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SOCIO-POLITICAL CRISIS, PANDEMIC, AND PRECARIOUS HOUSING: ¹

HAITIAN TIES IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE? (2019-2021)

CRISIS SOCIOPOLÍTICA, PANDEMIA Y VIVIENDA PRECARIA:
¿ARRAIGO HAITIANO EN SANTIAGO DE CHILE? (2019-2021)

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La lógica del llamado “distanciamiento social” ha puesto en evidencia la vulnerabilidad de los inmigrantes, especialmente de origen haitiano. Frente a ello, a través de una metodología cualitativa, se propuso explorar la relación entre las medidas decretadas ante la pandemia, una crisis político-social que le antecede, el trabajo informal y la vivienda precaria, ya que en estos puntos existen claves para comprender la formación de un hábitat singular, formas de vinculación y constitución de un “nosotros territorializado”, que entrega respuestas al cómo se vive la crisis sanitaria y cómo se redefine el proyecto de vida y la inserción social en Chile, en particular en Santiago. Se trata de una población joven con dificultades para ejercer el derecho a la ciudad dentro de principios de democracia, igualdad y justicia social, quienes son alterizados de manera subalterna, debido al racismo cotidiano e institucional. Esas condiciones tienen efectos en la trayectoria migrante y sus intenciones de arraigo, como también en las tendencias de retorno a los países de origen.

Palabras clave: pandemia, haitianos, incertidumbre, inserción social, vivienda.

The logic of the so-called “social distancing” has highlighted the vulnerability of immigrants, especially those of Haitian origin. Facing this, through qualitative methodology, the relationship between the measures decreed in the face of the pandemic, a political-social crisis that precedes it, informal labor, and precarious housing, is explored, since these points are key to understanding the formation of a unique habitat, ties, and the building of a “territorialized us”, which provides answers to how the health crisis is lived, and how the project of life and social insertion in Chile, particularly in Santiago, is redefined. This is a young population with difficulties to exercise the right to the city within the principles of democracy, equality, and social justice, being cast as second class due to daily and institutional racism. These conditions have effects on the migrant route, their intentions to settle, and the tendency to return to their countries of origin.

Keywords: pandemic, haitians, uncertainty, social insertion, housing.

I. INTRODUCTION

Different crisis contexts tend to increase vulnerability and poverty, as well as to activate mechanisms of intra- and extra-regional mobility or "expulsion" (Sassen, 2015). The displaced, in each new place, must establish socio-spatial strategies so that the system of life survives. Obeying the rules of the market and the State, intra-regional and migrant mobility to Chile has been persistent in recent years, and currently, when new conditions are being added – the social uprising, the pandemic (Covid-19), changes in immigration laws, and the constitutional process –, migrants, attracted by the country's economic and political stability (Aninat and Vergara, 2019), seek a life that allows them to live with dignity (Nussbaum, 2020) and also one where they are acknowledged (Taylor 1993; Thayer, 2016).

1,492,522 foreigners are residing in the country, 8% of the population. Some 750,000 have entered in the last four years (National Institute of Statistics [INE] and Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration [DEM], 2020), transforming the migratory trends towards Central American countries, following the closure of borders in the United States, Canada, and Europe, known as "zero immigration" (Santi Pereyra, 2018). A new South-South reality (Bravo and Norambuena, 2018), redesigns the intra-regional map and that of our country, associated with neighboring countries such as Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina, with non-border collectives from Venezuela, Haiti, and Colombia (INE and DEM 2020). 63.1% of immigrants live in Santiago (INE and DEM 2020). And more specifically, the Haitian population – which arrived between 2014 and 2018 – totals 180,000, with an average age of 32.5.

The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), and countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Argentina, and Chile, made a humanitarian commitment to receive the Haitian population after the devastating earthquake of 2010. With dispersed ideas about Chile, associated with the presence of UN's "blue helmets", Haitians develop reproduction strategies within a neoliberal social, cultural, and economic model (Rodríguez and Gissi, 2020) characterized by a "flexible" and "financialized" economy, which holds each individual responsible for their "own economic actions" (Galaz and Pérez, 2020). This leads to a crisis of citizen credibility and decline in 2019-2020, just as Tironi (2020), among other authors, has pointed out. Consumption and expectations of upward social mobility, sustained by economic growth, disappear in every generation; the institutionality that allowed social cohesion loses its credibility; and the idea of nation, as a common destiny, flounders under inequality.

According to an ethnographic methodological perspective, the theory developed here is that Haitians have become a subordinate, second class population, that in the framework of the economic-sanitary-socio-political crisis, does not reach conditions for well-being and settling, understood using a 6-point matrix: 1) Investments in housing or business; 2) Family life and decision to have children; 3) Job and income satisfaction; 4) Acknowledgment and incorporation; 5) Favorable migration policies; and (6) Perception of political and economic stability. Adverse conditions turn Chilean society into a dystopian place in 2020. Within the framework of these events, two issues whose expectations collide are discussed: the dispute over the right to the city and housing.

II. THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

The country and the city that appear

Haitian-Chilean relations are marked by the absence of an agreement on the validation of university degrees, basic approaches to cultural and linguistic particularities, and prejudices based on "pigmentocracy" (Telles and Martínez, 2019). Afro-descendants experience incorporation difficulties, typical of a neoliberal society. 70% and 75% of the population resort to indebtedness to support their homes (Kremerman, 2021), as a device of institutional, procedural, and tactical governmentality, and financial flow associated with futures (Galaz and Pérez, 2020). In 2020, half of the people who formally worked received a salary equivalent to 420,000 Chilean pesos (USD\$ 525), insufficient for a country with structural shortcomings (housing, health, education, protection, and work), with one of the most unequal economies worldwide (according to the Gini Index) and wage differences of 27 to 1 (Ávila, 2021). Without a guaranteed basic income and labor informality above 30%, it is undoubtedly an "unstable" work framework, one of "poor social security" and with an "imbalance between workers and business people" (Durán, 2021). In 2019, with the social uprising, the principle of normality about the State, the economy, and society is eliminated, revealing the precarious basic security, the denied city, the false idea of self-possession and meritocracy, questioning the public agenda and the institutional capacity to establish an inclusive social contract. The cycle of illusion and motivation enters a phase of discrediting, which leads Haitians to experience a profound sense of letdown regarding their expectations, refocusing their position, and adjusting their view of Chile as a possibility for settling down.

The fragmented metropolitan area of Santiago, where their culture trickles through, is coupled with the mismatch between citizen pressure, institutions, and the elite. The city, understood from the constructions, infrastructure, and the concentration of population, together with the urban sphere, conceived as the practices, mobility, and the routes that structure its cultural shape (Lefebvre, 1978), demonstrate that ordinary integration and accessibility to build, decide, create, and connect one place with others, without giving any explanation on their use (Lefebvre, 1978; Delgado, 2007), are blocked and do not constitute a democratic right, because there is no basic ethics (Delgado, 2007). The city is mercantile and organized from the private (Carrión, 2016) because the public space is a product of value exchange; "it is what remains after defining land uses in housing, commerce, administration, and industry" (Moreno, 2020, p.14). It is not decentralized, polycentric, or multiservice for equality. It does not have functions of mutual help and proximity to inhabit, circulate, work, provide for oneself, take care of oneself, learn, and rest (Moreno, 2020). It avoids the encounter, suppresses the social fabric, reinforces stigmatization, and classifies cultural differences (Lefebvre, 1978). Its taxonomic empire denies the right to the city and the value of use, establishing an identity prison that confines them to their homes, and neighborhoods, and raises awareness of the real conditions of the life they lead and the one they want.

"Sanitary self-care", which is an expression typical of a language of crisis, linked to special powers and containment (De Génova and Álvarez, 2017, p. 158), cannot be concretized in the collective, because society-individual control does not "operate simply by conscience or ideology" (Foucault, 1977, p. 5). Bio-politically, the bodies tried to be relegated and subject to control within the management of the asymmetries of capitalist production of the city, reconceptualizing social relations in an order based on law and, in some cases, reinforcing the figure of the "ethnic enclave" sustained in contacts and support networks (Razmilic, 2019, p. 103).

The exceptional make the migratory irregularity, the substantiated form of coexistence, and the submerged rationality of hierarchical production of otherness, more evident, by outlining 5 simultaneous lines of socio-spatial control and inequality: 1) Economic; 2) Social; 3) Sanitary; 4) Territorial, and, 5) Migratory. The objective of reestablishing the balance resulting from the crises is relativized between communes, neighborhoods, and homes because the imaginary bubble of public policy makes the housing deficit, job insecurity, social protection network, and difficulties of migratory regularization, palpable. The dwellings of the second-class Haitian population, deprived neighborhoods, differences in transport, working conditions, shops, and public space, appear, operating as a system of urban "dykes" that produce a process of differentiated inclusion (Mezzadra,

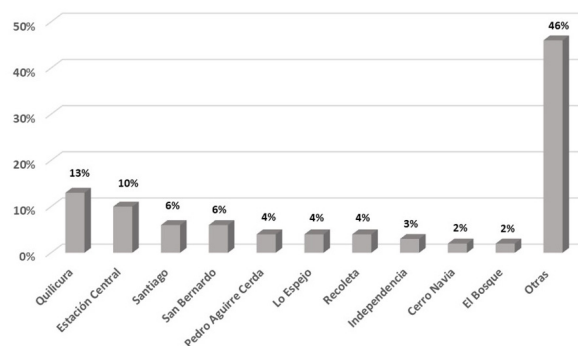


Figure 1. Main communes with a spread of Haitian population in the Metropolitan Region, according to the 2017 Census.
Source: Preparation by the authors.

2012) and that discredit the expectation of rootedness. The relegation into underserved neighborhoods strengthens a legal and social border, which ethnographically and ethnologically highlights a system of insufficient opportunities and a condition that can take years to be changed, demonstrating that migration is a process of "ontological suffering" (Loudior, 2016).

The scarcity of resources for care and the difficulties in accessing food and benefits create, in this way, a theater of exposure for the Haitian immigrant, and a semantic field that oscillates between racialization and aporophobia. Many of them, even without their immigration status regularized, and having to take to the streets and practice informal trade, ended up challenging the rule of law, because they realized that they could not request help or access rights (Suárez-Navaz, 2007). In this way, they unveiled a false administrative premise: the fetishism of roles only establishes a first border that operationalizes inclusion and filtering devices. Then, "up-to-date" or valid papers do not make them a legal subject, because their use is as violent as when their entry to the country is denied. Discretion in the selection of persons and immigration regularization does not mean full recognition of rights. The stigma of transgressors in the use of space in full crisis, dislodges their social being (Tijoux, 2016), deepening the pigmentocratic otherness, since the binomial of power and right, as the prerogative of the sovereign, made the conflict between groups and differentiated bloodlines in the control and use of territory, visible (Stang, Lara, and Andrade, 2020).

The "legal" (immigration laws) and "mental" (discrimination and segregation) limitations leave their lives in a liquid metaphor of citizenship, perhaps outside the line of Being. They relocate the migratory imaginary to the right to the city, housing, job loss and to make their businesses grow.

As suppliers and consumers, they take refuge in what Mezzadra (2012) calls “autonomy of migrations” or lines of flight, since the control of the body and existence express subjectivity, movement, grammar, the invention of practices, strategies, and tactics with spatial effects (Álvarez, 2019). In communes such as Estación Central, El Bosque, Quilicura, Independencia, and Recoleta, Haitian migrants appropriate the space and spread their practices onto the streets (Figure 1): From their cultural profiles, they cook, sell food, fruit, toiletries, fake branded and sports clothing; they become media subjects. They build houses on vacant lots, violating surveillance and local violence when needing to get food and shelter. As such, receiving immigrants or regulating immigration is not synonymous with the behavior expected (Nussbaum, 2020) by the authorities and citizens.

III. METHODOLOGY

The methodology is based on regular and systematic fieldwork, performed between 2018 and 2021, in central and pericentral communes of the capital, namely Santiago, Estación Central, Recoleta, and Independencia, as well as on the outskirts of the city, in Quilicura and El Bosque. Ethnographic participant observation and in-depth interviews were made with 40 female and male Haitian migrants, who, at the time, had between two and five years of residence in the country, and were between 21 and 53 years of age, although the predominant age was between 26 and 35 years. The participants had settled during the last decade in habitats where new forms of occupation of public space, social interaction, and segregation are developed, due to neo-colonization and ethno-differentiation, the result of forming networks by kinship and friendship. In the interviews, they told why they decided to emigrate to Chile, how they came, what the experience was like, how they chose their places of residence, what the possibilities of access to housing have been, and they described their movement around the city, and which events have been positive, negative, or strange in their lives, particularly regarding economic-labor aspects and interactions from a cultural and spatial perspective.

The content was analyzed through a thematic mesh created from the interview guideline. The coding was done alongside the categorization, including emerging categories. Finally, the Atlas-ti 7.0 software was used to visualize patterns and disseminate the results. A technical registration form was built which is in the hands of the research team, following the corresponding bioethical safeguards, with an identification criterion by age, gender, profession or trade, and time of entry into the country. The

production of primary data, together with the observation processes in places of high concentration and mobility, was complemented by a search for information in state databases, the National Statistics Institute (INE, 2019), the Socio-Economic Characterization Survey (CASEN, 2017 and 2019), the 2017 Census (INE, 2018), and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration (DEM), of the Ministry of Interior and Public Security, as well as INE and DEM (2020).

IV. RESULTS

This section presents some of the results obtained after applying the interviews and observation. For the migrants interviewed, the decision to travel is onerous and involves almost a year of savings. Visits are not contemplated, communication is indirect, via digital media, and most send remittances (US\$ 60 per month). All of this does not exclude - in some - the desire to return, even temporarily; or, if given the chance, to activate family networks in key countries such as Canada, the United States, and France. The testimonies confirm this interest that oscillates between staying in Chile, leaving for another country, or returning to Haiti. For example, Antoine (28 years old) points out: “I would like to be able to get a visa and stay in Chile, but the papers are slow ... and you have to find a good job”. For his part, Orel (26) expresses his frustration: “No, I have not been able to travel back. No one has been able to come, because they don’t have enough money.” Meanwhile, Elián (28), in 2018, adds: “I would love to stay in Chile, I am quite stable. I would like to return to my country, but for vacation. I would also like to spend a few months in Haiti before settling definitely in Chile”. Berson (28) meditates about his income: “I can’t live on this... I have my dreams. I have to go to my uncles and cousins, who are in Brazil, Canada, France, and the United States.”

The issue of “visas” or “papers fetishism” is an unresolved problem that lengthens adversity. In this sense, Baptiste (28 years old) states: “The Foreign Office takes a long time to give the papers, without papers there is no job. No company hires undocumented people... We came to work”. And Philippe (26 years old) adds: “I expected something else... it’s not even half of what we were told.”

The trend is also seen in the words of André (26):

I’m on a temporary stay visa... I wanted to process the definitive visa, but with the current issue (social uprising) it’s become more complicated. It hasn’t had a strong enough impact in the short term, but

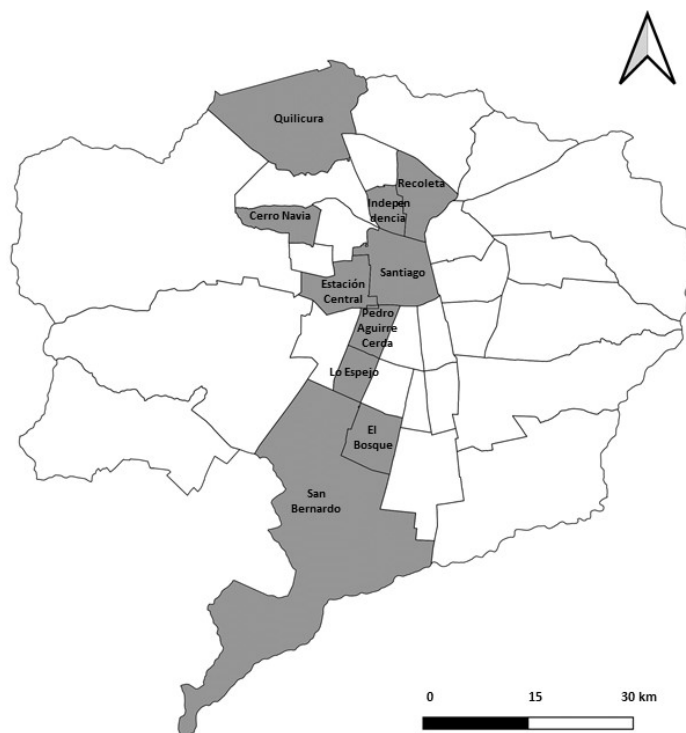


Figura 2. Main communes where the Haitian population lives in Santiago, according to the 2017 Census.
Source: Preparation by the authors.

I hope to solve it so that I can stay here so that in the future, my 5-month-old son can study. The process has been long and sometimes a little tedious because there are people who do not have patience when you don't understand what they say, because they speak very fast.

And in those of Antoine: "I would improve the time's processes take so that there aren't so many lines. Everything is slow, a piece of paper is always missing... and you have to work to eat."

These testimonies express two perspectives: on one hand, a feeling of faith, that through migratory regulation everything will change, and that there is upward social mobility in the country. On the other hand, the perception of limitations that negate their human rights and the perspective of social mobility predominates. Being "undocumented" defines a distancing from health institutions and a horizon of informality at work, which translates into multidimensional precariousness. "Working in whatever comes" limits and makes personal income and the family unit unstable, and essentially does not allow proving income, entering formal

circuits of consumption, credit, access to rented or own housing, and penetrating other spaces of the city. The lack of educational qualifications - because only 15% of these migrants have higher education (Razmilic, 2019, p. 119)-, the limited recognition of it when they do have it, the lower social capital (support networks), the relationship between documentation, recognition, and low income, forces them to develop the "lines of flight" and being informal workers. They gain the right to the city, but they limit the possibilities of organizing the life project on the aspect of housing within the neoliberal regime.

Housing becomes the most critical element within the migratory imaginary of settling. It is rented and is usually located in communes with downtrodden neighborhoods (Figure 2).

The following testimony raises the issue of housing as a critical problem:

Over there [in Haiti] we lived more comfortably, so to speak... Here almost all the salary goes, I can almost say that the money is paid for a house and we

couldn't find a [home]. The money he [my father] made wasn't enough for us to rent a good house. Here, one has a base salary of 301,000 pesos, now that they raised it, but a house is worth 400... and if the base salary is 301, then it's like a thing that doesn't make sense, like one doesn't find a better life. One arrives here [to Chile], and realizes that it's different: Your base salary is worth less than [the rent of] a house. Without a house, you're not living. We had to be living in rooms and over there one had an entire house... one arrives and is living in one room... everything was horrible. When I arrived, at first, I wanted to return and my father did not let us. He told us that we're already here and we have to start from scratch. (Eduard, 26 years old)

In this context, Jonnás (26 years old), a janitor at a school in the commune of El Bosque, explains:

I send pictures to my dad, who is a farmer. I show him the house, the neighborhood where I live with my sister, my brother-in-law, and my nephew, and he can't believe me. Everything is so ugly... it's poor there, but it looks the same, there's a style... My dad tells me: 'That house is going to collapse, how can you live there?' That's what it's like to live here, in these neighborhoods. We could pay for a good house among several, but who gives us credit for what we earn? How many salaries would we have to invest to pay the deposit?

V. DISCUSSION

Access to housing for Haitians

Field records, press reports, and academic reports (Jesuit Migrant Service [SJM] and TECHO-Chile Foundation, 2020) show that housing is, indeed, a critical issue for Haitians and also for many Chileans because its value has grown at an annual rate of 6%, and the economy only at an average rate of 2.1% (El Mercurio, March 18, 2021: A3). Already in 2015, the International Organization for Migration [IOM] pointed out that 85% of Haitians paid rent, 12% paid mortgages, and 2% owned a home. The CASEN 2017 Survey (SJM and Fundación TECHO-Chile, 2020) shows the constant: 39% rent with a contract and 55.7% without it, and only 1.8% had their own house. In addition, there is a national deficit of over 500,000 homes, which mainly affects immigrants who are 5% of the heads of household, and 61% of the total live together with other people, out of which 47% are Haitians. 23% of them are in a state of overcrowding (SJM,

TECHO-Chile Foundation, 2020). It should be mentioned that there are no special housing programs for Haitians, according to the UNASUR agreement. The rental price keeps them from choosing where to live, forcing them to live in a room of 2x2m or 2x3m, as the owners tend to exercise the presumption of insolvency to them, by not having valid papers or work contracts.

As evidenced by the social production and reproduction of the capitalist space (Harvey, 2004), when supply is restricted and the conditions offered are precarious, the content of time and associated labor is a difficult cycle to break. The salaries indicated above and the difficulties of migratory regularization, make housing impossible in the Haitian world. Many of these migrants are faced with abusive rental cycles between private parties, or outright rejection. This is how Luz, a subletter of rooms in the Recoleta commune, outlines it: "I don't accept Peruvians here, because they have bad habits. I don't accept Haitians, because they are dirty."

The residential path shows them, in terms of communication, as "*ethnic zoos*", "remote and backward" (Delgado, 2007, p.195). Their living is characterized by a lack of protection, between what is "offered" and what "can be paid", configuring an isotopic grouping pattern from networks of low social capital, with overcrowding in tenements, *cites*, shanty towns, and old half-collapsed and subdivided houses where they endure in inhumane conditions. They are located in central and pericentral spaces that mark their residential and work circuits since many men begin their working life as assistants in the two open markets the capital has: Lo Valledor and La Vega. Their days run between 5 am and 3 pm. They participate as "*peonetas*" (helpers in trucks), loaders, or by "pulling carts" with horticultural produce, or they set up shop in surrounding streets, especially women, selling meals along public roads (Bravo, 2020). Women usually enter jobs in industrial cleaning companies, and the men who arrived in the country in 2014 and 2015, and who already mastered Spanish, after washing vehicles, gain access to jobs as supermarket shelf-stackers, in hardware stores, warehouses, construction, and as gas station attendants, for about 20 dollars a day, which for some is more advantageous compared to those who have arrived more recently.

The landscape configures a residential collective of precarious housing, with strong internal homogeneity, no social interaction with other groups, and limited movement in the city. The owners have no responsibilities in the care. Up to 8 rooms are built within 65 or 70 meters. They are labyrinthine, dark, and interconnected, with long corridors and no natural light. They house rows of 2x2- or 2x3-meter rooms.

All with shared bathrooms and without hot water, a common kitchen, irregular electrical connections, and full clotheslines. There are 30 and up to 50 families who live in old mansions from the middle of the last century, old tenements, reconditioned sheds, and workshops of all kinds. The environment where helplessness circulates is one and multiple. The space represents residential segregation. It is not functional. It is cold, uncomfortable, and lacks privacy. The informality and the ordering of the space represented by this description, conceptually removed from traditional working-class areas, constitutes a form of production of the city, typical of a downward spiral of ruin and exclusion, apparently unstoppable.

Adversity has led other migrants to opt for the illegal occupation of land, in suburbs that spread their fatalism and impossibility of giving shape to their desire to have a home that sustains their life project and roots. The pattern is the same - rooms of 2x2 or 2x3-, where 4 people live. Inside are the rooms full of shadows, anonymous beds, stacked clothes, a stove, and a refrigerator among the luckiest; a bathroom and a collective shower lined with hipped boards, irregular electrical and drinking water connections. Panels, sheets, construction materials, buckets of water, nylon-covered roofs, and campfires that burn like candles of hope, are shaping a Haitian island. Scattered children and starving dogs complete the ethnographic landscape. There, just waiting for days to go by, they are swallowed by the vortex of being out of work. It is the place where, in the daily struggle, youth is lost and faith is spent, where the most inalienable of rights are lost, and above all, where one no longer wants to be.

In short, they face a precarious system of opportunities and difficult social mobility before the State, the market, and society. "I would like to stay in Chile, stop renting, and for my son to grow up and receive a good education in a good school. I need to have my papers up to date and have the financial capacity to pay for my house and school," Duma (29 years old) points out on purpose. Mariele (26), a language facilitator, endorses this:

I would like to live in my own house, comfortably, work in my profession, give my son a good education, have my income, and not depend on anyone. You know? And to have a set schedule that depends on me, that does not depend on anyone else... That's how I'd like to be, but for that, you have to start somewhere: a job and your own house.

The first Haitians to arrive got jobs that generated positive expectations, which implied certain sociability and social integration, helping to reinforce the myth of

Chile through their phones. They also had a kindergarten for their children and health coverage. Over time, they realized that formal employment opportunities require not only migratory regularization, but also specialization, training, and higher qualifications; and that structural informality predominates as a more or less permanent feature, which comes from "cheap, available, trafficable labor and covers everything" (Tijoux and Córdova, 2015, p. 8). Likewise, an awareness is developed that housing represents a necessary place for stability, that gives meaning to rootedness and develops fundamental psychological needs. It constitutes an intimate space, claimed to establish relationships between objects, people, and places. It is not only the shelter but also a discursive aspect that articulates the imaginary of a good life in Chile.

The bifurcation of the desire for decent housing and the one described reveal that, in the contingency, it does not constitute an adequate space of confinement for viral protection and, in structural terms, it is not suitable for settling in either. On the contrary, it highlights the need to build an inclusive city, a neighborhood, but also to resort to a reconsideration of housing, the right to it, and the connection with an organic public space that promotes integration and circulation. Until now, metaphorically, Haitian immigrants live in a place where the streets are closed because there is no city like a common good.

"I send my dad pictures, and he can't believe it... he thinks they're going to collapse... they're so ugly." The words of Jonnás (26 years old) embody here those of Georges Perec (2020, p. 136): "the uninhabitable" corresponds to "the architecture of contempt...[to] the reduced, the unbreathable, the small, the petty... the hostile, the gray, the anonymous". Therefore, housing is a classifying entity regarding who one is and what one can aspire to as an immigrant, and it must be understood as the product of a political economy based on asymmetry. It is insufficient just to talk about the difference or the otherness of immigrants. What is important is how the difference is built and how it is consolidated from different devices.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The lack of opportunities, recognition, the economic recession, the limitations to develop their businesses in the pandemic, and access to jobs with protection, weakened the expectations of Haitian immigrants about settling. They also speak of a dystopian Chile. They ran out of money to finance the rent and to guarantee sustenance and food, outlining re-emigration as a possibility and as an action. The vindication of the street

corresponds to a sign of singular political subjectivation, as the transgression of the devices allows them to detach themselves from their altered identity, even when it is insufficient because there is a long way to ensure the “right to the city” as a heterotopic co-production. Being subjects is a struggle against conditions that reproduce the dichotomous epistemology of modernity, and demands clarity on how they are produced structurally and subjectively in their material signs and conditions. Their segregation occurs in the face of the denial of human rights to people who, by migrating, are inscribed in the circulating drift of dehumanization. The relationship between neoliberal capitalism and the bodies it denies and exploits becomes evident, as well as the perpetual “bettering themselves, from the non-place or extraterritoriality and the suspended temporality in which the uprooted find themselves” (Loudior 2016, p.36). An economy that outlawed the independence of the real is now cracking in the interstices of its own systemic creation: through the virus and protest, a passage from precariousness to dispensability is configured. A symbolic defeat of Chilean neoliberalism.

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