magellan Strait; in incoming and outgoing trade routes from the colonies towards Spain. Under Habsburg rule, each colony had to report itself to the mainland, and before getting to Sevilla, the western colonies had to come to Valparaíso to rebase its retrenchments for the trip through the strait. When the *Borbons* rose to power, and with the liberty of commerce act approved by 1776, every colony was able to trade with other colonies and territories that weren't enemies of the Spanish empire, and every one of them could trade with a number of Spanish ports as well. This benefitted greatly Valparaíso trading community, increasing demands of specific needs, such as banking, funicular and railway steam systems.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, a wave of immigrants started to settle, many of them English and German traders, that started to settle in the trade-town known as Valparaíso. The English brought with them not only the banking, but their costumes and traditions, with two very important institutions: the schools and the Anglican religion. Measures had to be provided. The dissidents' cemetery and special architectural instructions for (holy) buildings were implemented, so as to accommodate the new population to a commercial city. With the upcoming century, this few migrants brought also their families and relatives, and made not only fortunes based on investment of technology in Chilean's natural resources, but also gave a new architectural breath to the '*new city*', bringing together thriving communities into neighbourhoods in the hills different sectors. This also allowed identifying the hills according to the communities and to the economic sector they belonged. This was also true regarding the plain area of the *Almendra*. In contrast, in the Puerto area, aside from the banking and port industries, there was a rapid settlement of vice and corruption, that is typical of port surroundings, as the chronicles of the day state. It was a hard place to live in, with high criminal rates which alerted the government. Into the 19th century we can see a police patrol and a sort of mayor, a local authority with power to employ the specifics of Spanish law.

H.2 1851: First Big Fire: supply and demand of Needs: First Urbanization Mode

This period of post-independence is thought to be the period of construction of the Chilean bourgeoisie. If we comply with this thesis, we can understand how in this narrow space of emplacement, this geographical area was radically opposed to the rest of Chilean cities. Lacking proper foundation and urban planning, the arriving population started to gain space in towards the hills, and soon it was insufficient. The noodle-like streets are a perfect example of the informal urbanization of the landscape. The different architectural propositions were declared statements of the immigrants' culture and economic power; and in the local schools, it was a normal thing that even before the Castilian teaching, there were English and German courses, every bit as important as mathematics, geography and science. For all this, space was needed. And so the new bourgeois acquired land in the neighbour Viña del Mar, and built second homes, following a careful urban design and planification.

Therefore, it was in Valparaíso where it was received the powerful notes of the *Enlightenment* years. It was the natural entrance to the country. But the philosophical preoccupations were to belong deeply to Santiago, where the political class was already thinking what to do regarding Napoleón's invasion to the Iberian Peninsula. This explains

why Valparaíso's role on the independence movement was virtually not existent. The main issue were to keep the economy going, in practical and tangible terms. In this hectic period, of autonomy, realignment and final independence from Ferdinand VII's Spain, Valparaíso assumed its role in the economy, and soon, its incipient role in navy military issues under the command of Lord Cochrane. This meant the import of new scientific and technological advances, which soon became not only necessarily for navy purposes, but were really a necessity for the general public as well. Oil lamps, horse carriages, train stations, the telegraph (and soon after the first telephone lines) and the tram routes were a reality first in Valparaíso, and then went on their way towards satisfying Santiago's needs.

H.3 1891: Civil War and First Industrialization

Is in this circumstances that the first industries came to Chile, again, throughout Valparaíso's commanding role in the economy. But, there were just one problem to tackle: space. In this too, the solvent solution was Viña del Mar. Early on, its zoning allowed that the industries were allocated far from housing areas, and so railways were put up to meet the efficiency standards that were expected of this new endeavour. An excellent example of these processes is the Sugar Refinery Company, CRAV. It was the first large industry in the country and was the first one to take into account housing, education and health issues of its workers through the first social workers graduated in Chile.

The owner was Julius Bernstein, German immigrant that lived in Valparaíso. We can enlist several examples of industries such as this one, but at this point we have to mention a full-stop moment, caused by the War with Spain, in 1868. This military conflict wasn't ours to battle, but in the spirit of Americanism, we had to realise solidarity actions in favour of Peru's conflict with Spain, involving the cost of guano of its Chincha islands, and so Chile declared war on Spain. The result was the utter bombing destruction of Valparaíso's port and infrastructure. This, for the local population, was an opportunity. They tried to implement a new order into the city, with a clear zoning and coast line that anyone can follow. That's why in the city centre, the streets were now squared, circumvallating a new main square, where the mayor cathedral was allocated; and, not less important, it allowed the works on the union of the *Almendral* and the port areas, by Cochrane Street.

H.4 1906: Second Urbanization Mode

A special note has to be awarded to Valparaíso's role in the wars with Chilean neighbour countries, Peru and Bolivia. In the first one, called War against the Peruvian and Bolivian Confederation, in 1857, the port was the object of economic envy of the Peruvian Callao port and Bolivian Mejillones port. On the second one in 1879, when the Pacific War began, Valparaíso was the main and most powerful port of the Pacific. In both conflicts, the city actively participated through both navy and trade elements and earned its weight as a very important zone in Chile, with a voice and (possible) vote in the political ongoing history of the country. Its economic, and therefore political, importance was diminished with the completion of the Panama Canal. This decay was established with its final nail in the coffin with the 1906 earthquake, where Valparaíso was its epicentre, and that reached 7,8 degrees in Richter's scale. Although the first instinct was to take this event like the War against Spain, gathering the rubble and lost materials to gain to the sea more territories (which actually accounts for three greater avenues and there streets) and implement, therefore, a new zoning plan; this phenomenon was the pivot for upper middle class and rich families to migrate to neighbour Viña del Mar to live, and to be nearer to their business. This meant an escape of capital, and human capital as well. Schools, churches, sports and social (political and mason) clubs were taken from Valparaíso to be allocated in Viña del Mar, in so losing its importance.

During the 20th century, the life of the city, once modern, once thriving, began its inevitable decay. Poverty and marginality were a constant social problem, which was tackled by catholic wife's charity at first and later (mid-century) by the welfare state. Drunken behaviour and robbery were usual, and concentration of worker families in vulnerable housing was a constant that carried out with health and hygiene issues too difficult to undertake. But life in the hills was rather comfortable, because all the life of city centre, now destroyed and transferred to Viña del Mar, was brought uphill, in every one of the 43 hills that surround the city. With this, the general infrastructure of a city centre (schools, infirmary, commerce, theatres and cinemas, football pitches and so on) was built during this period, giving urban life back to the people.

While this urban process proceeded, in parallel we see Valparaíso not taking part in the general scheme of the great forces of Chilean history developing during this century. In the early 20s, the country is battling for its very soul, during the separation of church and state in the 1925 Constitution. It made for a schism so profound that it gave cue to a long mainstream of political instability that resulted in the first military coup d'état of the century. Culturally and religiously, the city already had lived this issue, and survived in the beginnings of the 19th century, some 100 years before the country was ready to have

this type of discussion. Another great force in this period was the Social Question, which was a matter of urgency, not only of importance. The poverty, bad hygiene, maladies and housing concentration was (and still is) a reality since the first immigrants of English and German nationalities had taken with them the learnings of the Second Industrial Revolution and applied them in the first industrial effort in the beginnings of the nineteenth century; whilst Santiago and the rest of the country encountered this dilemma just in the breakings of the twentieth century. The problem was that the city didn't have the economical possibilities to apply those lessons, and so, the population made the best of its circumstances.

With the Chilean Radical Governments (c. 1930-1964), the city benefitted of the long planning that the state was to undertake: the Replacement of the Industry of Imports (known as ISI System). With the creation of state enterprise CORFO (Foment Corporation), the general idea was to industrialise the country, to replace the need of import economy, and in so making our economy a competitive one to the world as well as to provide Chileans with the opportunity to innovate and work and consume Chilean products. The welfare state, with this ongoing industrialization process, could accumulate the necessary capital to undertake the roles that this kind of state implies, mainly in health, housing and education issues.

This period of 15 years under radical governmental rule provided the time and opportunities the country needed to come out of its shell and participate in world events (during the World Wars, Chile transited from neutrality on the first towards declaring the war to Japan on the second; and in the Cold War played in the capitalist side of the world). It also allowed the state to develop an orderly-fashion democracy, which lacked every single guarantee. Corruption and the buying of votes were a constant, and of course, being still an agrarian and rural country, the big owners of country-states often instructed its workers to vote conservative. In a way, that explains why it took so long to put reforms on the political discussion. These characteristics carried out until Pinochet's coup.

Although socialism was founded as a political party in 1920, it didn't reach political importance until the 1960s. It was in a right-wing government, that of Jorge Alessandri, that Agrarian Reform was discussed and applied; and this process carried on towards Allende's days. This element allowed the distribution of land and, theoretically, allowed the distribution of opportunities. This was, certainly, the second big schism in Chilean history. Valparaíso's role in this period was passive, whilst the country, again, fought for its soul. The city carried on with its primary focus on the economics generated by the port, but with the Agrarian Reform, there was nothing to distribute, because there were

no great land property owners, simply, because there was no land to gather. The main issue was urban housing and poverty, and because this still wasn't a main problem in Santiago, so it remained hidden from view for a couple of decades more.

Allende's election put the working man and socialism front centre. For the first time, there was another social class in power. But this was not to be so. Allende himself belonged to one of the finest families in Viña del Mar, with historical links to the free masons; he later became a doctor and had the economic resources to run 4 presidential campaigns for the Socialist Party. He said in his first campaign, in the 1950s, that during his residence he perceived the level of poverty in Santiago, which later would become his topic of dissertation. In his view, it was so deep, not only in economic and health aspects of life, but also in the cultural and educational sense; and that's how he became a supporter, ally and presidential candidate for Chilean socialism.

Along his way throughout the Socialist Party and the many campaigns, he acquired many compromises, which he had to pay as soon as he won the 1969 election. Once in power, not only the party, but these compromises didn't let him govern, and the people started to gang against him. The 1972 truck workers strike was an example that paralysed the country: no food was getting to the mayor cities and remote places and put a lot of pressure in his second year. For many months, the population was in an expectant place, but no solution came to solve the crisis. Workers were fired, and the right to strike was forbidden. This complex scenario would lay the social ground (because the economic and political ground would be laid by external forces) for the necessity for order, and for this Allende called the commanders and general to become part of his political cabinet, and by doing so, he integrated the Military into politics.

These, and so many other factors, explain the military coup d'état, that began, of all places, in Valparaíso, on the 11th September of 1973, at 6:30 in the morning. The bay rose with clustered military forces. The navy was the first to act, as to protect the ongoing coup from possible socialist assessments, in Valparaíso and in Concepción. After it was secure, the military and uniformed police were to take Santiago, as in parallel, the Air Forces bombarded *La Moneda* building after Allende's negative to surrender.

H.5 Militar Regime: Institutionalization Mode with focus on Decentralization actions

During the Junta government and later under Pinochet's regime, Valparaíso received many investments, so as to provide the necessary infrastructure to bring up to date the old port. Significantly, both Pinochet and Allende lived in Valparaíso during their

childhood, and also coincided at school, but not as classmates; which, ultimately, would put the old port up for renovation during this period. In this, the mayor investment was on technology and prepared manpower to cope with the new standards of efficiency of the government. But as for a mayor urban change that can be tangible and manifest, the city was left to its own management. The city mayor kept Valparaíso in the same shape as 20 years ago, and the only visible investment were to take place in the port industry, key to the Chicago Boy's economic plan and capitalist implementation, for the next 17 years.

In the return to democracy, the successive 5 democratic governments have not engaged in the city problems. There is a clear investment in port and city infrastructure, like a brand-new football stadium with FIFA standards, but the city more or less carries on in the same way as 60 years ago. It has always been impossible to plan Valparaíso, and even more to zone it up to code. The cultural ways go deep in the social structure and cultural manifestations of this can be found in the amount of litter in the streets; the staggering amount of stray dogs and working children; the way bus transport transit through the streets not respecting bus stops or simple traffic laws; the way the market is a direct source for narco-traffic, prostitution and sex exploitation, litter and nauseating smells of rotten fish and vegetable; not to mention the hygienic issues that come along with flies, rats and other rodents infestations.

No matter the amount of money invested in this sector of the city, it always comes back to its known ways. This is also true about the housing issue. There have been plans of housing projects for the illegal and informal housing, and as soon as the population that lives there go on to the state constructed housing, there were other communities ready to step up to the abandoned vulnerable housing.

H.6 12-13/05/2014: Mega Fire, the biggest of the country

In Chilean History, this event has surpassed all records available. Just over a fortnight later, Chilean authorities announced that the fire that destroyed 965.2 hectares and killed 15 people was subdued. Nevertheless, several fire brigades, eight aircrafts and 12 helicopters were still operating at the scene of the accident a month after.

The Mega Fire has achieved the complete destruction inside the perimeter, so it can be accounted for the destruction of all homes within that region. The majority of the area involved affected poor and socioeconomically vulnerable neighbourhoods, leaving in its aftermath one thousand people still living in emergency shelters, more than 1,500 families still without electricity and 11,000 tons of rubble that are being removed from the disaster area.

Appendix I: Informed Consent forms for my Interviewees.

Faculty of Environment, School of Geography



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Consent to take part in the Research Project:

“Emplaced Disaster Identity in the Global South: Disaster Spectacles for the construction of In-Created Cities in Chile”

	Add your initials next to the statements you agree with
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 08/06/2015, explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I agree for the data collected from me to be stored and used in relevant future research only in an anonymised form.	
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the University of Leeds M drive storage facility.	
I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from the University of Leeds or from regulatory authorities where it is relevant to my taking part in this research. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records.	
I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change.	
I understand that my information will be audio recorded, and that this data will be used within the project's limits only.	

Name of participant	
Participant's signature	
Date	
Name of lead researcher	Maria Jose Otero
Signature	
Date	

<i>"Emplaced Disaster Identity in the Global South: Disaster Spectacles for the construction of In-Created Cities in Chile"</i>	Document type	Version #	Date
	consent form	1	

Appendix J: Email Consent from Fotos Históricas de ValparaísoFotos a usar en investigación sobre
Valparaíso

FH

Fotos Históricas de Chile

<fotoshistoricascl@gmail.com>

To:

María Otero;

Fri 02/10/2015 00:29

María José, utiliza todas LAS fotos que creas necesarias para tu tesis.
Saludos, suerte y éxito en todo lo que emprendas.

ASF

MO

María Otero

Reply all

To:

fotoshistoricascl@gmail.com;

Thu 01/10/2015 04:27

Sent Items

Carta de presentacion.pdf^{339 KB}

Download

Save to OneDrive - University of Leeds

Hola Equipo de Fotos Históricas!!

Me es muy grato escribirles! Soy María José Otero, estudiante de doctorado en Geografía, chilena, en la Universidad de Leeds. Debido al desastre (del año pasado) del Mega Incendio en Valparaíso, me encuentro recopilando material para la consecución de mi tesis, que tiene por tema el cómo el desastre es un elemento válido para la

generación de identidad espacial, en específico en Valparaíso. Después mi idea es que estas nociones se puedan elevar a nivel nacional.

Me encuentro en Chile realizando mi trabajo de campo. En él, ocuparé fotos publicadas por ustedes, debido a su carácter público en Facebook como red social pública. Sin embargo, creo que es necesario solicitar por este medio de su permiso formal.

Debido a ello, por favor lean la carta de presentación que mi supervisor, Dr. Alex Schafran, ha enviado como apoyo para tal solicitud.

Estaré atenta a su respuesta.

Muchas gracias y saludos cordiales

Maria Jose Otero Auristondo
PhD Researcher in Geography
School of Geography
Faculty of Environment
University of Leeds

Appendix K: Ethics Committee Resolution 2015 for this research.

Performance, Governance and Operations
 Research & Innovation Service
 Charles Thackrah Building
 101 Clarendon Road
 Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel: 0113 343 4873
 Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Maria Otero
 School of Earth and Environment
 University of Leeds
 Leeds, LS2 9JT

**ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee
 University of Leeds**

21 August 2015

Dear Maria

Title of study: Emplaced Disaster Identity (Disaster Spectacles for the construction of In-Created Cities in Chile)
Ethics reference: AREA 14-156

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 14-156 Carta a Universidad de Leeds UK_Mª José Otero_.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Data_Protection_Protocol_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Ethical_Review_Form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Institutional-Policy-for-Intellectual-Property-and-Technological-Transfer-PUCV.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Letter of authorization PUCV.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Letter of presentation.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 lone working_risk_assessment_form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Low Risk Fieldwork RA form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Participant_consent_form_and_sheet_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Data_Protection_Protocol_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Ethical_Review_Form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Institutional-Policy-for-Intellectual-Property-and-Technological-Transfer-PUCV.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Letter of authorization PUCV.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Letter of presentation.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 lone working_risk_assessment_form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Low Risk Fieldwork RA form_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Participant_consent_form_and_sheet_Maria Otero.pdf	2	01/07/15
AREA 14-156 Rendered services contract.pdf	2	01/07/15

The Committee would like to thank you for such a comprehensive application and clear responses to their recommendations.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie
 Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service
 On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

References

- @DieFreien la mina pa hueno (2014, 13/04/2014). [Online] [Accessed: 31/07/2018; 20:20] Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/crissxx9>
- @GolpeDirecto. (2017). Por las #EleccionesChile2017 omitimos el día que #Pinochet firmó la ley donde cambia el #CongresoNacional de #Chile, de Santiago a #Valparaíso, en diciembre de 1987. [Online] [Accessed: 31/03/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/i/web/status/94348018462739660931/03/2018>
- Acevedo Hernandez, A. (18.08.1906). The Earthquake of 1906, in Valparaíso and the people: When Valparaíso agonized. *La Unión de Valparaíso*.
- Acuña Anguita, R. (1912). *Leyes promulgadas en Chile: 1887-1901* (Vol. 3): Impr. Barcelona. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 12:50] Retrieved from <https://books.google.es/books?id=oqtBAAAAYAAJ>
- Adler-Lomnitz, L. (2013). *Redes sociales, cultura y poder: ensayos de antropología latinoamericana*. ISBN 9688424870. FLACSO, Mexico.
- Adler-Lomnitz, L. (2002). Redes sociales y partidos políticos en Chile. *Redes. Revista hispana para el análisis de redes sociales*(3). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/redes.19>. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 12:30] Retrieved from <https://revistes.uab.cat/redes/article/view/v3-n3-adler>
- Alvarado, M. (2007). *Valparaíso: Imaginario de Sonidos, Perfumes y Moradas* (P. Gonzalez Ed.): Ediciones Altazor. Santiago de Chile
- Álvarez Aránguiz, L. (2001). Origen de los espacios públicos en Valparaíso: el discurso higienista y las condiciones ambientales en el siglo XIX. *Revista de Urbanismo*(4). Doi: 10.5354/0717-5051.2011.11804. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 10:50]. Retrieved from <https://revistaurbanismo.uchile.cl/index.php/RU/article/view/11804>
- Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*: Wiley. ISBN 9780745624143. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 10:50]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=m8q0Us-5s0IC>
- Ampuero, B. ed. (2017). *Diagnostico Territorial de Acupuntura Urbana. Cerros El Litre y Las Cañas*. Valparaiso, Chile: Ciudad, Gestion y Territorio CIGESTER.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Editorial. ISBN 9781844670864. [Online] [Accessed: 10/07/2018; 09:50]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=nQ9jXXJV-vgC>
- Anderson, M. D. (2011). *Disaster Writing: The Cultural Politics of Catastrophe in Latin America*: University of Virginia Press. [Online] [Accessed: 13/06/2018; 14:50]. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wrqgh>
- Ansell-Pearson, K. (2012). *Geminal Life: The Difference and Repetition of Deleuze*. ISBN 1134671202. Routledge, London, United Kingdom.

- Armada de Chile. (1866). Bombardeo a Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 10:50]. Retrieved from <http://www.armada.cl/armada/tradicion-e-historia/principales-acciones-navales/la-guerra-contra-espana/bombardeo-de-valparaiso-31-de-marzo-de-1866/2014-05-14/152220.html> 17.03.2017
- Arretx, C., & Salinas, R. (1984). *Breve historia de la ciudad de Valparaíso y estimación de la mortalidad adulta a base de información sobre orfandad*. Paper presented at the *Seminario sobre la Mortalidad Adulta y la Orfandad en el Pasado San José, Costa Rica*, San José, Costa Rica. [Online] [Accessed: 18/07/2018; 12:30]. Retrieved from <http://repositorio.cepal.org/handle/11362/2078413/12/2017>
- Augé, M. (1995). *Los "No Lugares": espacios del anonimato : una antropología de la modernidad*: Editorial Gedisa, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Bankoff, G., Frerks, G., & Hilhorst, D. (2013). *Mapping Vulnerability: Disasters, Development, and People*. ISBN 9781849771924. Earthscan LLC Editorials. [Online] [Accessed: 20/07/2018; 20:45]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=uGBYX4wVMkkC>
- Barde, J. P., & Pearce, D. W. (2013). *Valuing the Environment: Six Case Studies*: Taylor & Francis.
- Barrow, C. J. (1997). *Environmental and social impact assessment: an introduction*. ISBN 9780470235287. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 10:50]. Retrieved from http://leeds.summon.serialssolutions.com/2.0.0/link/0/eLvHCXMwY2AwNtlz0EUrE0xTkwySTUFzWsmJoL2UximWpkCQnGaaamphmAYef_MxCXEyCQozDUKcHQ3qzucAS_FitNPzQdW6mZlpXTBodzmwAQ46NL-uLgqWkAxNgf06YOoCz86agM84N7QEb0c3Bx3vAiyRoUfwwCTNYUfxQOWBdRUr2F6kusZnkIEftP9AilEpNU-YgRvpvEARBi1XxLa0xByFxlWUBciYtwJks6NCIvycTVEGOTfXEGcPXbAF8dBRmniYn4yNxBh4E0Gr2_NKwLvqUiQYFIyB3QwLoyRLk2RTI5OkIGRL02STtMRUUwOTREMzs8Q0SQZxHKZJ4ZSRZuCCHMUKGk6QYWBNAYb3VFmovwGK2nbP
- BCN.cl. (2011). 1990 Edificio del Congreso Nacional de Valparaíso. BCN.cl: Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 11:50]. Retrieved from [https://www.bcn.cl/historiapolitica/congreso_nacional/edificios/detalle?sel=Edificio_Congreso_Nacional_\(Valpara%C3%ADso\)31/03/2018](https://www.bcn.cl/historiapolitica/congreso_nacional/edificios/detalle?sel=Edificio_Congreso_Nacional_(Valpara%C3%ADso)31/03/2018)
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage Publications (CA). ISBN 9781446223420. [Online] [Accessed: 25/03/2015; 10:50]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=W2sDTHaSiYC>
- Bennett, W. L., Lawrence, R. G., & Livingston, S. (2008). *When the press fails: Political power and the news media from Iraq to Katrina*: University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226042863. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 10:50]. Retrieved from <https://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/W/bo5186389.html>

- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1991). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. ISBN 0140135480. Penguin United Kingdom.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (2011). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*: Open Road Media. ISBN 9781453215463. [Online] [Accessed: 30/01/2018; 20:50]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Jcma84waN3AC>
- Berliner Araos, K., & Brito Vásquez, L. (2010). *Los Cachureos de la Avenida Argentina de Valparaíso. Historias de vidas e intercambio entre el mar y los cerros*. ISBN 978-956-317-080-1. Mago Editores, Santiago de Chile.
- Bethell, L. (1995). *The Cambridge History of Latin America*: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521395250. [Online] [Accessed: 31/11/2016; 10:10]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6tNWbywFXhkC>
- Blaikie, P., Cannon, T., Davis, I., & Wisner, B. (2014). *At risk: natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. ISBN 1134528612. Routledge, London, United Kingdom.
- Bokova, I. (2017). UNESCO: proyecto de la EPV amenazan título patrimonial de Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 20/04/2017; 10:50]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X29Z2kiaSHQ&feature=youtu.be28/01/2018>
- Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*. ISBN 0521659531. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Bork Vega, L., & Salomo Flores, J. (2010). *El Hermano Fuego: Vestigios del Incendio en la Iglesia de San Francisco, Cerro Barón, Valparaíso*. Valparaíso, Chile. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile
- Bourdieu, P. (2017). Habitus. In: Hillier, Jean (ed.) *Habitus: A sense of place*. Routledge. [Online] [Accessed: 06/01/2018; 23:50]. Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/08111149908727803>
- Braudel, F. (1982). *On History*. ISBN 0226071510. University of Chicago Press. [Online] [Accessed: 06/01/2018; 22:50]. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/On_History.html?id=Aus0BEQZF_XIC&redir_esc=y
- Braudel, F. (1995). *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*: University of California Press. ISBN 9780520203303. [Online] [Accessed: 06/02/2018; 10:00]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Lp63EKb9moC>
- Braudel, F., & Reynolds, S. (2002). *Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*. ISBN 9781842122877. [Online] [Accessed: 06/02/2018; 21:00]. Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fiRYPgAACAAJ>
- Braudel, F., & Wallerstein, I. (2009). History and the Social Sciences: The Longue Durée. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*. ISBN 0147-9032. [Online] [Accessed: 06/02/2018; 01:30]. Retrieved from

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=1BC2AAAAIAAJ&q=braudel+wallerstein+history+and+social+sciences&dq=braudel+wallerstein+history+and+social+sciences&hl=es&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiS3tCQxbPdAhWIIIMAKHT8aCpcQ6AEIPjAD>

- Bravo, R. (2012). 30 Historias: What I know about Valparaíso, and Santiago Wanderers. [Online] [Accessed: 17/02/2018; 17:30] Retrieved from <http://www.eseaene.cl/sitio/14/08/2012/30-historias-what-i-know-about-valparaiso-and-santiago-wanderers/17/02/2018>
- Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2003). *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*: Wiley. ISBN 9781405101059. [Online] [Accessed: 06/02/2018; 01:40] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=3bl5raEdQikC>
- Bronfman, N. C., Cisternas, P. C., López-Vázquez, E., & Cifuentes, L. A. (2016). Trust and Risk Perception of Natural Hazards: implications for risk preparedness in Chile. *Natural Hazards*, 81(1), 307-327. [Online] [Accessed: 06/02/2018; 01:32] Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11069-015-2080-4>
- Brown, J. N. (1994). *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: geographies of 'race' and identity in the port city of Liverpool, England*. Department of Anthropology: Stanford University. [Online] [Accessed: 09/02/2018; 01:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Nu5EAQAAIAAJ>
- Browne, R. B., & Neal, A. G. (2001). *Ordinary Reactions to Extraordinary Events*: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. ISBN 9780879728342. [Online] [Accessed: 12/12/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=GAMI4GEW6-oC>
- Buckingham-Hatfield, S., & Percy, S. (2005). *Constructing Local Environmental Agendas: People, Places and Participation*. Taylor & Francis. London, United Kingdom. ISBN 9781134635146. [Online] [Accessed: 04/04/2018; 23:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=h9iFAgAAQBAJ10/08/2018>
- Bukvic, A., & Owen, G. (2017). Attitudes towards relocation following Hurricane Sandy: should we stay or should we go? *Disasters*, 41(1), 101-123. [Online] [Accessed: 30/06/2018; 04:30] Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/disa.12186>
- Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2014). *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9781107026902. [Online] [Accessed: 11/06/2018; 04:20] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WQd-AgAAQBAJ>
- Bunster, E. (1948). *El Bombardeo de Valparaíso y otros relatos*. Editorial Zig-Zag. Santiago de Chile.
- Burby, R. J., Deyle, R. E., Godschalk, D. R., & Olshansky, R. B. (2000). Creating Hazard Resilient Communities through Land-Use Planning. *Natural hazards review*, 1(2), 99-106. [Online] [Accessed: 11/06/2018; 01:10] Retrieved from

<https://ascelibrary.org/doi/10.1061/%28ASCE%291527-6988%282000%291%3A2%2899%29>

- Burke, P. J., & Stets, J. E. (2009). *Identity Theory*. Oxford University Press. ISBN 9780199736744. [Online] [Accessed: 11/12/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7-bnIPeT_1YC
- Calderón, A. (1986). *Memorial de Valparaíso en los 450 años de su Descubrimiento*. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso Valparaíso, Chile.
- Candina, A. (2013). *Clase Media, Estado y Sacrificio*. ISBN 9789560004277. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- Carr, E. R., Abrahams, D., de la Poterie, A. T., Suarez, P., & Koelle, B. (2015). *Vulnerability Assessments, Identity and Spatial Scale challenges in Disaster-Risk Reduction* (Vol. 7). [Online] [Accessed: 12/10/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/29955282>
- Carrigan, A. (2014). Introduction: Representing Catastrophe. *Moving Worlds*, 14(2), 3-24. ISBN 1 474-4600. [Online] [Accessed: 12/12/2015; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://www.movingworlds.net>
- Caruth, C. (1995). *Explorations in memory*. Johns Hopkins University Press. London, United Kingdom. [Online] [Accessed: 12/10/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from: https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/special/en304/2012-13/caruth_recapturing_the_past.pdf
- Carvallo, D. (1899). *Informe sobre el Estado Higiénico de la Ciudad*. [Online] [Accessed: 12/01/2018; 17:00] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0001517.pdf>
- Cassar, A., Healy, A., & von Kessler, C. (2017). Trust, Risk, and Time Preferences After a Natural Disaster: Experimental Evidence from Thailand. *World Development*, 94(Supplement C), 90-105. [Online] [Accessed: 20/12/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324140275_Natural_Disasters_Social_Protection_and_Risk_Perceptions
- Castagneto, P., & González, P. (2013). *Cerro Alegre. Crónica de los Cerros Alegre y Concepción de Valparaíso*. Ediciones Altazor. Viña del Mar, Chile.
- Castells, M. (2008). The New Public Sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), ISBN 78-93. 0002-7162. [Online] [Accessed: 20/10/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0002716207311877>
- Castree, N., Demeritt, D., Liverman, D., & Rhoads, B. (2009). *A Companion to Environmental Geography*. Wiley. ISBN 9781444305739. [Online] [Accessed: 20/12/2015; 21:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=tvOGJd5BfcsC>

- Cavieres-Figueroa, E. (1987). *Chilean Trade and British Traders, 1820-1879*: University of Essex. Essex, United Kingdom.
- Cavieres-Figueroa, E. (2017). Estructura y Funcionamiento de las Sociedades Comerciales de Valparaíso durante el siglo XIX (1820-1880). *Cuadernos de Historia*(4), ISBN 61-86 0719-1243. [Online] [Accessed: 01/11/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://cuadernosdehistoria.uchile.cl/index.php/CDH/article/view/46496>
- Centro Sismológico Nacional. (2016). Efemérides Sísmicas: Terremoto de Valparaíso 1906. [Online] [Accessed: 08/12/2017; 22:10] Retrieved from <http://www.csn.uchile.cl/efemerides-sismicas-terremoto-de-valparaiso-1906/08/12/2017>
- Chandía, M. (2013). *La Cuadra. Pasión, vino y se fué... Cultura popular, habitar y memoria histórica en el Barrio Puerto de Valparaíso*. ISBN 9789562849647. RIL Editores. Santiago de Chile.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*: SAGE Publications. ISBN 9780761973539. [Online] [Accessed: 01/06/2017; 23:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=v1qP1KbXz1AC>
- Chartier, R. (1989). *The world as representation*. Paper presented at the Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations Conference. Librairie Armand Colin, France.
- Clifford, N., French, S., & Valentine, G. (2010). *Key Methods in Geography*: SAGE Publications. ISBN 9781446243633. [Online] [Accessed: 01/10/2016; 16:40] Retrieved from <https://books.google.cl/books?id= wk4kVABqE4C>
- Coetzee, C., & Van Niekerk, D. (2012). Tracking the evolution of the disaster management cycle: A general system theory approach. *Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies*, 4(1), 1-9. 1996-1421.
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). Commentary: Social institutions and social theory. *American Sociological Review*, 55(3), 333-339. ISBN 0003-1224. [Online] [Accessed: 01/11/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2095759?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Conde, I. (2017). *Deep as Humanity: Doris Salcedo and ethics of remembrance*. Paper presented at the CMCI PhD Conference 2017 *Cultural Resilience / Resilient Cultures: the art of resistance in changing worlds*, King's College London, United Kingdom.
- Cook, K. S., Cheshire, C., Rice, E. R., & Nakagawa, S. (2013). Social Exchange Theory. In *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 61-88): Springer, California, United States of America.
- Cooperativa.cl. (2015, 02/10/2015). Hundimiento de vereda y parte de una avenida alertó a los vecinos de Valparaíso. *Cooperativa.cl*. [Online] [Accessed: 20/12/2017; 22:30] Retrieved from <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/region-de-valparaiso/hundimiento-de-vereda-y-parte-de-una-avenida-alerto-a-los-vecinos-de/2015-10-02/161202.html02/08/2018>

- Corballis, M., White, K. G., & Abraham, W. (2014). *Memory Mechanisms: A Tribute To Goddard*. Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9781317785187. [Online] [Accessed: 01/06/2016; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=083sAgAAQBAJ>
- Corporación Municipal de Valparaíso. (2018). Schools and High Schools. [Online] [Accessed: 01/05/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://cmvalparaiso.cl/escuelas-y-liceos/26/07/2018>
- Cottle, S. (2012). Mediatized disasters in the global age: On the ritualization of catastrophe. In: Alexander, Jeffrey (ed.) *The Oxford handbook of cultural sociology*. Doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195377767.013.10. [Online] [Accessed: 25/03/2016; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195377767.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195377767-e-10>
- Coverley, M. (2012). *Psychogeography*. ISBN 1842438700. Oldcastle Books. London, United Kingdom.
- CRAC Valparaíso. (2013). El edificio del congreso es el arco del triunfo de Pinochet. CRAC Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 30/03/2016; 21:30] Retrieved from <http://www.cracvalparaiso.org/?p=255531/03/2018>
- Crawford-Brown, D. J. (1999). *Risk-Based Environmental Decisions*. ISBN 9781461552277. Springer, California, United States of America.
- Cuchi, P. (2017). Statistical Data for Chile. World Health Organization, Panamerican Health Organization. [Online] [Accessed: 22/02/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/countries/chl/es/22/02/2017>
- Cuerpo de Bomberos de Valparaiso. (1998). *Historia del Cuerpo de Bomberos de Valparaiso*. Imprenta Salesianos. Santiago de Chile
- Cunliffe, A. (2003). Intersubjective Voices: The Role of the "Theorist". *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 25(4), 481-498.
- Cunliffe, A. (2010). Crafting qualitative research: Morgan and Smircich 30 years on. *Organizational Research Methods*.
- Cutter, S. L., & Emrich, C. T. (2006). Moral Hazard, Social Catastrophe: The Changing Face of Vulnerability along the Hurricane Coasts. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 604, ISBN 102-112. 00027162. [Online] [Accessed: 21/11/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25097783>
- Darling-Hammond, L. (1994). *Review of Research in Education: American Educational Research Association*. ISBN 9780935302165. [Online] [Accessed: 03/03/2016; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5cdgO0hMJosC>
- Darling-Hammond, L., & Adamson, F. (2014). *Beyond the Bubble Test: How Performance Assessments Support 21st Century Learning*. Wiley. ISBN 9781118889299. [Online] [Accessed: 20/11/2016; 20:10] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AjiXAwAAQBAJ>

- Darwin, C., Fitzroy, R., & King, P. (1839). *Journal and remarks, 1832-1836*. London: H. Colburn. [Online] [Accessed: 11/03/2017; 15:30] Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UUXjlu_JWQC
- Davis, Mike (1998) *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster*. Vintage Books, New York, United States of America.
- De Nordenflycht Concha, J. (2004). *Patrimonio Local. Ensayos sobre Arte, Arquitectura y Lugar*. Editorial Puntangeles, Universidad de Playa Ancha. Valparaiso, Chile.
- De Ramón, A., Couyoumdjian, J. R., & Vial, S. (1992). *Historia de América*: Editorial Andrés Bello. Santiago de Chile.
- Debord, G. (1998). *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*: Verso Editorials. ISBN 9781859841693. [Online] [Accessed: 19/03/2016; 14:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=8Cd5nmMKkNMC>
- Debord, G. (2012). *Society of the Spectacle*: Bread and Circuses Publishing. ISBN 1617508306. London, United Kingdom.
- Deleuze, G. (1994). *Repetition and Difference*. Columbia University Press, New York, United States of America.
- Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1988). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. University of London: Athlone Press. ISBN 9780485113358. [Online] [Accessed: 09/03/2016; 16:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.es/books?id=5D6tAwAAQBAJ>
- DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M., & McDowell, L. (2009). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. ISBN 9781446206560 Sage Publications. California, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 20/03/2015; 19:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=pvAqzyZhQ24C>
- DePrince, A. P., Brown, L. S., Cheit, R. E., Freyd, J. J., Gold, S. N., Pezdek, K., & Quina, K. (2012). Motivated Forgetting and Misremembering: Perspectives from Betrayal Trauma Theory. In R. F. Belli (Ed.), *True and False Recovered Memories: Toward a Reconciliation of the Debate* (pp. 193-242). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-1195-6_7. New York, Springer, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 25/03/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22303768>
- DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. AltaMira Press, A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Maryland, United States of America. ISBN 9780759119277. [Online] [Accessed: 23/11/2016; 18:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=wxUVY019-LYC>
- Diaz, Francisco & De Castro, Alejandro (ed.). (2014). *Who Cares about Chilean Cities?* Ediciones ARQ. Santiago de Chile.
- Dickie, J. (2006). Timing, Memory and Disaster: Patriotic Narratives in the Aftermath of the Messina–Reggio Calabria Earthquake, 28 December 1908. *Modern Italy*, 11(2), 147-166. [Online] [Accessed: 18/09/2017; 09:30] Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13532940600709262>

- Doncel Domínguez, J. A. (2012). Itinerario de la expedición de Malaspina. [Online] [Accessed: 13/09/2018; 23:20] Retrieved from <http://jadonceld.blogspot.com/2012/08/la-exploracion-y-conquista-espanola-en.html>
- Donoso, P. e. (2016). *Valparaíso y su Borde Costero: Oportunidad o Espejismo*. Sa Cabana Editorial. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Dreier, P., Mollenkopf, J. H., & Swanstrom, T. (2004). *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-first Century*. ISBN 9780700613649. University Press of Kansas, Unites State of America. [Online] [Accessed: 22/09/2017; 20:20] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ofi7AAAAIAAJ>
- Drury, J. (2018). The role of social identity processes in mass emergency behaviour: An integrative review. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29(1), 38-81. [Online] [Accessed: 25/08/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10463283.2018.147194810/08/2018>
- Dugan, B. (2007). Loss of identity in disaster: how do you say goodbye to home? *Perspectives in psychiatric care*, 43(1), 41-46. ISBN 0031-5990. [Online] [Accessed: 15/08/2017; 21:30] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1744-6163.2007.00105.x>
- Eade, J., Jahjah, D. A., Bechler, R., & Sassen, S. (2004). *Identities on the Move*: British Council. ISBN 9780863555312. [Online] [Accessed: 15/08/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=zxdv9zIB3lqC>
- Eber, D. E., & Neal, A. G. (2001). *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truths and Competing Realities*. Bowling Green State University. Popular Press. Ohio, United States of America. ISBN 9780879728304. [Online] [Accessed: 10/08/2018; 21:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=mDZdymXVgpgC>
- Edwards-Bello, J. (1934). *El bombardeo de Valparaíso y su época* Ediciones Ercilla. Santiago de Chile.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (2014). A seis meses del infierno, Valparaíso se pone de pie. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 13.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (1985a, 05/03/1985). Cerro El Litre: devastación tiene forma distinta a la del Plan. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 10.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (1985b, 05/03/1985). S.E. Fijó Prioridad de la Reconstrucción. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 1.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (1985c, 04/03/1985). S.E. ordenó postergar por un mes el comienzo del año escolar. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 10.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (1987a, 04/01/1987). El Problema más delicado de nuestra zona. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 4.
- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (1987b, 16/02/1987). Nuevas atracciones a lo largo del país. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*.

- El Mercurio de Valparaíso. (2014). People facing disaster. *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, p. 5.
- ElCiudadano.cl. (2016). Video muestra otra versión de lo que pasó en el cambio de mando entre Pinochet y Alwyn. [Online] [Accessed: 10/08/2018; 18:30] Retrieved from <https://www.elciudadano.cl/chile/video-revela-lo-que-realmente-sucedio-en-el-cambio-de-mando-entre-pinochet-y-aylwin1/12/31/#axzz5BM7jCSdk31/03/2018>
- Eliade, M. (1959). *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*. Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask: Harper. London, United Kingdom.
- Emmel, N. (2013). *Sampling and Choosing Cases in Qualitative Research: A Realist Approach*. ISBN 9781446287187. Sage Publications. California, United States of America: [Online] [Accessed: 10/08/2018; 21:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HfnAAQAAQBAJ>
- Emol.com. (2014). CNTV formula cargos a TVN por polémico reportaje sobre víctimas de incendio de Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 12/08/2018; 19:30] Retrieved from <http://www.emol.com/noticias/magazine/2014/05/29/662658/cntv-formula-cargos-contra-tvn-por-polemico-reportaje-de-claudio-farina.html24/02/2018>
- Erll, A. (2016). *Memory in Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. ISBN 9780230321670. North Carolina, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 07/04/2017; 18:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=J98YDAAAQBAJ>
- Esteban, M., Tsimopoulou, V., Shibayama, T., Mikami, T., & Ohira, K. (2013). Analysis of Tsunami Culture in Countries Affected by Recent Tsunamis. *Procedia Environmental Sciences*, 17, 693-702. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.proenv.2013.02.086>1878-0296. [Online] [Accessed: 18/06/2018; 16:30] Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1878029613000881>
- Estrada Turra, B. (2011). *Inmigración Internacional en Chile: pasado y presente* Paper presented at the XVII Jornadas de Estudios Migratorios de Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 23/09/2015; 21:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=vANsjwEACAAJ>
- Estrada Turra, B. (2012). *Valparaíso. Progresos y Conflictos de una Ciudad Puerto (1830-1950)*. ISBN 9789562849623. Ril Editores. Santiago de Chile
- Felman, S., & Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. ISBN 9780415903929 Routledge, London, United Kingdom. [Online] [Accessed: 10/08/2018; 21:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OpbJsbu2vm8C>
- Fivush, R., Habermas, T., Waters, T., & Zaman, W. (2011). The Making of Autobiographical Memory: Intersections of culture, narratives and identity. *International Journal of Psychology*, 46(5), 321-345. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00207594.2011.596541> [Online] [Accessed:

10/08/2016; 15:40] Retrieved from
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00207594.2011.596541>

- Fivush, R., & Haden, C. A. (2003). *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self: Developmental and Cultural Perspectives* ISBN 9780805837568. L. Erlbaum. New Jersey, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 10/08/2016; 15:50] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=iK3iLnZp8MEC>
- Flick, U. (2013). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage Publications. ISBN 9781446296691. California, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 15/03/2015; 15:40] Retrieved from <https://books.google.cl/books?id=R-6GAwAAQBAJ>
- Flick, U. (2014). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications. ISBN 9781446297711. California, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 17/03/2015; 19:20] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=HexhAwAAQBAJ>
- Flores, S. (2005). *El Acontecer Infausto en un Valparaíso Sorprendente*. Universidad de Valparaíso y Universidad de Playa Ancha. Valparaíso, Chile
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245. doi:10.1177/1077800405284363. [Online] [Accessed: 17/05/2016; 14:50] Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1077800405284363>
- Fotos Históricas de Chile. (2015). Fotografías del Valparaíso Antiguo. Facebook Page Fotos Históricas de Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 08/10/2015; 20:40] Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/FotosHistoricasDeChile/>
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Vintage Books, Penguin Random House. ISBN 9780679753353. New York, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 08/12/2014; 10:20] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UFf5imvvD4IC>
- Foucault, M., & Faubion, J. D. (1998). *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*. New Press. ISBN 9781565845589. New York, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 30/12/2015; 11:15] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=V54TZsE5zrEC>
- Fox Gotham, K. (2007). Critical theory and Katrina: Disaster, spectacle and immanent critique. *City*, 11(1), 81-99. ISBN 1360-4813. [Online] [Accessed: 20/07/2018; 12:40] Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13604810701200870>
- Fox Gotham, K. (2017). Touristic disaster: Spectacle and recovery in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *Geoforum*, 86, ISBN 127-135. 0016-7185. . [Online] [Accessed: 20/07/2018; 12:40] Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320767598_Touristic_disaster_Spectacle_and_recovery_in_Post-Katrina_New_Orleans

- Gaffikin, F., & Morrissey, M. (2011). *Planning in Divided Cities*. Wiley. ISBN 9781444393194. London, United Kingdom.
- Gamba.cl. (2017, January 2017). Recordando cuando Claudio Fariña hizo llorar a una niña que perdió su casa. *Gamba.cl*. [Online] [Accessed: 13/02/2018; 21:40] Retrieved from <http://www.gamba.cl/2017/01/video-recordando-cuando-claudio-farina-hizo-llorar-a-una-nina-que-perdio-su-casa/01/08/2018>
- Gana, A., Mancilla, M., & Lagos, J. M. (2015). *Boite American Bar: Reconstrucción de la memoria histórica y visual del American Bar de Valparaíso*. Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Cultural y las Artes FONDART REGIONAL. Santiago de Chile.
- Garín Franz, A. e. (2014). *Propuesta Plan de Reconstrucción Ilustre Municipalidad de Valparaíso*. [Online] [Accessed: 11/04/2018; 16:10] Retrieved from https://issuu.com/unadeuno/docs/plan_municipal_reconstruccion_valpa02/08/2018
- Garín Franz, A. e. (2015). *Diagnóstico Municipal para la Reconstrucción*. [Online] [Accessed: 20/07/2018; 18:27] Retrieved from Valparaíso, Chile: https://issuu.com/pladecovalparaiso/docs/diagnostico_reconstruccion_valpara_27/08/2018
- Garretón, M. A., Cruz, M. A., Aguirre, F., Bro, N., Farías, E., Ferreti, P., & Ramos, T. (2011). Movimiento social, nuevas formas de hacer política y enclaves autoritarios: Los debates del Consejo Asesor para la Educación en el gobierno de Michelle Bachelet en Chile. *Polis (Santiago)*, 10(30), 117-140. ISBN 0718-6568. [Online] [Accessed: 01/05/2018; 13:20] Retrieved from https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0718-65682011000300006
- Garrido, E. (2004). Los Orígenes de Viña del Mar y su proceso de Industrialización, un caso específico: Lever, Murphy y Cia. *Revista ARCHIVUM*, V(6), 74-86. [Online] [Accessed: 13/04/2017; 17:15] Retrieved from <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B2bp8ygFxx8Qd2t5ckRsS0hIcIE/edit>
- Gaudio Nilsson, A. (2017). *La más fiel de todas*. [Online] [Accessed: 30/07/2018; 22:20] Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10155808643448598&set=a.10150632277558598.393041.732793597&type=3&theater17/02/2018>
- Geertz, C. (1973). *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture*. Fontana Press. Waukegan, Illinois, United States of America.
- Gehl, J., & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to Study Public Life*. Island Press. ISBN 9781610915250. Washington DC, United States of America.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press. ISBN 9780804719445. United States of America.

- Gil, M. (2017). La reconstrucción del valor urbano de Valparaíso luego del terremoto de 1906. *ARQ (Santiago)*, 78-89. ISBN 0717-6996. [Online] [Accessed: 17/10/2017; 17:40] Retrieved from https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0717-69962017000300078&nrm=iso14/07/2017
- Gillispie, A., & Cornish, F. (2010). Intersubjectivity: Towards a Dialogical Analysis. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 40(1), 19-46. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.2009.00419.x. [Online] [Accessed: 09/06/2015; 18:50] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2009.00419.x>
- Giosan, C., Malta, L., Jayasinghe, N., Spielman, L., & Difede, J. (2009). Relationships between memory inconsistency for traumatic events following 9/11 and PTSD in disaster restoration workers. *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 23(4), 557-561. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.janxdis.2008.11.0040887-6185. [Online] [Accessed: 10/12/2016; 20:23] Retrieved from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0887618508001953>
- Gobierno de Chile. (2004). *Postulación de Valparaíso como sitio del Patrimonio Mundial UNESCO*. [Online] [Accessed: 20/06/2018; 18:40] Retrieved from http://www.monumentos.cl/sites/default/files/articles-45668_doc_pdf.pdf31/03/2018
- Gobierno de Chile. (2014). *Plan de Inversiones Reconstrucción de Valparaíso*. [Online] [Accessed: 20/06/2018; 18:10] Retrieved from: <http://www.interior.gob.cl/media/2014/09/PLAN-DE-INVERSION-VALPO-2014-2021.pdf27/08/2018>
- Gomes, G. (2011). Las tradiciones corporativistas en la dictadura pinochetista. *Dossier Chile, Observatorio Latinoamericano*(8), 134-149. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 11:30] Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/11742599/Las_tradiciones_corporativistas_en_la_dictadura_pinochetista
- González-Rodríguez, J. P., & Rolle, C. (2005). *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1890-1950*. Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile. ISBN 9789592600973. Santiago de Chile.
- Goode, N., Salmon, P. M., Spencer, C., McArdle, D., & Archer, F. (2017). Defining disaster resilience: comparisons from key stakeholders involved in emergency management in Victoria, Australia. *Disasters*, 41(1), 171-193. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/disa.12189>. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 11:30] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/disa.12189>
- Graham, M. (1822). *Journal of her Residence in Chile (1822) and her voyage to Brazil (1823)*. San Martín, Cochrane and O'Higgins. Biblioteca Ayacucho, Editorial America. Madrid, España
- Greztoso, S. (2014). La Tragedia de Valparaíso. Causas profundas y reacción ciudadana. In J. Pastor Mellado (Ed.), *Memoria de las Cenizas*. Perseo Ediciones. Valparaíso, Chile:

- Guerra, C. (2006). Algunos apuntes sobre la distribución de los establecimientos comerciales en un area de estudio de Valparaíso para 1876. *Revista ARCHIVUM*, VII(8), ISBN 207-222. 0718-0667. [Online] [Accessed: 20/11/2017; 13:30] Retrieved from <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B2bp8ygFxx8QeTBIODVINV81QIk/edit>
- Guiñez Almarza, J. (2013). *La Instalación y Construcción del Congreso Naciola en Valparaíso: Proyectos, obras, expectativas. El Mercurio de Valparaíso 1985-1995*. [Thesis for the degree of Master in Social and Economic History], Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Valparaíso, Chile.
- Hall, S. (2005). *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*. [Online] [Accessed: 18/09/2016; 09:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=RnkcSQAACAAJ>
- Hannigan, J. A., & Kueneman, R. M. (1978). Anticipating flood emergencies: A case study of a Canadian disaster subculture. In: Quarentelli, Enrico *Disasters: Theory and research*, 129-145.
- Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. United Kingdom: Routledge. ISBN 9780415932400. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 08:47] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=F3XXk8HkkcMC>
- Harvey, D. (2010). *Social Justice and the City*. University of Georgia Press. ISBN 9780820336046. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 13:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=VCwLi2nVmooC>
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Verso Books. ISBN 9781844679041. London, United Kingdom.
- Healey, Mark (2011) *The Ruins of the New Argentina: Peronism and the Remaking of San Juan after the 1944 Earthquake*. Duke University press, North Carolina, United States of America.
- Heise, D., & MacKinnon, N. (2010). *Self, Identity, and Social Institutions*. Palgrave Macmillan US. ISBN 9780230108493. New York, United States of America.
- Hermann, J. (2007). Disaster Response Planning and Preparedness: Phases of Disaster. [Online] [Accessed: 07/05/2015; 12:30] Retrieved from http://www.nydis.org/nydis/downloads/manual/NYDIS_Disaster_SC-MH_Manual_SectionI-Chapter1.pdf
- Hernández Cornejo, R. (1924). Album "Valparaíso Panorámico". Colección Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Valparaíso, Chile:
- Hernández, F., Kellett, P., & Allen, L. K. (2013). *Rethinking The Informal City: Critical Perspectives from Latin America*. Berghahn Books. ISBN 9780857456083. New York, United States of America.
- Hetherington, K. (1998). *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics*. Sage Publications. ISBN 9781446227916. California, United States of America.

- Hibbert, P., Sillince, J., Diefenbach, T., & Cunliffe, A. L. (2014). Relationally Reflexive Practice A Generative Approach to Theory Development in Qualitative Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 17(3), 278-298. ISBN 1094-4281. [Online] [Accessed: 23/06/2015; 14:30] Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1094428114524829?journalCode=orma>
- Hidalgo, R., & Sánchez, R. (2013). Del Conventillo a la Vivienda: casas sonadas, poblaciones odiadas. In R. G. Sagredo, Cristian et.al. (Ed.), *Historia de la vida privada en Chile 3: El Chile contemporáneo. De 1925 a nuestros días*. ISBN 9789563471786. Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial Chile. Santiago de Chile:
- Hobsbawm, E. J., & Ranger, T. (2012). *The Invention of Tradition*. ISBN 9781107394513. Cambridge University Press. London, United Kingdom.
- Hogg, M. A., & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms. *Communication theory*, 16(1), 7-30. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00003.x>. [Online] [Accessed: 26/12/2016; 17:30] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00003.x>
- Howard, E. (1965). *Garden cities of to-morrow* (Vol. 23). ISBN 0262580020. MIT Press. United States of America.
- Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., & Valentine, G. (2004). *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. SAGE Publications. ISBN 9780761949633. California, United States of America.
- Huesemann, M., & Huesemann, J. (2011). *Techno-fix: why technology won't save us or the environment*. New Society Publishers. [Online] [Accessed: 19/08/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YbBwCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=Huesemann,+M.,+%26+Huesemann,+J.+\(2011\).+Techno-fix:+why+technology+won%27t+save+us+or+the+environment:&source=bl&ots=-MQrtwOstz&sig=i0XAqZjirYGauHtrr3gRIKjHc10&hl=es&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwibxMms17bdAhVFVhoKHcyEDyQ6AEwBHoECAYQAQ#v=onepage&q=Huesemann%2C%20M.%2C%20%26%20Huesemann%2C%20J.%20\(2011\).%20Techno-fix%3A%20why%20technology%20won't%20save%20us%20or%20the%20environment%3A&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=YbBwCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA65&lpg=PA65&dq=Huesemann,+M.,+%26+Huesemann,+J.+(2011).+Techno-fix:+why+technology+won%27t+save+us+or+the+environment:&source=bl&ots=-MQrtwOstz&sig=i0XAqZjirYGauHtrr3gRIKjHc10&hl=es&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwibxMms17bdAhVFVhoKHcyEDyQ6AEwBHoECAYQAQ#v=onepage&q=Huesemann%2C%20M.%2C%20%26%20Huesemann%2C%20J.%20(2011).%20Techno-fix%3A%20why%20technology%20won't%20save%20us%20or%20the%20environment%3A&f=false)
- Hughes, J. (2009). *Deleuze's 'Difference and Repetition': A Reader's Guide*. Bloomsbury Publishing. ISBN 1441190465. [Online] [Accessed: 30/12/2017; 18:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.li/books?id=3nISBwAAQBAJ>
- Ibarra, M. P., Pablo. (2018). Calles sucias y cuerpos indecentes: el temor al otro en Valparaíso, 1976-1906. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 45(1), 131-157. [Online] [Accessed: 23/12/2017; 13:00] Retrieved from <https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/achsc/rt/printerFriendly/67554/6476731/07/2018>

- Ibrahim, Y. (2015). Self-representation and the disaster event: self-imaging, morality and immortality. *Journal of Media Practice*, 16(3), 211-227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14682753.2015.1116755>. [Online] [Accessed: 30/12/2017; 10:00] Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14682753.2015.1116755>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. (2017). Censo 2017. [Online] [Accessed: 04/09/2018; 13:39], Retrieved from http://www.censo2017.cl/memoria/descargas/memoria/libro_memoria_resumen_final.pdf04/09/2018
- Jacobs, G. (2006). *Charles Horton Cooley: Imagining Social Reality*. United States of America: University of Massachusetts Press. ISBN 9781558495197. [Online] [Accessed: 24/10/2017; 13:50] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=6HHi7NrXnBEC>
- Jahangiri, K., Izadkhah, Y. O., & Jamaledin Tabibi, S. (2011). A comparative study on community-based disaster management in selected countries and designing a model for Iran. *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal*, 20(1), 82-94. ISBN 0965-3562. [Online] [Accessed: 04/11/2015; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/096535611111111108>
- Jarman, R. (2017). Bolivarian Landslides? Ecological Disasters, Political Upheavals and (Trans)National Futures in Contemporary Venezuelan Culture // ¿Derrumbes bolivarianos? Desastres ecológicos, sublevaciones políticas y futuros (trans)nacionales en la cultural venezolana actual. 2017, 8(1), ISBN 20. 2171-9594. [Online] [Accessed: 20/06/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://ecozone.eu/article/view/1056/1555>
- Klein, N. (2014). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*: ISBN 9780141980867. Penguin Books Limited. New York, United States of America.
- Klinenberg, Eric. *Heat Wave: a Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago*. University of Chicago Press, United States of America.
- Kostof, S., & Tobias, R. (1999). *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*. ISBN 9780500280997. Thames & Hudson. London, United Kingdom.
- Kuhn, T. S. (2011). *La estructura de las revoluciones científicas*. ISBN 9786071608253 Fondo de Cultura Económica. Ciudad de México, México.
- Kyriakidou, M. (2014). *Distant Suffering in Audience Memory: The Moral Hierarchy of Remembering* (Vol. 8). [Online] [Accessed: 10/12/2017; 21:00] Retrieved from <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2465/1144>
- La Estrella de Valparaíso. (1985 03/07/1985). Nuevos gráficos del terremoto. *La Estrella de Valparaíso*.
- La Estrella de Valparaíso. (2003a, 04.07.2003). Interview of Major Pinto, where he pledges stray dogs solution with UNESCO money. p. 4.

- La Estrella de Valparaíso. (2003b, 04.07.2003). To start, 50 million dollars fall on our heads. *Humanity's Patrimony*.
- La Unión de Valparaíso. (1903, 04/06/1903). Editorial regarding the worrying state of Valparaíso.
- Lafrentz, J. (2010). Formación del Club Santiago Wanderers. *Societas. Academia Chilena de Ciencias Sociales, Políticas y Morales*(12). ISBN 0716-9833. [Online] [Accessed: 11/09/2017; 20:30] Retrieved from <http://www.institutodechile.cl/cienciassociales/web/articulos/docs/societas12.pdf#page=33817/02/2018>
- Lanza, C. (2012). *Catástrofes de Chile. Álbum de prensa de antaño*. RIL Editores. Santiago de Chile:
- Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution*. United States of America: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN 9780816641604. [Online] [Accessed: 24/10/2015; 12:30] Retrieved from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5_dbeJX3EPsC
- Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. ISBN 9780826472991. Bloomsbury Academic. United States of America.
- Lewicka, M. (2011). Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years? *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 31, 207-230. doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.10.0010272-4944. [Online] [Accessed: 05/04/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0272494410000861>
- Lewis, J., & Lewis, B. (2017). The cultural politics of mining and natural disaster in Indonesia: by Fire and sword. *Disasters*, 41(1), 23-40. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/disa.12185>. [Online] [Accessed: 05/04/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26988726>
- Lin, J.-J., & Lin, W.-I. (2016). Cultural issues in post-disaster reconstruction: the case of Typhoon Morakot in Taiwan. *Disasters*, 40(4), 668-692. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/disa.12172>. ISBN 121721467-7717. [Online] [Accessed: 05/04/2018; 21:00] Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26749170>
- López Namur, E. (2004). *Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad / Cultural Patrimony of Humankind* (S. Gonzalez Ed.). Ideograma Ltda. Santiago de Chile.
- Lorenzo Schiaffino, S. (2012a). Ambiente Cultural de una Ciudad Mercantil. Valparaíso 1830-1930. In B. Estrada Turra (Ed.), *Valparaíso: Progresos y Conflictos de una Ciudad Puerto*. Santiago de Chile: Ril Editores.
- Lorenzo Schiaffino, S. (2012b). *Carácter, Sociabilidad y Cultura en Valparaíso: 1830-1930*. Ediciones Universitarias de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Lunn, J. (2014). *Fieldwork in the Global South: Ethical Challenges and Dilemmas*. London: Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9781136220463. [Online] [Accessed: 05/05/2018; 00:15] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7DwsAwAAQBAJ>

- Lynch, J. (1992). *Caudillos in Spanish America, 1800-1850*. ISBN 9780198211358. Oxford: Clarendon Press. United Kingdom.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. ISBN 9780262620017. M.I.T. Press. United States of America
- Mac-Clure, O. (2012). *En los orígenes de las políticas sociales en Chile: (1850-1879)*. ISBN 9789569320309. Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado. Santiago de Chile.
- Main, K., & Sandoval, G. F. (2015). Placemaking in a translocal receiving community: The relevance of place to identity and agency. *Urban Studies*, 52(1), 71-86. Doi:10.1177/00420980145227200042-0980 [Online] [Accessed: 14/06/2018; 09:15] Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098014522720>
- Malkki, L. H. (1996). Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(3), 377-404. ISBN 1548-1360 [Online] [Accessed: 10/01/2018; 20:15] Retrieved from <https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1525/can.1996.11.3.02a00050>
- Manalu, D., Soesilo, T. B., & Seda, F. S. (2018). Socio-ecological Aspects Informing Community Resilience in a Disaster-Prone Area: A Case Study of the Traditional Koa Community in East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia. In *Sustainable Future for Human Security* (pp. 351-367): Springer. [Online] [Accessed: 10/06/2018; 18:15] Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-981-10-5433-4_24
- Mannheim, J. B. (1876). *Estudio Crítico sobre la Evacuacion Jeneral de la Ciudad de Valparaíso*. Imprenta del "Deber" Valparaíso, Chile:
- Markova, I. (2003). *Dialogicality and Social Representations: The Dynamics of Mind*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521022767. [Online] [Accessed: 13/05/2018; 10:05] Retrieved from <http://www.cambridge.org/...ns-dynamics-mind>
- Márquez Allison, A. (2009). *¡Fuego! Historias de Incendios y Guerras del Siglo XIX*. Editorial La Bomba a Vapor. Santiago de Chile.
- McNair, B. (2006). *Cultural chaos: journalism and power in a globalised world*. ISBN 113430188X. Routledge. London, United Kingdom
- Mead, G. H., & Morris, C. W. (1934). *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. University of Chicago Press. United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 23/06/2018; 10:45] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=q08YAAAIAAJ>
- MeasuringWorth.com. (2018). Annualized worth rate for an economic cost. [Online] [Accessed: 13/08/2018; 23:05] Retrieved from <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php24/07/2018>
- Mellado Carrasco, V. (2015). Por el Derecho de Asociación y de Huelga! La Federación Obrera de Chile (FOCH) y el camino a la legislación laboral (1921-1924). *Cuadernos de Historia*(42). doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0719-12432015000100004. ISSN 0719-

1243. [Online] [Accessed: 13/08/2018; 23:05] Retrieved from https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0719-12432015000100004&script=sci_arttext&tlng=pt
- Mellado, J. (2012). Actos por el 21 de Mayo. [Online] [Accessed: 26/03/2018; 22:25] Retrieved from <http://www.emol.com/especiales/fotos/2015/actualidad/nacional/actividades-21-mayo.jpg16/02/2018>
- Mellado, J. P. (2014). *Memoria de la Ceniza*. Perseo Ediciones. Santiago de Chile
- Melo Zurita, M. d. L., Cook, B., Thomsen, D. C., Munro, P. G., Smith, T. F., & Gallina, J. (2018). Living with disasters: social capital for disaster governance. *Disasters*, 42(3), 571-589. ISBN 0361-3666. [Online] [Accessed: 26/08/2018; 15:20] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/disa.1225717/08/2018>
- MemoriaChilena.cl. (1900-1950). La Familia Obrera. Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2017; 12:00] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-621.html02/04/2018>
- MemoriaChilena.cl. (1906). Comercio en Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 13/02/2018; 16:00] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-7669.html02/04/2018>
- Méndez, L. M. (1986). *Plazas y Parques de Valparaíso. Transformaciones en el Micro Paisaje Urbano*. Paper presented at the *I Jornadas de Historia Urbana, Valparaíso 1536-1986*. Universidad Católica de Valparaíso and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Santiago. [Online] [Accessed: 13/08/2018; 20:00] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-98699.html02/04/2018>
- Merrifield, A. (2013). *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*. Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9781135024857. London, United Kingdom.
- Merrifield, A. (2014). *The New Urban Question*. Pluto Press. ISBN 9780745334844, London, United Kingdom.
- Meyer, H. (1999). *City and port: urban planning as a cultural venture in London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam : changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure*. ISBN 9789057270208 International Books. Dublin, Ireland. [Online] [Accessed: 10/04/2017; 12:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ObdPAAAAMAAJ>
- Millán-Millán, P. (2015). Los Planes de reconstrucción de Valparaíso (Chile) tras el terremoto de 1906: la búsqueda de la modernidad en el trazado urbano. *Biblio 3W Revista Bibliografica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 20(1.129). ISBN 1138-9796. [Online] [Accessed: 20/01/2018; 16:00] Retrieved from http://www.sismo24.cl/500sismos/600pdf/ Terremoto%20de%20Valparaiso_1906.pdf08/12/2017
- Ministerio de Hacienda (2015). *Reforma Tributaria*. [Online] [Accessed: 19/04/2018; 03:05] Retrieved from <http://bcn.cl/1xnrm04/07/2017>

- Ministerio de Secretaria General de la Presidencia. (2014). *Plan de Inversiones, Reconstrucción y Rehabilitación Urbana* [Online] [Accessed: 20/02/2018; 12:15] Retrieved from <http://miradorparalareconstruccion.cl/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/PLAN-DE-INVERSION-VALPO-2014-2021.pdf02/04/2018>
- Ministerio de Hacienda (2016) Regularización de ampliación de viviendas. Later modified by Ley N. 19.667 (31.03.2001), Ley N. 19.727 (03.05.2001), and Ley N. 20.898 (04.02.2016). [Online] [Accessed: 25/03/2018; 11:25] Retrieved from <http://bcn.cl/1vwhd04/07/2017>
- Moerenhout, J. A., & Borden, A. R. (1993). *Travels to the islands of the Pacific Ocean*. University Press of America. ISBN 9780819188991. United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 20/03/2018; 21:45] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9ygxAQAAIAAJ>
- Molina Ahumada, M. (2012). Ambiente Cultural de una Ciudad Mercantil. Valparaíso 1830-1930. In Estrada Turra, B. (Ed.), *Valparaíso: Progresos y Conflictos de una Ciudad Puerto* (pp. 13-30). Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Molina, J. (2010, 21/07/2010). A casi siete años de la declaratoria de la Unesco: Valparaíso afina norma para cuidar su patrimonio. *El Mercurio*. Retrieved from <http://melisa-detodounpoco.blogspot.co.uk/2010/02/casi-siete-anos-de-la-declaratoria-de.html> 31/03/2018; 22:26
- Montaner, L. (2006). Los verdaderos orígenes de Viña del Mar y un símbolo de este proceso: La Refinería de Azúcar de Viña del Mar (CRAV). *Revista ARCHIVUM*, VII(8), 75-85. ISBN 0718-0667. [Online] [Accessed: 07/02/2018; 03:05] Retrieved from <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B2bp8ygFxx8QYzl4T3RTYVhmR3M/edit> 02/04/2018
- Moore, H. E. (1964). *and the Winds Blew* University of Texas Press, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 10/12/2017; 02:00] Retrieved from <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/1821550>
- Moraga Lovera, M. (2009). *Valparaíso Patrimonio de la Humanidad: Inclusión y Exclusión de actores sociales desde la prensa local*. [Thesis for Journalism degree], Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Valparaíso, Chile.
- Morley, D., & Robins, K. (2002). *Spaces of identity: Global media, electronic landscapes and cultural boundaries*. Routledge. ISBN 1134865317. London, United Kingdom.
- Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of Social Representations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(3), 211-250. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420180303> [Online] [Accessed: 01/03/2018; 23:00] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/ejsp.2420180303>
- Movimiento Defensa de los Parques Barrios O'Higgins. (2018). Collage of Images of the Social Movement in Defence of Parque O'Higgins. Facebook Page of MDPBOH. [Online] [Accessed: 01/04/2018; 02:00]

Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/Movimiento-Defensa-Parques-Barrio-OHiggins-904048826339391/26/01/2018>

- MunicipalidadDeValparaiso.cl. (2018). Mirador de la Reconstrucción. [Online] [Accessed: 02/08/2018; 12:49] Retrived from <http://www.municipalidaddevalparaiso.cl/#>
- Municipality of Valparaíso. (2015, 22/10/2015). *First Introductory Meeting of Mirador para la Reconstrucción*. Paper presented at the Mirador para la Reconstrucción, Consistorial Building, Municipality of Valparaíso, Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 07/12/2016; 21:00] Retrieved from <http://miradorparalareconstruccion.cl/wp/>
- Neruda, P. (1967). *Obras completas* (Vol. 68). Editorial Losada. Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- No al Mall Barón. (2017-2018). Facebook Page No al Mall Barón. Facebook.com. [Online] [Accessed: 20/03/2018; 11:40] Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/noalmalldebaron/28/01/2018>
- O'Donnell, G. (1982). Notas para el estudio de procesos de democratización política a partir del Estado burocrático-autoritario. *Desarrollo económico*, 231-248. ISBN 0046-001X. [Online] [Accessed: 08/10/2017; 22:00] Retrived from <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/autor?codigo=184568>
- Observatorio Valparaíso. (2015). *Reconstrucción Gran Incendio de Valparaíso*. [Online] [Accessed: 28/04/2018; 15:00] Retrived Retrieved from <http://cdn.plataformaurbana.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/informe-reconstruccion-observatorio-valparaiso.compressed.pdf17/08/2018>
- ObservatorioFucatel.cl. (2014, 29/05/2014). CNTV formuló cargos a TVN por polémico reportaje de Claudio Fariña. *ObservatorioFucatel.cl*. [Online] [Accessed: 08/03/2018; 18:00] Retrieved from <http://www.observatoriofucatel.cl/cntv-formulo-cargos-a-tvn-por-polemico-reportaje-de-claudio-farina/01/08/2018>
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations (2017). Cluster System for UN Disaster Management Collaboration. [Online] [Accessed: 29/11/2017, 17:03] Retrieved from <http://www.un-spider.org/risks-and-disasters/the-un-and-disaster-management29/11/2017>
- Olivares Jatib, O. (2006). Los Sindicatos Portuarios de Valparaíso: génesis, ascenso y consolidación en el Chile Republicano y su inserción en la Economía Globalizada. *Revista ARCHIVUM*, VII(8), 279-304. ISBN 0718-0667. [Online] [Accessed: 08/02/2017; 13:30] Retrieved from <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B2bp8ygFxx8QbnFESXJoRW1HYUk/edit02/04/2018>
- Orrego-Luco, L. (1906, 01/09/1906). From the scientific point of view. *Revista Sucesos*, Vol. 4.
- Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1957). *The Measurement of Meaning*.: University of Illinois Press. ISBN 9780252745393. United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 11/11/2017; 23:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Qj8GeUrKZdAC>

- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2009). *Las Elites y la construccion de una 'Ciudad Balneario' en Vina del Mar (1927-1931): Las Dimensiones del poder local durante las gestiones alcaldicias de Gaston Hamel de Souza y Manuel Ossa Sainte Marie*. [Thesis for the degree Master in History, with a minor on Economic and Social History], Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Valparaíso, Valparaíso, Chile.
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2015a). The "Buen Porteño" Facebook Profile. [Online] [Accessed: 24/10/2017; 20:00] Retrieved from www.facebook.com05/11/2015
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2015b). Visual Material of Fieldwork 1. October-December. *Fieldwork 1*.
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2015c). Gentrification and Segregation in Valparaíso. October-December. *Fieldwork 1*.
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2015d). Life in Las Cañas Gorge. October-December. *Fieldwork 1*.
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2016). Foro por la Reconstrucción. Debate de candidatos Municipales. July-November. *Fieldwork 2*.
- Otero-Auristondo, M. (2016b). Graffiti "Did I invite you to live here". July-November. *Fieldwork 2*.
- Pantti, M., Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Cottle, S. (2012). *Disasters and the Media: Peter Lang Publishing*. ISBN 9781433108259. New York, United States of America
- Participant-1. (2015, 01/10/2015) *Participant 1/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo*.
- Participant-3. (2015, 05/10/2015) *Participant 3/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-4. (2015, 08/10/2015) *Participant 4/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-5. (2015, 16/10/2015) *Participant 5/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-8. (2015, 05/11/2015) *Participant 8/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & B. Ampuero-Paredes*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-9. (2015, 05/11/2015) *Participant 9/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & B. Ampuero-Paredes*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-12. (2015, 11/11/2015) *Participant 12/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur*. Villa Alemana, Chile.
- Participant-14. (2015, 12/11/2015) *Participant 14/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-15. (2015, 12/11/2015) *Participant 15/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & B. Ampuero-Paredes*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-16. (2015, 13/11/2015) *Participant 16/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur*. Valparaíso, Chile.

- Participant-17. (2015, 13/11/2015) *Participant 17/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-18. (2015, 16/11/2015) *Participant 18/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-20. (2015, 18/11/2015) *Participant 20/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-21. (2015, 17/11/2015) *Participant 21/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valpaeaíso, Chile.
- Participant-22. (2015, 17/11/2015) *Participant 22/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-24. (2015, 19/11/2015) *Participant 24/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-25. (2015, 20/11/2015) *Participant 25/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-26. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 26/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-29. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 29/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-31. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 31/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-33. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 33/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-35. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 35/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-36. (2015, 25/11/2015) *Participant 36/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-38. (2015, 27/11/2015) *Participant 38/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-42. (2015, 30/11/2015) *Participant 42/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-43. (2015, 01/12/2015) *Participant 43/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-45. (2015, 03/12/2015) *Participant 45/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-46. (2015, 07/12/2015) *Participant 46/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-48. (2016, 26/07/2016) *Participant 48/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo.* Valparaíso, Chile.
- Participant-49. (2016, 04/08/2016) *Participant 49/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & B. Ampuero-Paredes.* Valparaíso, Chile.

- Participant-50. (2015, 30/11/2015) *Participant 50/Interviewer: M. Otero-Auristondo & P. Quezada-Andaur*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Paton, D., & Johnston, D. (2017). *Disaster resilience: an integrated approach*. Illinois, United States of America: Charles C. Thomas Publisher.0398091692 Retrieved from
- Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. SAGE Publications. ISBN 9781483301457. California, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 14/03/2015; 14:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ovAkBQAAQBAJ>
- Pecchenino, R. (1971). *Apuntes Porteños*. Fundación Renzo Pecchenino, Lukas. Santiago de Chile.
- Peel, J. (2005). *The Precautionary Principle in Practice: Environmental Decision-making and Scientific Uncertainty*: Federation Press. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2017; 12:00] Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/44656623?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Peña Muñoz, M. (2006). *Ayer soñé con Valparaíso: crónicas porteñas*. ISBN 9789562845281. RIL Editores. Santiago de Chile.
- Recopilación de las disposiciones vigentes en el Departamento de Valparaíso, (1872). In: Booth, Rodrigo El Estado Ausente: La paradójica configuración balnearia del Gran Valparaíso (1850-1925) [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2017; 12:00] Retrieved from https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0250-71612002008300007
- Pérez Contreras, A. (2013). Political Clientelism, Neoliberalism and the Concertacion: The "Guaton" Pinto at City Hall of Valparaiso, 1990-1996. *Revista Divergencia*, II(3), 89-113. ISBN 0719-2398. [Online] [Accessed: 15/02/2018; 16:00] Retrieved from http://www.revistadivergencia.cl/docs/ediciones/03/05_clientelismo_politico_neoliberalismo_y_la_concertacion.pdf24/01/2018
- Peterson, C., Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1993). *Learned Helplessness: A Theory for the Age of Personal Control*. ISBN 9780195044676. Oxford University Press. United Kingdom:
- Petrou, K., & Connell, J. (2017). Food, Morality and Identity: mobility, remittances and the translocal community in Paama, Vanuatu. *Australian Geographer*, 48(2), 219-234. ISBN 0004-9182. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2017; 12:00] Retrieved from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00049182.2016.1204671>
- Philippot, P., Feldman, R. S., & Coats, E. J. (1999). *The social context of nonverbal behavior*. ISBN 0521586666. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom.
- Piacenti, D., & Passadore, E. (2013). *Anoche Murió un Bombero: Investigación y Difusión de los Funerales de Bomberos de Valparaíso: 1859-2013*. ISBN 978-956-17-0578-4. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile.

- Pickett, S. T. A., Cadenasso, L., & McGrath, B. (2013). *Resilience in Ecology and Urban Design: Linking Theory and Practice for Sustainable Cities*. Springer. ISBN 9789400753419. The Netherlands: [Online] [Accessed: 05/03/2016; 14:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=8W1HAAAAQBAJ>
- Pigg, S. (2014). Emplacing mobile composing habits: A study of academic writing in networked social spaces. *College Composition and Communication*, 250-275. ISBN 0010-096X. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2016; 13:30] Retrieved from <http://www.ncte.org/library/NCTEFiles/Resources/Journals/CCC/0662-dec2014/CCC0662Emplacing.pdf>
- Pino-Vásquez, A. (2012). *Quebradas de Valparaíso: memoria social autoconstruída*. Fondo Nacional de desarrollo cultural y las Artes FONDART. ISBN 9789563584516. L. Ojeda-Ledesma Editores. Valparaíso, Chile.
- PlataformaUrbana.cl. (2015, 26/02/2015). A cinco años del terremoto, aún hay fieles que asisten a misa en carpa. [Online] [Accessed: 02/08/2018; 16:30] Retrieved from <http://www.plataformaurbana.cl/archive/2015/02/26/a-cinco-anos-del-terremoto-aun-hay-fieles-que-asisten-a-misa-en-carpa/02/08/2018>
- Pozo, N. (2012). *Imaginario Social sobre la Incorporación de Valparaíso en la lista de Patrimonio Mundial de la Humanidad de UNESCO*. [Thesis for the degree of Master in Anthropology and Development], Universidad de Chile, Santiago de Chile.
- PuraNoticia.cl. (2016, 17/05/2016). Alcalde de Valparaíso pide a la Presidenta que realice el discurso de 21 de Mayo en Santiago. [Online] [Accessed: 16/02/2018; 13:30] Retrieved from <http://www.puranoticia.cl/noticias/nacional/alcalde-de-valparaiso-pide-a-la-presidenta-que-realice-el-discurso-de-21/2016-05-17/122432.html16/02/2018>
- Purcell, J. (2012). *Visión de Valparaíso, 1953-2011: Escuela de Arquitectura y Diseño PUCV*, Ediciones e[ad], Valparaíso, Chile.
- Quarantelli, E. L. (1978). *Disasters: Theory and research*. Sage Publications. ISBN 0803998511. California, United States of America.
- Quarantelli, E. L. (1987). Disaster Studies: An analysis of the social historical factors affecting the development of research in the area. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, 5(3), 285-310. [Online] [Accessed: 17/02/2017; 18:30] Retrieved from <https://training.fema.gov/emiweb/downloads/ijems/articles/disaster%20studies%20an%20analysis%20of%20the%20social%20historical%20factor.pdf>
- Quarantelli, E. L. (2005). *What is a Disaster?: A Dozen Perspectives on the Question*. Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9781134682256. [Online] [Accessed: 29/12/2017; 16:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ZE5z9nfgFZ4C>

- Rama, A. C., J.C. (1996). *The Lettered City*. ISBN 9780822317661 Duke University Press. [Online] [Accessed: 25/02/2016; 19:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=TrF1QgAACAAJ>
- Reclamos.cl. (2013). Municipalidad de Valparaíso y la Feria de la Pulgas. [Online] [Accessed: 02/08/2018; 11:30] Retrieved from https://www.reclamos.cl/municipalidad_de_valparaiso/reclamo/2013/oct/municipalidad_valparaiso_feria_de_las_pulgas02/08/2018
- Revista Sucesos. (1906, 01/09/1906). Hecatombe de Valparaíso. *Revista Sucesos, IV*, 1-7.
- Ricœur, P., Blamey, K., & Pellauer, D. (2009). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. University of Chicago Press. ISBN 9780226713465. United Stes of America. [Online] [Accessed: 23/04/2018; 11:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=RoVbjzBQXTUC>
- Ripamonti, S., Galuppo, L., Gorli, M., Scaratti, G., & Cunliffe, A. L. (2015). Pushing Action Research Toward Reflexive Practice. *Journal of Management Inquiry*. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 18:40] Retrieved from journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/105649261558497203/04/2018
- Rocuant, E. (1909). *Cuestiones sobre Seguros: Estudio crítico de las sentencias espedidas en los juicio sobre indemnización de los daños sufridos por los asegurados, con motivo del terremoto de 1906*. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Rodríguez, A., & Gajardo, C. (1906). *La catástrofe del 16 de agosto de 1906 en la República de Chile*. Imprenta, litografía y encuadernación, Barcelona. Santiago de Chile.
- Rojas Farías, V. (2002). *Escenas de la Vida Bohemia*. ISBN 956-7944-35-0 Edición del Gobierno Regional de Valparaíso. Santiago de Chile.
- Rozario, Kevin. *The Culture of Calamity: Disasters and the Making of Modern America*. University of Chicago Press, United States of America.
- Rubio Soto, G. (2007). *Testimonios para una Memoria Social. Valparaiso 1870-1917*. ISBN 978-956-296-066-3. Editorial Puntangeles, Universidad de Playa Ancha. Valparaiso, Chile
- Ruíz, M. (2016). Valparaíso: un caso de Obsolescencia actualmente programado. In P. e. Donoso (Ed.), *Valparaíso y su Borde Costero: Oportunidad ó Espejismo* (pp. 48-69). Sa Cabana Editorial. Santiago de Chile
- Ruta Chile Tour Operator. (2018). Tour Valparaíso y Viña del Mar - Santiago, Chile. [Online] [Accessed: 08/09/2018; 14:30] Retrieved from <https://www.rutaschile.com/Tour-Detalle.php?t=3808/09/2018>
- Sáez-Godoy, L. (2001). *Valparaíso: lugares, nombres y personajes, siglos XVI-XXI*. ISBN 9789567906437. Editorial Puntangeles, Universidad de Playa Ancha. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Salazar, G. (1999a). *Historia contemporánea de Chile: Actores, identidad y movimiento*. ISBN 9789562821742. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.

- Salazar, G. (1999b). *Historia contemporánea de Chile: Estado, legitimidad, ciudadanía*. ISBN 9789562821735. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- Salazar, G. (2003). *Historia de la acumulación capitalista en Chile: apuntes de clase*. ISBN 9789562825443. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- Salazar, G. (2006). *La violencia política popular en las "grandes alamedas": la violencia en Chile, 1947-1987 : una perspectiva histórico-popular*. ISBN 9789562828260. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- Salazar, G. (2014). *Mercaderes, empresarios y capitalistas: Chile, siglo XIX*. ISBN 9789562624145. Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial. Santiago de Chile.
- Salgado, M. (2017). "Can Only the Dead Speak?" Terror, Trauma and the Witness Traveller. *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 52(3), 467-483. doi:10.1177/0021989416678283. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2018; 15:30] Retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0021989416678283>
- Sánchez-Cifuentes, C. (1906). Valparaíso Chile. Fotografías Autorizadas. O. d. P. C. Editores. Valparaíso, Chile.
- SantiagoWanderers.cl. (2014). Santiago Wanderers Social. [Online] [Accessed: 17/02/2018; 11:00] Retrieved from <http://www.santiagowanderers.cl/articulos/9/8/santiago-wanderers-social.html17/02/2018>
- Santibañez, A. (2016). Antiguo hospital Enrique Deformes. Actualmente en ese lugar está el edificio del congreso de Chile. *Chile, mi hermosa patria*. Pinterest.com. [Online] [Accessed: 05/05/2018; 20:00] Retrieved from <https://www.pinterest.cl/pin/518265869600957673/31/03/2018>
- Santos, M., & Silveira, M. L. (2000). *La Naturaleza Del Espacio: Técnica y Tiempo: Razón y Emoción*. ISBN 9788434434608. Editorial Ariel. Madrid, España.
- Sassen, S. (2013). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. ISBN 9781400847488. Princeton University Press. United States of America.
- Schenker-Wicki, A., Inauen, M., & Olivares, M. (2010). Unmastered risks: From crisis to catastrophe: An economic and management insight. *Journal of business research*, 63(4), 337-346. ISBN 0148-2963. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 03:40] Retrieved from www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/73137/03/04/2018
- Schmutzer, K. (2000). El Puerto: Comercio, Ingresos, Los Hombres e Infraestructura. In: Estrada Turra (Ed.), *Valparaíso, Sociedad y Economía en el Siglo XIX* (Instituto de Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso ed., pp. 93-108). Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile
- Sennett, R. (2008). *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. ISBN 9780300148275. Yale University Press. United States of America.

- Servicio Electoral de Chile. (2017). *Resultados definitivos Elecciones 2017*. [Online] [Accessed: 28/01/2018; 01:45] Retrieved from <https://www.servel.cl/resultados-definitivos-elecciones-primarias-2017/28/01/2018>
- Sidaway, J. D. (2016). *Deathscapes: Spaces for death, dying, mourning and remembrance*. ISBN 1317154398. Routledge. London, United Kingdom.
- Smith, E. R., & Conrey, F. R. (2007). Agent-based modeling: A new approach for theory building in social psychology. *Personality and social psychology review*, 11(1), 87-104. ISBN 1088-8683. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 02:50] Retrieved from journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/108886830629478903/04/2018
- Smith, K. (2013). *Environmental Hazards: Assessing Risk and Reducing Disaster*. ISBN 9781136647147. Taylor & Francis. London, United Kingdom.
- Smith, M. J. (2005). *Thinking through the environment: a reader*. ISBN 1134616953. Routledge. London, United Kingdom.
- Solis, A. (2016). Jorge Sharp gana las Primarias Ciudadanas de Valparaíso y enfrentara a Castro y Dj Mendez. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2018; 09:30] Retrieved from <http://www.soychile.cl/Valparaiso/Sociedad/2016/07/03/403381/Cerca-de-3-mil-personas-han-votado-en-las-Primarias-Ciudadanas-y-esperan-llegar-a-las-5-mil.aspx28/01/2018>
- Sorokin, P. A. (2017). *Man and Society in Calamity*. ISBN 9781351507547. Taylor & Francis. New York, United States of America. [Online] [Accessed: 30/03/2018; 03:50] Retrieved from <https://books.google.es/books?id=4R0uDwAAQBAJ>
- Soza, P., & Vergara, F. (2012). Imaginemos Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 11/04/2018; 10:30] Retrieved from www.euv.cl
- Stake, R. E. (2013). *Multiple Case Study Analysis*. ISBN 9781462512409. Guilford Publications. New York, United States of America
- Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version*. ISBN 0805391541. Benjamin-Cummings Publishing Company. United Kingdom.
- Stryker, S., Owens, T. J., & White, R. W. (2000). *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*. ISBN 9780816634088. University of Minnesota Press. United States of America.
- Subercaseaux, R. (1908). *Memorias de 50 años*: Imprenta y Litografía "Barcelona". Valparaíso, Chile.
- Susser, I. (2002). *The Castells Reader on Cities and Social Theory*. ISBN 9780631219330 Wiley. London, United Kingdom.
- Svensson, H. M., Albæk, E., van Dalen, A., & de Vreese, C. (2017). *Good News in Bad News: How Negativity Enhances Economic Efficacy* (Vol. 11). [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 10:15] Retrieved from <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/4818/198703/04/2018>

- Tajbakhsh, K. (2000). *The Promise of the City: Space, Identity, and Politics in Contemporary Social Thought*. ISBN 9780520924642. University of California Press. United States of America.
- Tajfel, H. (2010). *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521153652. [Online] [Accessed: 12/04/2018; 04:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.es/books?id=q0wFY3Dcu1MC>
- Tapia, A. (2016). *Jorge Sharp, al sorpresa de la sangre joven que se tomo el puerto*. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 13:30] Retrieved from <http://www.latercera.com/noticia/jorge-sharp-la-sorpresa-la-sangre-joven-se-tomo-puerto/28/01/2018>
- Terminal Cerros de Valparaíso. (2015). Tráfico Marítimo: Intercambio comercial América Asia y Europa. [Online] [Accessed: 08/09/2018; 12:30] Retrieved from <http://www.tcval.cl/localizacion-y- trafico/localizacion/08/09/2018>
- TheClinic.cl. (2013, 13/08/2013). Eva Olthof, artista holandesa: "El edificio del Congreso es el arco de triunfo de Pinochet". [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 17:15] Retrieved from <http://www.theclinic.cl/2013/08/13/eva-olthof-artista-holandesa-el-edificio-del-congreso-es-el-arco-de-triunfo-de-pinochet/03/04/2018>
- Thoits, P. A., & Virshup, L. K. (1997). Me's and we's. *Self and identity: Fundamental issues*, 106-133. [Online] [Accessed: 02/04/2018; 16:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=0198025874>
- Tomaszewski, B. (2014). *Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for Disaster Management*. Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9781482211689. [Online] [Accessed: 05/02/2018; 20:00] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=jGIYBQAAQBAJ>
- Trainer, P., & Bolin, R. (1976). Persistent effects of disasters on daily activities: A cross-cultural comparison. *Mass Emergencies*, 1(4), 279-290. [Online] [Accessed: 24/11/2016; 22:30] Retrieved from <rstallings.com03/04/2018>
- Trivelli, & Nishimura. (2010). *The sustainability of urban heritage preservation: interventions to support economic and residential investments in urban heritage areas of Latin America and the Caribbean (RG-T1620): Case of Study Valparaíso*. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 03:30] Retrieved from www.subdere.gov.cl/sites/default/files/documentos/articles-81138_archivo_fuente.pdf03/04/2018
- Tuan, Y. (2013). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*. ISBN 9780231513289. Columbia University Press. United States of America.
- Ugalde Ramos, J. M. (2017). Dictamen de contraloría revela que permiso de Mall Baron nunca debió ser otorgado [Press release]. [Online] [Accessed: 28/01/2016; 20:54] Retrieved from <http://www.anin.cl/nota/67/23697/dictamen-contralor%C3%ADa-revela-permiso-mall-bar%C3%B3n-nunca-debi%C3%B3-ser-otorgado28/01/2018>

- Ugarte Yavar, J. d. D. (1910). *1536-1910 : recopilación histórica, comercial y social*. [Online] [Accessed: 04/12/2017; 17:28] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-8038.html>
- UNDP. (2014). *Plan de Recuperación Post Desastre y Transición al Desarrollo de la comuna de Valparaíso, desde un enfoque participativo y de reducción del riesgo de desastres*. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 10:30] Retrieved from Santiago de Chile: <http://miradorparalareconstruccion.cl/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Plan-Recuperaci%C3%B3n-Valpara%C3%ADso-Post-Incendio-Enero-2015.pdf>03/04/2018
- Undurraga, G. (2014). El desliz imperial. In J. P. Mellado (Ed.), *Memorias de la Ceniza* (pp. 65-69). Perseo Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- UNESCO. (2018). The Criteria for Selection. [Online] [Accessed: 31/03/2018; 14:10] Retrieved from <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/31/03/2018>
- Urbano, F., Rosas, P., & Mundaca, R. (2006). *Los jóvenes, la política y el espacio público: la transición y la emergencia del sujeto periférico*. ISBN 956-7827-55-9. Ediciones Escaparate. Santiago de Chile.
- Urbina-Carrasco, M. X. (2002a). *Los conventillos de Valparaíso, 1880-1920: fisonomía y percepción de una vivienda popular urbana*. ISBN 9789561703292. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso de la Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Urbina-Carrasco, M. X. (2002b). Vendedores Ambulantes, comerciantes de puestos, mendigos y otros tipos populares de Valparaíso en el siglo XIX. *Revista ARCHIVUM*, III(4), 45-61. ISBN 0718-0667. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 15:40] Retrieved from <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B2bp8ygFxx8QQmVCUnMydDctcGs/edit>03/04/2018
- Urbina Burgos, R. (1999). *Valparaíso: auge y ocaso del viejo "Pancho," 1830-1930*. Editorial Puntángelos, Universidad de Playa Ancha. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Urbina Valenzuela, D. (2018). Presidenta Bachelet confirmó que megapuerto será construido en San Antonio. [Online] [Accessed: 26/07/2018; 22:22] Retrieved from <http://www2.latercera.com/noticia/presidenta-bachelet-confirmando-megapuerto-sera-construido-san-antonio/26/07/2018>
- Valdivia, V. (2012). *La alcaldización de la política: Los municipios en la dictadura pinochetista*. ISBN 9789560003751. LOM Ediciones. Santiago de Chile.
- Valenzuela, E., Ponce, S., & Vergara, C. (2016). *Orgullo del Puerto. Las tramas Invisibles y el Sentido Vertical de los Imaginarios Urbanos de Valparaíso a través de Santiago Wanderers* (1 ed.). Fondo Nacional de desarrollo cultural y las Artes FONDART. ISBN 918-056-9797-62-1. Santiago de Chile.
- Valenzuela, E., & Vergara, C. (2013). Hacia los Imaginarios Urbanos de Valparaíso a través del Fútbol. El caso de Santiago Wanderers. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales (CI)*(31). ISBN 0717-2257. [Online] [Accessed:

03/04/2018; 16:30] Retrieved from
www.redalyc.org/pdf/708/70829847009.pdf03/04/2018

- Valenzuela, F. (2017). Tolerados pero no Incluidos: las consecuencias de la falta de respuesta desde el Estado para los asentamientos informales. El caso de Valparaíso, Chile. *Planeo, Ciudades Inclusivas* #59. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 03:30] Retrieved from revistaplano.cl/.../tolerados-pero-no-incluidos-las-consecuencias-de-la-falta-de-respu...03/04/2018
- VanDeVeer, D., & Pierce, C. (1986). *People, Penguins, and Plastic Trees: Basic Issues in Environmental Ethics*: Wadsworth Publishing Company. [Online] [Accessed: 14/07/2018; 20:30] Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/18145571?selectedversion=NBD4214340>
- Varela, G. (1906). Las Autoridades I la Ebriedad. *Revista de la Policía de Valparaíso*, I(4), 45-142. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 14:20] Retrieved from <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-348631.html>03/04/2018
- Vergara, F. (2007). *Tributo a Valparaíso*. ISBN 9789561703964. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso de la Universiadd Católica de Valparaíso. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Vial, S. (2001). *Valparaíso, el violín de la memoria*. ISBN 9789562841931. RiL Editores. Santiago de Chile.
- Vicuña-Mackenna, B. (1869). *Historia de Valparaíso: Crónica política, comercial y pintoresca de su ciudad y de su puerto, desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros días, 1536-1868*. Impr. A. de Cox y Taylor. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Villalobos, S. (2006). *Orígen y ascenso de la burguesía chilena*. ISBN 9789561118447. Editorial Universitaria. Santiago de Chile.
- Villalobos, S. (2012). *Historia de los Chilenos*. ISBN 9789563471137. Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial Chile. Santiago de Chile.
- Vispute, S. (2017). *Beyond Belonging: Understanding Emotions, Environmental Justice and Social Movements around Water in Dzongu in Sikkim, India*. Paper presented at the *PGR Conference of the School of Geography*, University of Leeds. 12/05/2017. Unpublished work from PhD Thesis for the University of Coventry, United Kingdom
- VisteLaCalle.com. (2017). Avenida Argentina con Calle Uruguay. [Online] [Accessed: 02/08/2018; 14:20] Retrieved from <http://vistelacalle.com/1435/la-ruta-de-la-ropa-usada-en-valparaiso/av-argentina-calle-uruquay/02/08/2018>
- Vitale, L. (1967). *Interpretación marxista de la historia de Chile*. Prensa Latinoamericana. La Habana, Cuba.
- Vitale, L. (1986). *Historia de la deuda externa latinoamericana y entretelones del endeudamiento argentino*. ISBN 9789503702239 Editorial Sudamericana/Planeta. Ciudad de México, México.
- Vose, D. (2008). *Risk Analysis: A Quantitative Guide*. ISBN 9780470512845. John Wiley & Sons. London, United Kingdom.

- Wachinger, G., Renn, O., Begg, C., & Kuhlicke, C. (2013). The risk perception paradox—implications for governance and communication of natural hazards. *Risk analysis*, 33(6), 1049-1065. ISBN 1539-6924. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 04:20] Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1539.../abstract03/04/2018>
- Walker, Charles. *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake and Tsunami in Lima, Perú, and its long Aftermath*. Duke University Press, North Carolina, United States of America.
- Wark, M. (2015). *The beach beneath the street: The everyday life and glorious times of the Situationist International*. ISBN 1781689407. Verso Books. London, United Kingdom.
- Weller, J. M., & Wenger, D. E. (1973). Disaster subcultures: The cultural residues of community disasters. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 15:20] Retrieved from <udspace.udel.edu/handle/19716/39903/04/2018>
- Wyatt, D. (1997). *Five Fires: Race, Catastrophe, and the Shaping of California*: ISBN 9780195127416. Oxford University Press. United States of America.
- Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. California, ISBN 9781483322247 Sage Publications. United States of America [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 05:20] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OgyqBAAAQBAJ>
- Yucesoy, H. (2014). The Origins of the Shia: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kufa. *American Historical Review*, 119(4), 1394-1395. doi:10.1093/ahr/119.4. ISBN 13940002-8762. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 14:20] Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263232014_The_Origins_of_the_Shia_Identity_Ritual_and_Sacred_Space_in_Eighth-Century_Kufa03/04/2018
- Zagefka, H., Noor, M., Brown, R., de Moura, G. R., & Hopthrow, T. (2011). Donating to disaster victims: Responses to natural and humanly caused events. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(3), 353-363. 1099-0992. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 18:20] Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ejsp.781/abstract03/04/2018>
- Zafra, M. (2014). Un incendio gigantesco ataca la ciudad chilena de Valparaíso. Elpais.com. [Online] [Accessed: 12/09/2018; 16:55] Retrieved from https://elpais.com/internacional/2014/04/13/actualidad/1397358389_336760.html
- Zagefka, H., Noor, M., Brown, R., de Moura, G. R., & Hopthrow, T. (2011). Donating to disaster victims: Responses to natural and humanly caused events. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(3), 353-363.
- Zamora, R. (2014). Esta descartada "por ahora" la acción de terceras personas [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 14:20] Retrieved from <https://www.cooperativa.cl/noticias/pais/desastres-naturales/incendios->

forestales/valparaiso-vive-el-peor-incendio-de-su-historia/2014-04-15/075755.html

- Zamora, R., & Argandona, C. (2004). *El Cacique Dice Adiós*. Valparaíso: El Mercurio de Valparaíso. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 18:20] Retrieved from http://www.mercuriovalpo.cl/prontus4_noticias/site/artic/20040704/pags/20040704030216.html24/01/2018
- Zegers, L. L. (1906). *El terremoto del 16 de agosto de 1906*. Impr. Cervantes. Valparaíso, Chile.
- Znaniecki, F. (1986). *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge*. United States of America: Columbia University Press.9781412839006. [Online] [Accessed: 03/04/2018; 11:30] Retrieved from <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=leIP7I-K-BAC>