"You Have to Know *How* to Wait"

Entangling Im/mobilities, Temporalities and Aspirations in Planned Relocation Studies

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> We have to wait, yes, we always have to wait. The ministry has its own timeline which is never-ending. But you have to know *how* to wait!
> *(INT #10, F/A/32)*

I.   Introduction

This article aims to contribute to the emerging research on the dynamics of mobility and immobility with particular focus on the meanings, lived experiences, temporalities and inequalities of im/mobility (Bissell and Fuller 2010; Salazar and Jayaram 2016) by analysing the state-planned relocation of an informal settlement in a so-called environmental risk zone in Montevideo. The topic must be seen and read within the context of increasing numbers of people, communities or populations living in high-risk areas for potential disasters and the effects of environmental change (Faas et al. 2020, 345–46). Consequently, some states and other actors begin to, or are increasingly forced to, react in the form of national or local policies, including planned relocation. On the global level, several frameworks have been developed for disaster risk reduction and climate adaptation, including planned relocation as an important preventive and responsive measure to reduce risks of disasters and displacement (see UNHCR et al. 2015). Planned relocation is a distinct form of human mobility, although, as Petz (2017) argues, it is not clear-cut from migration and displacement. By introducing the challenges and the contradictory nature of

(partial) planned relocation encountered in the case study, this article questions the central assumption underlying planned relocation, namely that this form of mobility, whether chosen or forced, will reduce risks and vulnerabilities in the future (UNHCR et al. 2015, 5).[1] To conceptualize planned relocation not only as a distinct form of mobility but also one of immobility enables an analysis of the fluid nature of outcomes and experiences of relocations as conditional, varied, relational and dynamic over space and time.

Against this backdrop, this article aims to discuss and analyse to which extent relocations have substantial and diverse effects on people's risks and risk perceptions and, more importantly, how their general life aspirations towards the future change in the course of time-consuming relocation processes. To understand how mobility and immobility in planned relocation are perceived and influence people's aspirations is an important dimension for the comprehension of the possible outcomes as well as the challenges which accompany the process. We adopt waiting both as a concept and as an analytical lens to study experiences of waiting, which are inherent to im/mobility. Thereby, we can, first, reveal differences and relate to people's im/mobility and general life aspirations, which do not only influence their waiting experiences but also the negotiations between different actors involved. Second, waiting offers a perspective to understand social relations and power structures, since waiting for a state-enforced community relocation implies (socio-)spatial immobility for some and mobility for others. Furthermore, to analyse waiting as an affective experience (Bissell 2007, 278), prompted by the official announcement of the relocation and the residents' ensuing anticipation of its impacts allows us to not only understand people's relationship with space but also with time – a dimension often neglected in resettlement Studies.

The article is structured as follows: To embed the case study into existing conceptualizations, relevant concepts of waiting in relation to im/mobilities, temporalities and aspirations are discussed as a first definitional approximation. After giving an overview of the Uruguayan National Relocation Plan

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1   Therein planned relocation is defined as "a planned process in which persons or groups of persons move or are assisted to move away from their homes or places of temporary residence, are settled in a new location, *and* provided with the conditions for rebuilding their lives. Planned Relocation is carried out under the authority of the State, takes place within national borders, and is undertaken to protect people from risks and impacts related to disasters and environmental change, including the effects of climate change. Such Planned Relocation may be carried out at the individual, household, and/or community levels" (UNHCR et al. 2015, 5).

(NRP), especially the specific relocation of the settlement *La Chacarita* at the outskirts of Montevideo, our methodological approach, the methods and fieldwork will be introduced. Then, empirical findings will be presented and analysed in its pre- and post-relocation phases, revealing that waiting is not only imposed but also inscribed into the relocation plan's logic. Additionally, the meaning of waiting changed over time, as can be shown by the temporal approach chosen. All in all, the qualitative and actor-oriented approach will allow us to reveal how waiting influences and structures people's aspirations, perceptions and agency. It will be shown that waiting is meaningful in varied ways. Waiting has its disempowering effects when it is experienced passively, like feeling "trapped" in the present, but waiting can also be animating, actively leading to alternative notions of the future, and, thereby, transforming the actors' capacities to aspire.

II.   Waiting: Im/mobilities, Temporalities and Aspirations

In mobility Studies, approaches to and appearances of waiting "are as various as mobility itself" (Vozyanov 2014, 66) and pursue a clear analytical focus on the diverse ways in which people wait. Transport infrastructure and non-places have been constructed as scenes of waiting and im/mobility. Some scholars have studied attitudes towards waiting and the usage of travel time. However, as Vozyanov (2014, 68) argues, most of these Studies mainly refer to waiting time rather than to waiting itself. There is no definition of waiting in mobility Studies, nor a shared understanding of waiting across disciplines. In the context of this article, we conceptualize waiting as the time and space between the anticipation of mobility – beginning with the official announcement of relocation – and its realization in the studied settlement in Montevideo. Thus, in this paper, it is not the essence of waiting that will be analyzed; rather, waiting serves as an analytical lens and a frame in which activities take place or take time (Vozyanov 2014), which will allow us to understand the relation between mobility and immobility as well as the reciprocal relationship between future aspirations and the experience of waiting in the present.

Beyond mobility Studies, waiting as an analytical lens has been applied to analyse the relationship between displacement, migration patterns, control systems and migrants' experiences of immobility and time (e.g., Bélanger and Silvey 2020; Biner and Biner 2021; Hänsch 2020; Ibañez Tirado 2019; Jacobsen, Karlsen, and Khosravi 2020; Jansson-Keshavarz and Nordling 2022;

Mountz 2011; Musset and Vidal 2016). These Studies have shown that there are multiple ways in which waiting is "produced, embodied, experienced, politicized and resisted across a range of migrant spaces" (Conlon 2011, 355). The term 'politics of waiting' is used to refer to structural and institutional conditions that compel people to wait and, as a strategy, make existence intolerable for certain groups such as refugees, asylum seekers and squatters (Andersson 2014, 796; Auyero 2012; Gaibazzi 2012). Doubtlessly, forced relocation programs share some of the characteristics of the 'politics of waiting'. In the context of refugee resettlements, for example, waiting has gained special attention, tackled by growing Studies on displacement in the field of anthropology, "engaging themes of waiting, futurity, and uncertainty" (Adhikari 2021, 239). By re-conceptualizing refugee camps as dynamic and waiting as an active process (Brun 2015), refugees emerged as operative actors (El-Shaarawi 2015), even if their resettlement was accompanied by a loss of past futures (Secor, Ehrkamp, and Loyd 2022). Ramsay termed the "resettlement imaginary", referring to a "constructed landscape of collective aspirations" (2017, 100) that immanently improves the quality of life for refugees through the prospect of mobility potentially materializing in the future. Also, ethnographic Studies on African youth used waiting or "waithood" (Honwana 2012) to show the productive nature of waiting and to reveal that the process and temporality of waiting become "inextricably linked with, and filled by, what Bloch (1986) has described as the *principle of hope*" (Stasik, Hänsch, and Mains 2020, 3). Even though waiting often includes a sense of uncertainty, the empirical data will show that waiting also involves future-oriented aspirations and desires, which influence one's activities in the present.

Understanding the inherent characteristics and dynamics of waiting within the planned relocations of informal settlements in "risk zones" can help to comprehend the processual character of aspiring as well as emerging conflicts that underlie different temporalities. Nonetheless, aside from calling waiting a disempowering and dynamic aspect of development-related resettlements that reduces future agency and might increase the complexity of the overall process (Bartolomé 1984; Najman and Fainstein 2018; Perry and Lindell 1997; Ramakrishnan 2014), 'waiting' as an analytical lens has not yet been applied in academic knowledge productions in this field. Therefore, in this article, we will discuss how officially announcing a partial relocation makes people wait in different ways and not only shapes the experiences of waiting pre- and post-relocation, but also their aspirations. We understand waiting as "a lived experience that unfolds in time and as a practice" (Musset

and Vidal 2016, 4) in relation to im/mobilities, which necessarily entails a collective dimension when studying community relocations.

Since 'waiting' is not neutral but influenced by gender, class, race or age, waiting as an analytical perspective will further allow us to show that people and their aspirations are diverse and heterogenous. Furthermore, it can shed light on the varied ways in which waiting is experienced, since the announcement of the relocation shapes people's capacity to aspire. Drawing on Appadurai, who situates aspirations to the good life in a broader map or system of local beliefs and ideas that are formed in interaction and can become "especially precious in the face of the peculiar forms of temporality within which they ['the poor'] are forced to operate" (2004, 81), the role of temporalities can be analysed through waiting. Residents of informal settlements live according to different temporalities, contrasting with those of the market and state institutions, which are imposed through their relocation and, thereby, also interfere in and confound temporal logics. Unequal power relations, which become apparent through the experience of waiting, influence the future-oriented *capacity to aspire* as a navigational capacity that is unevenly distributed in any society, because "part of poverty is a diminishing of the circumstances in which these practices [wanting, planning, aspiring] occur" (Appadurai 2013, 189). Consequently, this article engages with temporalities that relate to the extent of time in which change is accelerated by the intervention itself and distinct ideas about the future in its pre- and post-relocation phases (Meth, Belihu, Buthelezi, and Masikane 2023, 843) which regard the future "in material-discursive terms as enacted in practice" (Tutton 2017, 485).

III. The Uruguayan National Relocation Plan (NRP)

The National Relocation Plan (*Plan Nacional de Relocalizaciones*) was first initiated by the Uruguayan Ministry of Housing, Land Management and Environment (MVOTMA) in 2010 and includes ongoing projects throughout the country. On an international level, Uruguay was one of the few countries connecting "human mobility in the context of climate change, more precisely to planned relocation" (IOM 2018, 10) in its *First Nationally Determined Contribution to the Paris Agreement* (see República 2017, 15). Although climate change is neither explicitly mentioned nor integrated in the NRP's operational directive, relocations are described as aiming at "an improvement of life quality for those who settled down on inundated and/or contaminated soils" (MVOTMA

2018, 3; translated by the author). Outlined in its requirements, the directive further limits its possible target communities to "precarious areas formed by informally occupied public land" (MVOTMA 2018, 4), which explains the state's legal capacity to intervene and impose relocations. Coinciding with two legislative periods of the progressive party alliance *Frente Amplio*, the NRP relocated around 2245 families throughout Uruguay in its first ten years of existence (MVOT 2020, 28). While the new ministry's five-year-plan (*Plan Quinquenal de Vivienda 2020–2024*) states that there are more than 1000 families still in the process of relocation, it does not commit to any new relocation projects (see MVOT 2020).[2]

While some projects relocate the whole community to various relocation sites, others are not only consecutive but also partial, excluding those that are supposedly less vulnerable. Relocating groups and individuals from an irregular settlement to other sites – from the first decision, financing and planning to the administration and supervision of the process – takes several years.[3] Relocation modalities varied from community relocation into newly constructed housing blocks to individual relocation through a subsidized housing program. The latter, *Programa de Compra de Vivienda Usada* (PCVU), represents an individual relocation alternative for some. Families look for a house on the market by themselves and make use of a subsidy of 55,000 US-dollars to process the payment through the National Housing Agency. In practice, not only do potential houses need to fulfil many criteria (e.g., intact sanitation, no humidity etc.), but so do the subsidized contenders (e.g., formal working conditions, minimum income etc.). Due to these restrictive requirements, the empirical data underlined that finding a house was a challenging endeavour. Most residents were excluded from this individual relocation option, leading to 93% participating in community relocations as in the case of *La Chacarita*.

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2   Since 2021, under newly elected president Luis Lacalle Pou (*Partido Nacional*), the Ministry of Housing, Land Management and Environment (MVOTMA) was divided into two ministries: the Ministry of Housing and Land Management (MVOT) and the Ministry of Environment (MA). Several interview partners working for and advising those ministries or collaborating state institutions in Montevideo described the communication between MVOT and MA as impeded and decisions as opaque or just on hold.

3   All projects within the NRP are financed through the national budget. While 80% are allocated by the ministry (MVOT, earlier MVOTMA), around 20% need to be provided by the respective departmental co-executor of the specific relocation, in this case the *Intendencia de Montevideo*, who is also responsible for relocation management and accompanying social work.

Setting the Scene: La Chacarita de los Padres

The settlement *La Chacarita de los Padres* (short: *La Chacarita*) has its origins in the 1950s (Bolaña 2018, 178). In general, scholars differentiate between more recent informal *asentamientos* (Spanish for 'settlements'), which were founded by and grew due to the expulsion of the urban formal working-class from the 1990s onwards, and long-standing settlements (*cantegriles*) (Álvarez Rivadulla 2017, 252; Bolaña 2018, 29–30; Renfrew 2013, 205–206; Rossal et al. 2020, 17–19).[4] The latter were mostly founded by landless, rural labour migrants coming to Montevideo from the 1950s onwards when the import-substitution-industrialization model slowly came to an end. *La Chacarita* presents a mixture of both types, which is also one of the reasons for the settlement's heterogeneity. Uniting those getting displaced from the city centre who find refuge in a corrugated iron shack with rural migratory families in third generation living in auto-constructed brick houses already hints at the convergence of diverse life stories.[5] Parts of *La Chacarita* therefore belong to "a new generation of Montevideans" that never lived in the formal city, which makes sociologist Álvarez Rivadulla question "[h]ow this affects their worldviews, practices and their 'capacity to aspire'" (2017, 264) – especially when being confronted with formal procedures due to forced relocation.

   La Chacarita's vast heterogeneity is not an exception in Uruguayan informal settlements but rather the rule: "There is more homogeneity among the poor than among the irregularly settled. In other words: the poor in *asentamientos*

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4   Since the 1990s, the terms *asentamiento* and *cantegril* (with its discriminatory character when used as an external attribution) are mostly subsumed under the umbrella term *asentamiento*, which has become synonymous with informality and poverty "as far as both targeted state policies and the general public are concerned" (Álvarez Rivadulla 2017, 260).

5   As the materiality of housing goes beyond the content of this article, we just want to draw attention to the symbolically materialized dividing character among the residents, which was also encountered in this study: "Pride in the quality of the housing was often apparent among my interviewees as a mechanism of spatial distinction. The new squatters invested a lot of their time and their energy, not to mention their always scarce money, in their houses and their neighbourhoods. Building with bricks rather than with metal sheets was pivotal to avoid being considered a cantegril. […] Through these practices and policies, the neighbourhood space became an arena in which symbolic boundaries were made visible, material and tangible" (Álvarez Rivadulla 2017, 256).

resemble the poor living under formal roofs more than the non-poor in *asentamientos*" (Menéndez 2014, 49; translated by the authors). Like many informal settlements, *La Chacarita* lies at the outskirts of the city, where densely populated urbanity merges with rural uninhabited territory.

In order to plan *La Chacarita*'s partial relocation, the city government (*Intendencia de Montevideo*) carried out a census of the whole settlement in 2017, which became the basis for relocation decisions. All in all, 865 people were living in 226 houses in the settlement, coming down to 3.8 people on average per house. While women and men contributed to nearly fair shares (51.6% and 48.4%, respectively), residents of *La Chacarita* tend to be exceptionally young (28.7 years compared to a national average of 36 years), with only one quarter (26%) being 40 years or older (nationally 40.7%) (INE 2011).[6] Also, race is unequally distributed entailing socio-spatial inequalities that developed historically, leading to 40% of the residents[7] auto-perceiving their "principal ancestry"[8] within the Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) community (33% afro[9], 7% indigenous), compared to a national BIPOC proportion of 7% (4.6% afro, 2.4% indigenous) (Cabella et al. 2013, 15).

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6   Data from the latest census (2011), Total País > Características Generales > Población por área y sexo, según grupo quinquenal de edades y edades simples. Total País: https://www.ine.gub.uy/web/guest/censos-2011.

7   The census' race query in *La Chacarita* only included one representative per house (not every resident!).

8   In Uruguay it is very common to choose multiple answers because racial identity is constructed as fluid, which explains the core category of "principal ancestry" that is frequently used (see Cabella, Mathías, and Tenenbaum 2013).

9   The category "afro" is used as an abbreviation for Afro-Uruguayan which is the predominant race category in Uruguayan academia, politics and everyday (colloquial) language. But until the mid-1990s, Uruguay was unwilling to integrate race as a category in its census. Historically, there were not as many African slaves as in other Latin American countries due to the lack of plantation possibilities. Nevertheless, the history of slavery was only poorly processed in Uruguay (Hübener 2010, 150–51) – not to mention the genocide of the indigenous population in the massacre of Salsipuedes in 1831. As a result, Uruguay constructed (and continues to present) "a very European (white) public image" (Townsend-Bell 2011, 189).

M1: Map of Montevideo (mostly Municipio F), showcasing the settlement La Chacarita and its four corresponding relocation sites

Provided by IdeM.

For *La Chacarita*'s partial but permanent relocation, 57% were foreseen to be relocated while the rest was supposed to stay and be integrated into an improvement plan targeting the most urgent housing deficits. As a result, the NRP does not only impose spatial mobility for some, but also co-dependent immobilities within changed circumstances for others (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013, 188). According to the city government, the overall river basin in the area, exceeding *La Chacarita*, not only left many residents exposed to recurrent inundations but also to contamination of soil by heavy metals and extreme accumulations of solid waste (IdeM 2020, 48–49). Nonetheless, neither a risk map for future inundations nor a precise examination of contaminations were provided in *La Chacarita*, although both are listed as preconditions in the NRP's guidelines (see MVOTMA 2018, 4). For those getting relocated, there are two relocation modalities with corresponding materialities. On the one hand, the individual relocation alternative (PCVU) can theoretically lead to spatial mobility towards any part of the country at any time since 2018, of which 20 families made use between 2019 and 2023. On the other hand, community relocations

of *La Chacarita* were spatially and temporarily split into four groups: 52 families moving to *Zitarrosa* in December 2021, 54 families moving to *Villa Farre* in August 2022, six families moving to *Belloni* in December 2022 and nine families moving to *Campillos* in March 2023 (see M1).

As can be assumed in M1, two relocation sites (*Belloni* and *Zitarrosa*) provide its new residents with central urbanity and better infrastructure than before. *Campillos* and *Villa Farre*, the other relocation sites, pushed the residents even more to the outskirts, where the surrounding adjoins to green fields and new construction sites with worse urban connectivity than before. Hence, the residents' forced spatial mobility by the NRP also led to different aspirations, perceptions and evaluations of their social im/mobility in a locality-specific way.

IV.   Methodology and Methods

To accompany the overall relocation processes and observe changes over time from an actor-oriented perspective, the study's methodology did not only profit from its multi-sited but also its longitudinal research, including multiple re-visits, as will be outlined in the following. As this article tries to understand   experiences of waiting for future im/mobility in relation to people's aspirations within state-enforced relocation processes from an actor perspective, *grounded theory* was applied as the methodological approach. In contrast to mostly quantitative approaches on waiting (see Bissell 2007, 292), this project's methodology stresses the study of conditions, perceptions and processes informing the im/mobilizing interplay between waiting and aspiring by anchoring "academic knowledge in practical problems in the world" (Charmaz 2020, 167). To this effect, the focus on experiences of waiting and their interrelation with the future-oriented *capacity to aspire* (Appadurai 2004, 2013) represents an angle that was inducted from the empirical material as one of the most pressing topics for the affected community. *La Chacarita* built an exceptionally suitable case study to pursue this endeavour and investigate the relocation's processual character. The site was selected due to its partial relocation modality, stressing the importance of an entangled im/mobility approach, and due to its ideal access and timing. When field research (conducted by the first author) started in October 2021, *La Chacarita* was the only relocation in progress within the NRP in Montevideo within its planning phase, starting preparational meetings with the residents.

One advantage of grounded theory methodology is its temporal simultaneity of action and reflection, leading to necessary alignments of the research design to better understand the statements, decisions and living contexts of all research participants. The methodically flexible and methodologically constructivist approach of grounded theory (Charmaz 2014, 2017, 2020) helped to better grasp how the residents (re)act within unequal power relations shaping their relocation experiences. Thus, the iterative process of data generation and analysis gave more space to the topic's processuality and future-anticipation by re-interviewing participants, which yielded insightful dynamics before and after relocation. Further, the theory-generating approach did not previously define any social categories or the relation between them; instead, the intersectional findings are *grounded* in data.

All in all, this article draws on 55 intensive interviews ranging from single-up to three-person settings (40% of the participants getting re-interviewed), three focus group interviews and 43 multi-sited (participative) observations with informal talks throughout different relocation phases.[10] Locality-wise, the multi-sited approach focused on but was not limited to *La Chacarita* and two community relocation sites, *Zitarrosa* and *Villa Farre*, as well as some individual PCVU sites. Temporally speaking, two fieldwork visits spanned over six months in between October 2021 and December 2022 but were complemented by (online) interviews with risk assessment, relocation management and Uruguayan scholars before and after the research stays to include contextual knowledge and local critiques on preliminary findings. Additionally, the broad census of the residents and all houses in *La Chacarita* from 2017 was surveyed and made available by the *Intendencia de Montevideo*. Due to an open, critical and close collaboration with many social workers in the project, regular access was established rapidly and held consistently – despite many security risks like floods or rising street criminality (see Ladra 2021). Given the numerous structural inequalities exposing the residents to various vulnerabilities, the overall objective always entailed to do no harm to those most vulnerable (Fluehr-Lobban 2012, 104), which not only required *methodological* but also *ethical reflexivity* that is inclusive of the latter (Unger 2021, 200). Critical statements towards the government or the relocation did not bear any risks for the participants but were still anonymized to do no harm with respect to power imbalances within the settlement.

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10   The first author conducted and coded all interviews in Spanish and translated relevant citations to English.

V.   Living and Waiting in *La Chacarita* before Relocation

Numerous residents in *La Chacarita* settled down decades ago, leading to many second- or even third-generation families. According to the census (2017) provided by the city government, over 60% of the homeowners surveyed reported having resided in the settlement for a decade or longer. Living *in La Chacarita*, waiting – be it in individual or collective forms – always had been inevitable. During their lifetimes, residents not only witnessed and created social changes which materialized in their enacted environment, domestic life or cohabitation, but also produced different meanings and lived experiences of waiting. On the one hand, those experiences touched upon the individual- or family-based everyday life, which was often characterized by poor living standards and inequalities within *La Chacarita* and between other Montevidean settlements. While some people wait for rain to collect water, others wait for their hunger to subside. Some wait for a call offering a temporary job for the day, while others wait for their delayed salary to be paid. *La Chacarita*'s long and dynamic history with its heterogenous residents contains manifold experiences of waiting, which were always connected to social im/mobility and revealed social inequalities limiting the future-oriented capacity to aspire. On the other hand, residents shaped and were shaped by communal waiting experiences in a context of recurrent inundations and with regard to the settlement's improvement. Especially community aspirations to be "regularized" as a formal neighbourhood or little steps towards this goal (e.g., paving the road, getting electricity and water supply) made many residents complain about unheard wishes for decades, despite their self-administered requests and preliminary but unfulfilled agreements with state actors. For the community, waiting for several years or even decades for the street to be paved in order for the ambulance to pass or for electricity to be regularized to prevent further electrical fires has resulted in frustration, disempowerment, and a loss of trust. These partly mundane examples uncover that 'making' people wait influences their experiences of time and agency. As shown, it is important to highlight that these processes of waiting also led to meaningful activities in the present. However, in contrast to pre- and post-relocation waiting, they were not necessarily linked to mobility aspirations.

Waiting is an inevitable part of life for every person. But not everyone has to endure waiting within such unequal power relations for such a long time, which can create a sense of being governed by these temporal dynamics through which "political subordination is reproduced" (Auyero 2012, 2). As an-

thropologist Auyero states in his "tempography" *Patients of the State: The Politics of Waiting in Argentina*: "Shanty residents are always waiting for something to happen. Those poisoned outcasts [...] live in an alienated time" (2012, 4). Waiting hopefully or frustratedly for others to turn words into actions highlights the significance of an affective lens, allowing us to consider how resonances of impatience, insecurity, anxiety, resistance or surrender "transcend the personal and are implicated in the experiences of others" (Bissell 2007, 291). One can even argue that the self-attribution of being poor and not worthy of any improvements can be aggravated – also across generations – by endlessly waiting for false promises, as this 37-year-old woman explains:

> Imagine that when I was about to turn four years old, the *Intendencia* (City Government) had already informed us that they were going to build a square here and the street. Of course, years passed. Being a poor ignorant person, we used to say, "years will go by and nothing will happen, it's just a fairy tale", you know. (INT #12, F/W/37)

Others, despite describing the same unfulfilled waiting loops, emphasised their obligations as citizens, albeit without insisting on their rights of citizenship, thereby liberating the state from its responsibility: "*It can't be that we have to ask and wait for the state to come and contribute. No! We are the ones who have to contribute the help we seek*" (INT #34, F/A/48). These examples reveal two things: First, that waiting can actively lead to agency with regard to one's aspirations (see Introduction). And secondly, that the actors do not perceive and interpret waiting as something 'neutral', but clearly related and connected to their ascribed class and status, which can be interpreted as an outcome of the 'politics of waiting'.

Other waiting experiences were made and re-made within the context of recurrent inundations suffered by the majority in *La Chacarita* – be it by passively waiting for inundations to happen again and again or by actively preparing for the next inundation while waiting. Therefore, waiting for recurrent inundations equally included 'not acting' on scenarios of the future (mostly due to lack of money, age, disability or ignorance) and 'actively adjusting' houses, furniture, drainage systems or cleaning the clogged river canal. Even in the midst of heavy rain and storm surges, residents got accustomed to watch water levels go up in their houses, or wait for the rain to stop, for potential aid and donations to arrive. Not a single person in *La Chacarita* wanted to be evacuated during massive inundations in January 2022, but instead they preferred to

wait until their flooded houses, covered in mud and faeces, dried up to prevent robbery of their last belongings. Meanwhile, especially men were staying and sleeping close to their houses, while women and kids found self-arranged shelter nearby and organized informal emergency strategies (e.g., calling for donations on Facebook, collecting clothes, cleaning supplies and food). Although many (pro)active forms of waiting were established as a social practice, recurrent inundations always transformed the settlement into a state of social immobility and made it impossible for many to aspire to a distant future. As recurrent socio-environmental risks were no longer perceived as "intangible futures" (McMichael and Katonivualiku 2020, 287), the capacity to aspire was often limited to the temporal horizon of the very present, tomorrow, or the next impending inundation:

> It's difficult to accept the fact that everything you achieved through hard work will be lost in one night of inundation, having to start over from scratch with all you have (left). The most progress you can make in your life here is buying a piece of furniture with your savings, which unfortunately is what people do, only to lose it the next winter when it floods again. (INT #33, F/W/36)

In *La Chacarita*, residents had already developed a significant repertoire of waiting practices prior to the NRP. Sometimes, these practices allowed them to take control of their own destiny, such as collectively building their own houses and infrastructure; thus, the waiting phase was used productively. However, their agency was often constrained by the formalities of urban standards, as many residents in Montevideo aimed to replicate formal standards, waiting for eventual legalization of the settlement as part of the city (Álvarez Rivadulla 2017, 254). Consequently, even if proactive waiting and agency appeared self-determined at first, the underlying aspirations for state regularization in the long run always resulted in dependent waiting. Although the collective aspiration and waiting experience for a regularization that never materialized could be read as a 'politics of waiting', the same cannot be said of the NRP, as it, theoretically, tries to end devastating waiting experiences related to recurrent inundations. Nonetheless, the NRP must be seen as a drastic means of formalization due to its compulsory nature, which opens up new forms of dependent waiting and aspirations within particularly unequal power relations. In contrast to these diverse waiting experiences before the NRP, waiting for relocation constitutes a new spatiotemporal interstice

between mobility and immobility. The mere anticipation of future relocation already influenced people's agency and aspirations and had tremendous effects on practices of waiting as a lived experience unfolding in time. As will be shown in the following, the NRP transformed the settlement into a specific *waiting territory*[11] because the "situation of waiting (or pause) start[ed] to take over" *La Chacarita* by "permanently modifying the meaning and uses of that space" (Vidal 2016, 330).

Waiting to (Be) Relocate(d)

Temporally speaking, relocation is often scaled down to the actual implementation phase or a short phase after moving day – also in scientific literature. Nonetheless, for some residents in *La Chacarita*, the prospect of relocation, including the anticipated loss of their houses, started decades ago:

> I lived for 32 years (in *La Chacarita*), always knowing that every five years they'd tell you "There will be a relocation, there will be a relocation", but we kept waiting and waiting. And then, let's say, 30 years went by since they started announcing. But this neighbourhood has been around for more than 60 years. (INT #13, F/W/48)

Dismissing the thought of getting relocated as a hollow campaign pledge in its predictable rhythmicity also left its mark on the actual relocation. The announcement was accompanied by consistent disbelief over time because many thought *"that it would remain in the same nothingness"* (INT #49, F/A/50). While only the few who always aspired to move wanted to trust the politicians' relocation promises, others describe being (re)taken by surprise when the census was conducted in 2017, when big reunions began in 2019, when small reunions for the first site started in 2021 as well as when construction sites emerged, flats were assigned, and contracts signed. *"And I never thought that this day would come. We had the relocation reunion, and when they said 'relocation', everyone just stared, saying 'how can there be a relocation?"* (INT #14, F/A/39) Statements like these also

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11   In contrast to waiting spaces, the authors apply the concept of 'waiting territories' to "avoid reducing the space and time of waiting to commonplace considerations" (da Costa Gomes and Musset 2016, 63) and emphasise the constraints exercised over people in a given space, which transforms waiting into an organising principle and "hegemonic value that affects all other processes, behaviours, actions and forms of social interaction" (2016, 70).

demonstrate that relocations in complex contexts cannot be reduced to clear-cut spatiotemporal dimensions from start to finish but need to be understood in their processual messiness from an actor perspective, which includes waiting as a lived experience and practice.

Compared to waiting practices in *La Chacarita* prior to the NRP that were mostly connected to *social* mobility *within* the settlement, the actual relocation announcement moved waiting to a socio-*spatial* anticipation *outside* the settlement. This time, waiting also entailed spatial im/mobility within new or intensified unequal power relations between state actors and residents, as this partial relocation forced some people to move to a place at a time of the state's choosing, while others had to stay at *La Chacarita* despite the settlement's overall changes. To which extent waiting was perceived as more active or passive also depended on the relocation modality, constituting and producing different aspirations.

PCVU – or When the Most Privileged Might Wait the Longest

Power relations are not only unequal between state actors and residents, but also within the highly heterogenous population of *La Chacarita*. As has been mentioned before, the individual relocation modality (PCVU) was only accessible to a few. Pre-conditions for getting a subsidy were relatively high, so that only around seven percent of the settlement were able to make use of this modality, which is marked by different administrative mechanisms and temporal logics. In theory, the most obvious benefit of this relocation alternative was the free choice of a house and location within the constraints of the market. Indeed, most participants named "preferring a house instead of a flat" for various reasons and "choosing the neighbourhood" as causes to aspire to PCVU. Nonetheless, the primary reason named in the PCVU focus group was conflict avoidance. In this way, the future visions that were anticipated were based on past experiences and enacted in practice (Tutton 2017):

> Because of the amenities, in a complex [community relocation] you could end up with any neighbour, and knowing the neighbours in the area, we preferred to be alone rather than being with those kinds of people. […] Most of us who choose PCVU work all day and when we come home, we want to be at peace, not look for problems. (FG #1, F/A/32)

> We know all the neighbours who left for the community relocation.

> We know who the good ones are and who the bad ones are. (FG #1, M/A/33)

> Yes, there [the community relocation site] it's like starting anew in a neighbourhood, and you end up living next to Pablo Escobar. [By PCVU] we're going to have to see, whether it's good or bad, it's like a lottery, whether I end up with Pablo Escobar or El Chapo Guzman, it's sad, but that's how it is. (FG #1, M/nd/33)

Although the alternative modality gives more space to the families' aspirations (e.g., opening a business in-house, living more spaciously, holding many animals) and freedom as to where and when to move, it also transfers time-consuming bureaucracy and nerve-wracking responsibility from the state to the residents. So, how does this influence their experiences and practices of waiting in the present? On the one hand, some participants were able to have rather short waiting phases from the application for the subsidy to the moving day (around two years). On the other hand, others were still waiting to find a house, get permission or receive the money transfer when most community relocations were already finished in 2023. The longest waiting patterns consisted of recurring bureaucratic processes, which had to be self-organized by the residents, but in which financing had to be approved "from above" by the Ministry of Housing and Land Management. Once general participation was approved, families received a "ticket" (*boleto*) with 180-days validity to find a house fulfilling all requirements. As soon as it expired, the process started anew. Many families experienced that the market's temporality did not fit that of the state – and much less their own.

> We would have already bought it and everything, the house just needed to be paid for. It's a matter for the ministry to pay for it. We had already signed everything, and the owners urgently wanted to sell it. (FG #1, M/A/33)

> We applied and everything, but the deadline expired. 180 days passed and then the pandemic hit, and the man sold the house [to others]. (FG #1, M/nd/33)

> It happened to me too when they approved the money. The woman [seller] got upset with the wait and decided to back out. Everything was already set up too. It's the same that happened to almost all of us. […] The real estate agents already tell you that the ministry doesn't want to sign the

> contract because they like to make things difficult, and many real estate agents say they won't do anything for the ministry. (FG #1, F/A/32)

Especially since the Covid-19-pandemic, many lamented the unadapted subsidy amount despite increasing house prices, which again shows the conflicting temporal logics of the market and the state. As a result, contenders were not only dependently waiting for political bureaucracy but also for variable market-based opportunities, which shows the spatiotemporal limits of new-developmentalist compensatory policies like the PCVU modality in a capitalist city (Gabriel Hernández 2019, 516–17). Due to the shortage of houses in this price segment fulfilling all prerequisites, administrative waiting loops and delays in approval or payment, some residents with the "most formal mode of living" turned out to be waiting the longest.

The Immobilizing Effect of Announcing Mobility (for Some)

Families participating in the PCVU modality were not the only ones experiencing delays and postponements, thus waiting for their im/mobility within unpredictable circumstances. After the census was carried out in 2017 as a basis on which to elaborate who would (not) be relocated, where to, and with whom, big reunions followed in 2018 and were supposed to converge into actual soon-to-be relocations. Staff from the relocation team confirmed difficulties in getting permits, delays at construction sites and, most importantly, frozen assets when two decisive events hit almost simultaneously: the change of government and the Covid-19-pandemic. From the perspective of the residents, these and other causes were identified to explain the many delays spurring overall uncertainties about the relocation:

> The problem is that it was supposed to be money that was already there. I trust the political party [Frente Amplio] that was in charge when all this started, and they openly showed us that the money was there. But it seems that Covid brought an economic problem to the country, and the funds were released. (INT #20, F/W/45)

Despite many differences between the two relocation modalities, for all residents 'waiting' became a lived and affective experience (Bissell 2007) from the announcement and the prospect of relocation to its realization. The perceived duration, or "the temporal quality of waiting", can only be understood through

"a non-linear apprehension of qualitative temporality – of time as perceived, felt and experienced through the body" (Bissell 2007, 284). While some residents developed agency and plans of what to do while waiting, others passively awaited their relocation for years. In the last case, residents not only experienced immobility as a side-effect while "waiting to become mobile" (Kempny 2023, 80) but precisely due to the anticipation of their enforced mobility. On the one hand, active waiting reactions to the announcement included self-organized individual moves, resistance by blocking communication or practices of impatience by complaining about being kept waiting (e.g., putting pressure on state actors via social workers or social media), and thereby challenged the 'politics of waiting' informal settlements got accustomed to. On the other hand, the majority was passively waiting. Describing 'waiting' as a source of uncertainty, they underwent its paralyzing climax as soon as residents started believing in the announcement and consequently no longer dared to make any more investments in their houses, living even more from day-to-day than before and no longer aspiring to social mobility *within* the settlement. Hence, the sole prospect of relocation led to the perception of one's residency in *La Chacarita* as immobile and of the waiting phase as socially immobilizing due to the potential discontinuity in space and time, both of which had formerly been the basis of their system of reciprocity. The anthropologist Bartolomé already outlined this *entropic effect* in one of his publications on development-enforced resettlement of the urban poor in Argentina:

> Doubtless the additional stress generated and the disorganizing effects that the very announcement of the relocations has are important determinants of the circumstances under which the resettlement will take place and also of the attitudes of the population toward the program and the relocation agency. The lowered efficiency and productivity of the survival systems of the urban poor is a consequence of the additional uncertainty generated by the relocation prospect. (Bartolomé 1984, 190)

Through the collective experience of waiting for relocation, the immobilizing perceptions of some even aggravated the practices of others, as living in *La Chacarita* transcended into a specific 'waiting territory' (Vidal 2016), in which waiting became "a social event, rather than a collection of feeling individuals" (Bissell 2007, 291). This can be well illustrated with the category of age. Many older residents that were born or at least raised in *La Chacarita* explained their desire to leave the settlement in the past when they did not have any means

or ideas of how to act upon this aspiration. Now, many felt neglected by the state for decades but also "found peace" with it. Nonetheless, the elderly, rooted in long-established networks of trust and solidarity, claimed that it was too late for them to start anew. Contrary to younger residents, the time window in which state interventions were considered justified had long passed.

Especially for those describing themselves as free of any aspirations, the prospect of spatial mobility resulted in an immobilizing effect mixed with apathy while waiting: "*Look, I at least don't desire anything. I live day by day and see what the next day brings me and that's it. I don't expect anything* [by the NRP], *nothing. I'm just here because I'm here*" (INT #32, F/A/50). Dividing the settlement into two main groups – those who live within the temporal horizon of each day and those that want to "move forward" (*salir adelante*) – occurred in most narratives used by the residents to differentiate amongst each other. Attributing not having any capacity to aspire to others while self-ascribing to belong to the hard-working people with future aspirations represents a dualistic vision that was reproduced in all interviews:

> There are people who can move forward and there are those who don't want to because they got used to this lifestyle, you know, you get used to a way of living and don't do anything to move forward. But when you see people suffering just because they don't want to progress, it makes you angry. (INT #24, F/W/45)

This line of argumentation was especially frequent among PCVU participants and female residents that lived in materially better houses, had higher incomes, pro-actively strived for regularization and described being proudly rooted in *La Chacarita* and/or at least in their self-constructed houses as a symbol of their hard-working sacrifices. Due to their own experience of upward social mobility within *La Chacarita*, these othering narratives did not leave any room for structural inequalities restraining the navigational capacity to aspire but handed over full responsibility and blame to those who are living inactively and waiting passively for their future to pass by.

In some cases, even moving day itself was still perceived as "very sudden" or "unreal", which might be traced back to seemingly endless waiting experiences, unfulfilled announcements in the past, general uncertainties and mistrust, ultimately leading to detachment from time itself – or at least from the state's temporality: "The times of the state are not the same as the times of individuals; these do not coincide with family times, which in turn are not the same as the

times of the neighbourhood. Social temporalities overlap and can come into conflict with each other" (Filardo and Merklen 2019, 153; translation by the author). Although the Uruguayan authors Filardo and Merklen did not explicitly conceptualize practices of waiting in their ethnographic study about Montevidean *asentamientos*, they conclude that any state intervention in informal settlements automatically leads to a collision of temporal logics. Many residents in *La Chacarita* thought that waiting finally came to an end after relocation. But re-interviewing and re-visiting the same residents shortly and one year after their relocation shed some light on new forms of waiting that are produced by the conflicting overlap of social temporalities that also persist over space.

VI. Post-Relocation: Formally Waiting for Life to Begin

While pre-relocation life in *La Chacarita* was nurtured by spatiotemporal proximity, including informal networks persisting over time and relations of localized solidarity inscribed in the territory (Filardo and Merklen 2019, 52–53), in post-relocation life most people experienced a "formal awakening" which produced new forms of waiting and aspiring. Moving day, as a collective experience for each group and site, was an emotional undertaking for all participants. Besides many overwhelmingly happy and thankful reactions to their new flats, losing one's mostly auto-constructed home left many residents, especially the elderly, women and those who raised their children in *La Chacarita*, filled with nostalgia, grief, estrangement and uprooting. Through the NRP, the state forcefully intervened in the residents' lifeworlds and their territorial inscriptions which were based on the temporal logic of proximity. Imposing formality on communities that had mostly not experienced any formal life in the city they were displaced from (Álvarez Rivadulla 2017, 264) interfered with the fabric and structure of their social ties. Many families needed to re-organize school, work, care tasks, transport and neighbourhood ties for social security, amongst other things. Inherently, these challenges were constructed by their new socio-spatial setting, but also by the formal temporality imposed on them – leading to many new experiences of waiting, which limited their future as enacted in practice (Tutton 2017) to which they had grown accustomed. In contrast to their kaleidoscope of pre-relocation waiting practices, now their aspirations are no longer necessarily entangled with spatial mobility, but with immobility and new forms of imposed waiting at the new relocation site.

Some of these waiting practices had their origin in the change of locality itself, like being on waiting lists for childcare and school, and demanded new routes and schedules to get to work, visit family, go to the hospital etc. Other waiting experiences were clearly bound to their dependence on the NRP's rules and their entry into formality within particular post-resettlement temporalities (Meth, Belihu, Buthelezi, and Masikane 2023, 843). On a community scale, people already knew how to organize themselves to formally apply for improvements in the new neighbourhoods: e.g., *Zitarossa*'s residents requested and waited for waste containers and lighting outside; *Villa Farre*'s residents for the re-opening of a polyclinic and a canopy for their self-organized soup kitchen. But in comparison to their old life in *La Chacarita*, now they had to navigate urban formalities, e.g., clear distinctions between public and private spaces. However, the latter did not even fully include their own flats yet, which made it even harder for them to grasp the new property relations in which they had been placed. According to the NRP's operative regulations, housing is initially organized by a *conmodato*, through which the state grants temporary possession to the residents without transferring ownership (MVOTMA 2018, 9). Within a maximum of three years after the move, participants have the right to receive ownership of the housing units which includes official property registry and titles for each flat. In case of "technically sound reasons" (2018, 10), however, the NRP also allows the ministry to remain owner of the property.

But what kind of formalized waiting processes does this lead to? Most obviously, relocation participants have to wait up to three years until they officially own their new flat. In case of conflicts, domestic violence, families splitting up etc., property titles may never be transferred to everyone who originally relocated, resulting in waiting experiences with uncertain duration. Little knowledge about who and when one could receive property rights was available among the residents. This led to assumptions that the flat was already legally their own or that it will always belong to the state which often resulted in a general critique of how their agency had been taken away by the *conmodato*: "*We had a house, we lived there. I prefer being able to work, five years working and living* [in *La Chacarita*], *so that I can buy a house by myself instead of the state giving me one this way*" (INT #16, M/A/32). This view is shared by many describing themselves as hard-working, being used to taking care of themselves and not ascribing any obligations to the state to help them out. Retrospectively, many residents relate emotionally and materially to their old houses as a symbol of their social mobility within *La Chacarita*. Many describe, partly in a very romanticized way,

how they matched their (housing) aspirations with 'the little that they had' and proudly speak about their 'sacrifices made from scratch', which materialized in their old houses (Rossal et al. 2020, 139).

At the new relocation sites, people had to wait for approval by the city to build shelter for their animals or a stone barbecue in their patio, to open their little in-house kiosk with window sale or to get something repaired under warranty. Waiting throughout these formalized procedures on a private housing scale was especially difficult to understand for people who had never lived in the formal city and had been taught to take their future into their own hands. Additionally, many residents waited anxiously for their first bills to arrive: "*There you will have to pay for electricity, water and something else that comes up later. And there are people that won't pay for it, because they don't have a job, live a different lifestyle and people that didn't want it, they don't want the new flat*" (INT #8, F/W/71). In *La Chacarita*, residents were already used to wait for improvements and changes that mostly never materialized on a community scale, but to do so on an individual housing level is a new – and mostly unsatisfying – experience for most of them. Nonetheless, all residents were aware of the flats' qualitative benefits and appreciated the eliminated risk of inundation, amongst other things: "*This house offers all the amenities. You don't have problems when there is wind and it moves the cables, or losing power or water, no, it's not a big deal here*" (INT #22, F/A/29). But seeing and appreciating the advantages of the relocation still cannot be equated with the affective experience of waiting coming to an end. For some, more time was needed to hopefully make the new setting start to „feel like" home soon:

> I will never get used to it and it has been almost a year now. More than anything I miss my house, it's not only about material things and habits, because my children were born there, and all their life was there. I will have to get used to it, but I don't know when that will happen. (INT #49, F/A/50)

Waiting to be Settled Down or "Cada Casa es un Mundo"

Especially women, who are predominantly responsible for domestic and care work and also spend more time at home, identified and emotionally connected with their old houses. The phrase "each house is a world" (*cada casa es un mundo*) was used in many interviews, signalling that each home is perceived as unique and as an important space for individual expression and life aspirations. Now, control and autonomy over their living space was partly withdrawn by the NRP

and their capacity to aspire within the realm of housing got limited by formal waiting procedures and standardization. Many residents wondered how they could still give it an individual touch because they were used to express aspirations and demonstrate upward social mobility through house investments. Others complained about their limited ability to act in their new flats by referring to their old houses as life works that were literally demolished:

> They tear off your life project that you built, they tear it down and they give you a different house. I think that when you have property, or you build a house you should do it the way you like it, every detail that you made is important. But you cannot touch anything, you can't break a wall or change the door, you can't do this, you can't, they prohibit everything, it's like it's not even yours, you know, it's not yours. (INT #42, F/A/55)

This statement is representative of many residents that perceived the seemingly paradoxical development they had undergone: from losing an illegal house on state property that nonetheless reassured them of providing an inheritance and which "felt theirs" to a legal flat corresponding to all quality criteria, in which they were still awaiting – and thereby doubting – ownership in its legal but also emotional sense. Especially when talking about the distant future, aspiring to provide for loved ones after being gone represented an emotional insecurity and anxiety that came up regularly while waiting for clarified property rights: "*They don't give you a hand, they give you a flat that you don't own. If something happens to us tomorrow, I have a grandson with us. I didn't think to include him in the census*" (INT #8, F/W/71). The vague life aspiration to "move forward" (*seguir adelante*) and provide a "better future" for their family persisted over time and space in all re-interviews, which, unsurprisingly, also led to attempts at family extension in the new flat. These rule violations against the NRP's code of conduct and other conflicts kept the control function of relocation management high in the first post-relocation year, while around 46% experienced social without spatial mobility by staying in *La Chacarita*.

From Partial to Full Relocation? Waiting to be Continued

In planned relocation Studies, a clear focus is mostly kept on those who relocate. By focusing on those who were spatially mobile, the co-dependent immobilities produced by the project are often neglected. In *La Chacarita* around 43% were not included in the relocation. Thus, what about those that had to stay (be-

hind)? According to the 2017 census, around 18% of those who were not included in the NRP were already affected by inundations and, as the latest floods in January 2022 reached new devastating scales, many more families were affected for the first time. Now, waiting for the next storm surge and heavy rain until the river canal gets clogged again acquired a new meaning for those still living in *La Chacarita*. Many residents predicted and feared that inundations will get even worse for them because the demolished houses left so much debris and thereby changed the flow of water, bringing more mud and faeces, bugs, rats and general contamination. Also, apart from any future flooding scenarios, life in *La Chacarita* changed drastically, influencing people's aspirations, with some even tending to leave the settlement. People who never imagined leaving their house before now aspired to be part of the NRP – due to their loss of social ties, security networks or customers for their informal businesses. Long-established family and neighbourhood relationships of trust were lost, which made many feel more insecure and afraid of violence, robbery and shootings than before. Therefore, the central assumption of planned relocation to reduce risks and provide "the conditions for rebuilding their lives" (UNHCR et al. 2015, 3) should also be guaranteed to the remaining residents who also underwent an obstruction of agency in their Future-Making.

But, as the city government acknowledged the devastating scale of the inundations in January 2022, the mayoress Carolina Cosse (*Frente Amplio*) visited *La Chacarita* in September 2022 to announce more relocations. At the time being, the announcement consisted of vague details, promising that an unknown part of *La Chacarita* would be relocated to someplace else in the remote future. The residents' reactions were mixed but always strewn with doubts and their experience-based habitus of waiting: "*Of course, we have to wait. Well, in the long run, one year, year after year, could be a thousand years, because all those who left also had to wait, those who left and those who stayed. And now it's just us*" (INT #42, F/A/55). Again, the announcement of further relocations without the naming of any details let the informally settled know that they needed to wait and "patiently comply with the seemingly arbitrary, ambiguous, and always changing state requirements" (Auyero 2012, 9). Therefore, *La Chacarita* as an interstitial space between mobility and immobility continues to persist as a specific 'waiting territory' and a space of constraint that forces the residents to aspire to spatiotemporal mobility and more generally a future "from the perspective of the provisional and the uncertain" (Vidal 2016, 331).

VII. Conclusion

This article provided insights from an actor perspective on the entanglements of im/mobilities, temporalities and aspirations within the realm of planned relocation. Through the analytical lens of waiting, the case study of the informal settlement *La Chacarita* has shown that modalities of waiting are enforced by the relocation plan itself but also shaped by those who wait. Residents of *La Chacarita* perceived a spectrum of specific waiting experiences based on intersecting categories like gender, class or age and previous waiting practices that constituted their relation to the state.[12] Meaningful and active as well as disempowering and passive ways of waiting were encountered, having direct impacts on the actors' capacities to aspire within this forced im/mobility setting before and after relocation. Those who internalized the attitude "*We are the ones who have to contribute the help we seek*" (INT #34, F/A/48) lost this very agency as soon as the relocation announcement was perceived to be true, which often created a long and burdensome inactive waiting phase. The elderly, those living alone, women and especially older women with strong roots in *La Chacarita* and emotional connection to their houses did not aspire to relocate and had the most trouble feeling safe and at home in their new flats. In its post-relocation phase, aspirations and waiting were not bound to any future visions of spatial mobility anymore, but to socio-spatial immobility experienced due to the residents' loss of informal proximity. For the first time in their lives, residents had to regulate their individual housing aspirations according to formal standards, leading to new practices of waiting for autonomy and social mobility.

Delaying techniques employed to respond to the collective aspiration for regularization and recurrent relocation promises during election phases can be subsumed under the term 'politics of waiting', as they naturalized the relationship of temporal domination between the informally settled and the state by (re)producing uncertainty and arbitrariness (see Auyero 2012, 19; Filardo and Merklen 2019, 154). However, the same cannot be said about the NRP. As soon as the relocation went into its actual implementation phase, it did not work according to the same deceptive temporal logic and rhythmicity, as it ended the permanent state of im/mobility insecurity for some and broke the waiting cycle for recurrent inundations for many. Nonetheless, in the waiting period

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12   The category of race, although immensely contributing to the structural inequalities of the settlement itself, did not result in any observable explicit or implicit assumptions about waiting.

from 2017–2023, *La Chacarita* insidiously transformed from an informal settlement with all its mundane im/mobilities and aspirations to a 'waiting territory', which was born of anticipating forced mobility or immobility (see Vidal 2016, 330). In September 2022, by announcing a shift from partial to potentially full relocation, *La Chacarita* as a 'waiting territory' was reproduced before the territorial inscription could come to an end.

Still, imagining forced relocations as a solution to formalize (environmentally threatened) *asentamientos* may not only lead to a conflictive collision of temporalities, but also a "housing bias" (Najman and Fainstein 2018, 2894) which limits the program to housing access. Furthermore, it could conceal exacerbated experiences of uprooting by the relocation itself which were also witnessed in refugee resettlements (see Ramsay 2017, 100). Social inequalities in *La Chacarita* entailed different anticipations of the future and became more tangible by focusing on waiting as a "lived experience that unfolds in time and as a practice" (Musset and Vidal 2016, 4). All in all, using 'waiting' as an analytical perspective in planned relocation Studies allowed us to unravel the relation between mobility, immobility, temporality and aspirations, which should be explored more profoundly by multi-sited and longitudinal fieldwork in the future.

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