

Navigating borderlands: Mapping violence, endurance, and joy with Colombian migrant women in Chile

Dr Megan Ryburn

British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow
Latin America and Caribbean Centre
London School of Economics

In what follows, I set out some early commentary on a four-year research project (2018-2022) with Colombian migrant women in Antofagasta, Chile.

Yasmin¹ maps me a chilling cartography of her home. There is a sick knot in my stomach as she indicates the places where her partner abused her. The crack in the fiberboard wall of her bedroom where he slammed her against it with his hand around her neck. The glass panels of the sideboard she bought before she met him, methodically smashed out. The washing machine, also bought with her own money, heavily dented by his steel-capped boots.

Yasmin situates these brutal elevation points within a much wider topography of violence. Its contour lines are the machismo she says she has internalized for much of her life in Colombia and Chile. And the fear of reprisal that she identifies with having lived in close proximity to armed conflict in Colombia. This fear, she says, makes one *agachar la cabeza* (keep one's head down), afraid to speak up. It is a fear she identifies too in Chilean *campamento* (informal settlement) dwellers who lived through the Pinochet dictatorship. Yet Yasmin maps me this not so I can pity her, nor to imply that the multiple violences she has experienced are innate to Colombia or Chile. Rather, she wishes me to understand what it is to have *luchado* (struggled/fought) to create her own countertopography of endurance and joy.

She moved to Antofagasta, Chile from Cali, Colombia in 2012. She lived in a cramped room in shared housing before moving to her Chilean partner's house in a low-income neighbourhood. When their first child was one month old, they were evicted by their landlord at short notice. Unable to find other accommodation within their price range in the neighbourhood, Yasmin pushed her daughter in her pram up and down the dusty roads of the neighboring *campamento*, asking the *vecinos* (neighbours) if there was a plot of land available on which to build. She eventually found one.

Covered in rubbish and isolated from the other self-built houses, it did not look promising. But determined to make the best of it, Yasmin drew a house design, basing it on her home in Colombia. A Colombian builder friend managed the construction for her. Up a few steps, the front door opens onto a square living room, where two sofas face one another. Adorning the walls, most of which are bare fiberboard but one of which is painted lilac, are family photos, mosaicked mirrors, and a triptych of photo prints of African women in beaded, colorful clothing. A bedroom opens off the right of the living room. Up a further small flight of steps, the kitchen is to the left. It has an electric oven, a microwave, and a hot plate. There are two more bedrooms, both spacious, behind the kitchen off the hall. At the back of the house is a large bathroom with a cold-water shower, sink and toilet.

Yasmin is proud of the home she built. Over time, more families came and built nearby. A new *micro-campamento* was formed, of which she became a community leader. As she grew

in confidence, she demanded that her partner leave. He is no longer in her life and does not have contact with their two children. ‘Bueno, ahora somos una familia de tres’ (*Well, now we are a family of three*), she says.

Some of this she tells me as we prepare for a Mother’s Day celebration in the *campamento* community center in May 2019. A Chilean *vecina* is sitting on Yasmin’s bed while Yasmin braids her hair and applies make-up. The *vecina* has recently left an abusive relationship and Yasmin has been a great support to her, as have the workshops on feminism run by *campamento* leaders in which both participate. The Mother’s Day celebration is an important opportunity to celebrate all they have achieved, and they explain how they feel empowered by getting dressed up to attend.

We walk down to the community center together, joining up with other women along the way. We arrive to find it decorated with red and white streamers, balloons, and signs declaring ‘Feliz Día Mamá’. There are chairs and tables arranged in a horseshoe around the edge of the room. A group of men are cooking outside on the grill and inside huayno, tinkus, and cumbia play loudly on the stereo. The thirty or so women—Chilean, Peruvian, Bolivian, and Colombian—chat and take photos together. As we eat the barbeque and salads, a Bolivian group dance a popular carnival dance. Following the dinner and dancing, there are brief speeches, all of which refer to the women present as ‘luchadoras’.

When she marked the places where her partner had assaulted her, Yasmin connected sites on her body to sites in her home to sites of armed conflict in Colombia, dictatorship in Chile, and transnational machismo. Likewise, when she spoke of how she had endured and found joy, she connected practices of bodily self-care with constructing and making beautiful her home, linking these with broader narratives of feminism, as well as transnational migrant, and sometimes diasporic African, thriving and resilience. How Yasmin chose to tell her story was consistent with the life story mapping engaged by the other Colombian migrant women who have participated in this four-year research project (2018-2022), which is based on a combination of multi-sited ethnography and co-produced arts-based methods. In telling their stories, they conveyed a fluid, mutually constitutive integration between body, home, nation-state, and beyond.

This is a perspective I seek to reflect in developing the concept of ‘navigating borderlands’. Led by participants’ ways of interpreting their stories, I also build on the Latin American decolonial feminist epistemology-ontology of *cuerpo-territorio* and Anglophone feminist geographers’ work on migration and borderlands. I explore how an imagined borderland with material effects stretches from the Pacific Coast region in Colombia to Antofagasta in Chile’s Atacama Desert. Its violent topography has been sedimented through layers of everyday interactions over time. Through their navigations of this hostile terrain, however, the women in this research create a new countertopography² of endurance and of joy. Their navigation practices are focused on a need to *aguantar* (endure/cope/hold on), which, while not necessarily resistance per se, signals resilience and can be a form of defiance. They are also motivated by a profound desire to thrive and find joy.

The women whose migrations we map in the project have come from the Pacific Region of Colombia to Antofagasta in the last decade, as have nearly 80 per cent of the 63,000 migrants who live in the desert city of 388,500.³ While Antofagasta has a larger percentage of foreign-born population than most regions in Chile, the city's migration boom reflects national trends,⁴ characterized by an exponential increase in migration. In the early 1990s, there were just under 115,000 international migrants in Chile.⁵ Today, there are over 1.25 million migrants in the country, which has a total population of 17.5 million.⁶ Over 90 per cent of migrants to Chile come from elsewhere in Latin America, and migration flows are dynamic and in rapid flux. Venezuelans are now the largest migrant group by nationality (23 per cent), followed by Peruvians (17.9 per cent), Haitians (14.3 per cent), and Colombians (11.7 per cent), but until 2017, Colombians were the second largest group by nationality.⁷

There are approximately 4.5 million Colombians living outside Colombia, which has a population of 48 million.⁸ Whilst their reasons for migrating are mixed, many have been compelled to leave due to the armed conflict and its complex repercussions.⁹ Most Colombians in Antofagasta come from the Pacific Coast region of Colombia, and particularly the Valle del Cauca department, which has experienced high levels of violence in the past decade, despite the signing of the Colombian peace agreement in 2016.¹⁰ Migration flows to Antofagasta are feminized and a high proportion of this population is Afro-Colombian.¹¹ The majority of women I worked with on this project identify, like Yasmin, as Afro-Colombian, although some identify as mestiza.

As well as drawing strongly on how women represent their own stories, I am indebted to intersectional and decolonial feminist scholarship on the production of violence and resistance across space-time, and on migration and borderlands. In particular, I found that participants' ways of narrating and seeing reflected the epistemology-ontology of *territorio cuerpo-tierra* (body-land territory¹²) developed by Maya-Xinka communitarian feminist Lorena Cabnal out of the praxis of the Maya and Xinka women's organization AMISMAXAJ (Asociación de Mujeres Indígenas de Santa María Xalapán, Jalapa, Guatemala) and the Bolivian Grupo Comunitario Mujeres Creando Comunidad. *Territorio cuerpo-tierra* centers the relationship between body and land in its approach to patriarchal oppression and resistance. As Cabnal writes, 'Las violencias históricas y opresivas existen tanto para mi primer territorio cuerpo, como también para mi territorio histórico, la tierra'¹³ (*Historic and oppressive violences exist as much for my first-territory body as they do for my historic-territory, the land*).¹⁴ The recovery and defense of one thereby necessitates the recovery and defense of the other.¹⁵ Any recovery and defense is predicated upon a historical-structural analysis that interrogates patriarchal oppressions 'ante la colonia, durante la colonia, y luego los efectos ... que se siguen teniendo' (*before colonization, during colonization, and then the effects ... that they continue to have*).¹⁶

Territorio cuerpo-tierra, or *cuerpo-territorio* (body-territory)¹⁷ as it is frequently termed, has become an important thread within Latin American decolonial feminist activism and scholarship, both on the continent and in the diaspora.¹⁸ Cabnal welcomes the interweaving of *territorio cuerpo-tierra* with other critical feminist approaches, indigenous and non-indigenous.¹⁹ Both Delmy Cruz Hernández and the Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo point to the intersections between *cuerpo-territorio* and work on space, power, gender and race by Anglophone feminist geographers such as Doreen Massey and Linda McDowell.²⁰ Sara Zaragocin and Martina Carretta expand upon this, finding a meeting

point between Anglophone feminist geography and decolonial Latin American feminist epistemologies in their joint emphasis on embodiment. It is '[b]y connecting the body and home, often considered private and small scale to the issues of the nation and geopolitics, [that] feminist geographers consistently and deliberately subvert engrained understandings of what is politically important in geography and bring to the forefront the scale of the body.'²¹

Anglophone feminist geographers' perspectives on migration and on borderlands coalesce in their centering of the embodied and visceral.²² In migration studies, it is now commonplace to think in terms of how migrants live their lives across 'transnational social spaces'. Transnational social spaces describe the dense, border-spanning, multilayered arenas that are formed and re-formed through interactions between (groups of) migrants, states and their actors, as well as non-state actors such as NGOs, and international organizations.²³ Feminist migration scholars have brought attention to the ways in which gender, race, class, sexuality and other social identities condition how migrants are able to move within, and manipulate, transnational social spaces.²⁴ This highlights migrants' agency but also how their movements are controlled and constrained because of the ways their bodies are read and categorized.

Implicit within this approach, but not always made salient, is recognition of the structural violence²⁵ that leads certain migrants' bodies to be read, categorized, and acted upon in certain ways. Those who are most affected by structural violence are also those most likely to be harmed by direct violence.²⁶ Increasingly, feminist geographers such as Caroline Faria and Cathy McIlwaine are documenting and theorizing the ways in which structural and direct violence impact migrants' lives across transnational social spaces and at multiple scales from the body to the nation-state.²⁷ This chimes with feminist geographers' contributions to borderland studies, where violence has often been more overtly acknowledged.

Gloria Anzaldúa's 1987 *Borderlands/La Frontera*, where she writes the border as an open wound, is a touchstone for decolonial feminist articulations of borderlands.²⁸ Such articulations vividly capture the structural violence of mobility regimes, and how those against whom these regimes discriminate the most also face the highest levels of direct violence. Within this work, feminist geographers have made key contributions to considering how borders and borderlands 'refract geohistorically specific social cleavages and power relations.'²⁹ Melissa Wright's research in the context of high levels of violence against women and girls, including femicide, in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico is emblematic.³⁰ This, and other recent feminist borderland research,³¹ takes a multi-scalar approach to analyzing borderland spaces, and addresses how border violence is inscribed, resisted and transformed on and through the body.

I weave together these strands of feminist migration and borderlands scholarship in my analysis of how a topography of violence, reaching from Colombia to Chile, is created through everyday interactions. I am cognizant, however, of Anglophone feminist geography's tendency to epistemologically and methodologically privilege a 'Western ontological understanding of the body and the environment as two,' in the words of Zaragocin and Carretta.³² Therefore, in this research and writing, I engage with *cuerpo-territorio* as a way of knowing and being, adapting it to reflect more specifically the epistemologies and ontologies of the women whose stories I share. I use *cuerpo-territorio* to try and push beyond the idea of hierarchical scales of body-home-nation-state. Rather, the borderland is comprised of all of these simultaneously; its violent topography is created and inscribed on and through the body and the land at once.

This violent topography is navigated daily by the women who contributed to this research. In thinking about their navigations, I build on anthropologist Henrik Vigh's work. He defines navigation as 'an analytical optic which allows us to focus on how people move and manage within situations of social flux and change,' particularly when those situations are violent and unpredictable.³³ It draws attention to how, 'no matter what the level of power, we are never completely free to move as we want ... we move in relation to the push and pulls, influence and imperatives, of social forces.'³⁴ Vigh positions navigation as a corrective to how "'the spatial turn" (Sheller and Urry 2006) in anthropology has been guided by a geographical fallacy, namely the idea of social space as similar to terrestrial landscapes, as solidified surfaces of enactment."³⁵

I argue,³⁶ however, that this is a misinterpretation of a geographical perspective on social space. Vigh's idea of what he terms 'social environment' (the shifting milieu through which actors move) is, in fact, very similar to social space as it is understood in geography. Social space is fluid, changing, and three-dimensional; a 'product of interrelations', in the words of Doreen Massey. There is a 'power geometry' to these interrelations that shapes each individual's social location within the space and the subsequent extent to which they can maneuver.³⁷ Vigh's navigation, therefore, actually works in tandem with, rather than against, a geographical perspective on social space. It is just such a perspective on social space that undergirds the contributions by feminist geographers to migration and borderland studies discussed above. In melding these with *cuerpo-territorio* and challenging a Western ontological perspective of the body and land as two separate scales, I further emphasize the fluid, multidimensional production of the violent topography of the borderland space.

Whilst it may not offer a new perspective on space, the optic of navigation does offer insight into *how* actors negotiate movement through the rapidly morphing borderland. Vigh captures the dexterity and alertness with which those in situations of chronic instability must respond to the changing dynamics that surround them. Navigation sharpens focus on how, in such situations, rapid decisions must be taken based both on current circumstances and on future aspirations.³⁸ This allows for recognition of the agency and ability of those who are marginalized in negotiating unpredictable presents and futures, whilst avoiding sweeping categorization of their attempts to do so under the umbrella of 'resistance'.³⁹

Such a perspective reveals women's agency and ability in their daily navigations of a violent borderland. Their navigations are centered on the need to *aguantar* but also to find and celebrate moments of joy. These terms recurred repeatedly throughout the research. Although I examine specific navigation practices aimed at *aguantando* and centred on joy, I also go beyond thinking solely in terms of discrete moments of navigation to suggest that, over time, these navigations can accumulate to create new a new countertopography. In my use of countertopography, I draw on Caroline Faria and Alison Mountz, who have brought Cindi Katz's concept into studies of migration and borderlands.⁴⁰ In Katz's words, producing a countertopography involves delineating analytical contour lines that 'represent not elevation but particular relations to a process.'⁴¹ It is a critical, feminist approach that offers us, as Mountz writes, 'important theoretical routes across racialized and gendered colonial terrain.'⁴² In my adaptation of this approach, I show how women's navigations of a violent borderland topography can be mapped to reveal alternative contour lines of endurance and of joy.

¹ All names of migrant women are pseudonyms. Identifying features of the locations of their homes or workplaces are also anonymised.

² Cindi Katz, “On the Grounds of Globalization: A Topography for Feminist Political Engagement,” *Signs* 26, no. 4 (2001): 1213–34; Cindi Katz, “Splanetary Urbanization,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 45, no. 4 (2021): 597–611.

³ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, “Características de La Inmigración Internacional En Chile, Censo 2017” (Santiago, 2018), 71.

⁴ The region of Tarapaca has a foreign-born population of 13.7%, followed by Antofagasta with 11%, Arica and Parinacota with 8% and the Metropolitan Region (including Santiago) with 7%. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, 20.

⁵ CASEN, “Inmigrantes: Principales Resultados (Versión Extendida)” (Santiago: Ministerio del Desarrollo Social, 2015).

⁶ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas and Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, “Estimación de Personas Extranjeras Residentes En Chile al 31 de Diciembre 2018” (Santiago, 2019).

⁷ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas and Departamento de Extranjería y Migración; Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, “Características de La Inmigración Internacional En Chile, Censo 2017.”

⁸ Organización Internacional para las Migraciones, *Perfil migratorio de Colombia 2012* (Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM-Misión Colombia), 2016),

<http://repositoryoim.org/handle/20.500.11788/222>; Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, “Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2018,” 2018, <https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/censo-nacional-de-poblacion-y-vivienda-2018>.

⁹ Anastasia Bermudez, *International Migration, Transnational Politics and Conflict: The Gendered Experiences of Colombian Migrants in Europe*, Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

¹⁰ María Margarita Echeverri B, “Otrredad racializada en la migración forzada de afrocolombianos a Antofagasta (Chile),” *Nómadas*, no. 45 (2018): 91–103.

¹¹ Regarding the feminization of migration see Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas and Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, “Estimación de Personas Extranjeras Residentes En Chile al 31 de Diciembre 2018,” 44. It is not possible to give an exact figure as “afro-descendent” is not currently an ethnic category option in the Chilean census or official household surveys.

¹² Note that ‘tierra’ means both land and earth in Spanish. I have chosen to translate it as ‘land’ because of the resonance that this has with what are often termed ‘indigenous land struggles’ in English. I recognise, however, that this is an imperfect translation that loses the double meaning of the word in Spanish and potentially privileges a colonial concept of land as possession. Note too, of course, that both English and Spanish are languages of the coloniser.

¹³ Lorena Cabnal, “Acercamiento a La Construcción de La Propuesta de Pensamiento Epistémico de Las Mujeres Indígenas Feministas Comunitarias de Abya Yala,” in *Feminismos Diversos: El Feminismo Comunitario* (Madrid: Acsur Las Segovias, 2010), 23.

¹⁴ Cabnal explains that this approach emerged in the context of strengthening the peace accords in Guatemala following the civil war, and in the process reflecting on the genocidal violence committed against indigenous peoples and the simultaneous expropriation of their lands. CISCOSA Ciudades Feministas, *Lorena Cabnal - Red de Sanadoras Ancestrales Del Feminismo Comunitario Territorial* (2019), accessed August 2, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4frGU4qOnpU&t=908s>.

¹⁵ Cabnal, “Acercamiento a La Construcción,” 23.

¹⁶ CISCOSA Ciudades Feministas, *Lorena Cabnal*.

¹⁷ In an overlapping process, other decolonial feminist activists, scholars, and collectives in Latin America—particularly the Colectivo Miradas Críticas del Territorio desde el Feminismo—have developed the concept of *cuerpo-territorio* (body-territory), in which, in the words of Delmy Cruz Hernández, ‘el cuerpo visto como territorio es en sí mismo un espacio’ (the body seen as territory is in itself a space). Delmy Tania Cruz Hernández, “Una Mirada Muy Otra a Los Territorios-Cuerpos Femeninos,” *Solar* 12, no. 1 (2016): 35–46. Sara Zaragocin and Martina Carretta further explain, ‘cuerpo-territorio evolves with the central claim that there is no ontological difference between territory and the body. Hence, what is done to the body is done to the territory and vice versa.’ Sofia Zaragocin and Martina Angela Caretta, “Cuerpo-Territorio: A Decolonial Feminist Geographical Method for the Study of Embodiment,” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, October 16, 2020, 1508.

¹⁸ 10/25/2022 1:05:00 PM

¹⁹ Cabnal, “Acercamiento a La Construcción” 25.

²⁰ See, respectively: Cruz Hernández, “Una Mirada Muy Otra a Los Territorios-Cuerpos Femeninos,” 39–40; Colectivo Miradas Críticas, *Mapeando El Cuerpo-Territorio*, 17.

²¹ Zaragocin and Caretta, “Cuerpo-Territorio,” 1506.

²² This shared focus overcomes what Joris Schapendonk and colleagues term the ‘sometimes puzzling separation’ between migration studies and border studies. Joris Schapendonk et al., “Re-Routing Migration Geographies: Migrants, Trajectories and Mobility Regimes,” *Geoforum* 116 (November 1, 2020): 212.

²³ Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky, “Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 33, no. 1 (August 2007): 129–56; See also, for example, Thomas Faist, “Transnational Social Spaces out of International Migration: Evolution, Significance and Future Prospects,” *European Journal of Sociology* 39, no. 2 (November 1998): 213–47; Lucy Jackson, “Experiencing Exclusion and Reacting to Stereotypes? Navigating Borders of the Migrant Body,” *Area* 48, no. 3 (2016): 292–99.

²⁴ F. Anthias, “Transnational Mobilities, Migration Research and Intersectionality,” *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2, no. 2 (June 2012): 102–10; Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar, “Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces,” *Identities* 7, no. 4 (January 2001): 441–59; Cathy McIlwaine, “Migrant Machismos: Exploring Gender Ideologies and Practices among Latin American Migrants in London from a Multi-Scalar Perspective,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 17, no. 3 (June 2010): 281–300; Bandana Purkayastha, “Intersectionality in a Transnational World,” *Gender & Society* 26, no. 1 (February 1, 2012): 55–66.

²⁵ Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–91. Note that Galtung uses “structural” and “indirect” and “personal” and “direct” violence fairly interchangeably. I have chosen to use “structural” and “direct” as I consider them to be the terms that best reflect the types of violence to which I am referring. Structural violence refers to structural discrimination such as racism, sexism, and classism and the impacts that this has in people’s everyday lives, which cannot necessarily be attributed to individual actors. Direct violence refers to individually attributable person-to-person violence. The two are often inextricably linked.

²⁶ Sara E Davies and Jacqui True, “Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back In,” *Security Dialogue* 46, no. 6 (December 1, 2015): 495–512.

²⁷ See, respectively: Caroline Faria, “Towards a Countertopography of Intimate War: Contouring Violence and Resistance in a South Sudanese Diaspora,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 4 (2017): 575–93; Cathy McIlwaine, “Memories of Violence against Women and Girls across Borders: Transformative Gender Justice through the Arts among Brazilian Women Migrants in London,” in Jelke Boesten and Helen Scanlon (eds.) *Gender, Transitional Justice and Memorial Arts: Global Perspectives on Commemoration and Mobilization*, (London, Routledge, 2021), 211–29.

²⁸ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza, Fourth Edition*, 4th edition (San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books, 2012).

²⁹ Rachel Silvey, “Geographies of Gender and Migration: Spatializing Social Difference 1,” *International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (2006): 72.

³⁰ Melissa Wright, “Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border,” *Signs* 36 (March 1, 2011): 707–31; Melissa W. Wright, “Paradoxes, Protests and the Mujeres de Negro of Northern Mexico,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 12, no. 3 (2005): 277–92.; Melissa Wright, “From Protests to Politics: Sex Work, Women’s Worth, and Ciudad Juárez Modernity,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94 (June 1, 2004): 369–86.

³¹ For example, Alison Mountz, “Island Detention: Affective Eruption as Trauma’s Disruption,” *Emotion, Space and Society*, On trauma, geography, and mobility: Towards geographies of trauma, 24 (August 1, 2017): 74–82; Annabelle Wilkins, “Gender, Migration and Intimate Geopolitics: Shifting Senses of Home among Women on the Myanmar-Thailand Border,” *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2017.

³² Zaragocin and Caretta, “Cuerpo-Territorio,” 1506.

³³ Henrik Vigh, “Motion Squared: A Second Look at the Concept of Social Navigation,” *Anthropological Theory* 9, no. 4 (2009): 420; see also Henrik E. Vigh, *Navigating Terrains of War: Youth and Soldiering in Guinea-Bissau* (New York, Berghahn Books, 2006); Social navigation has been productively in migration studies. See, for example Schapendonk et al., “Re-Routing Migration Geographies”; Anna Triandafyllidou, “The Migration Archipelago: Social Navigation and Migrant Agency,” *International Migration* 57, no. 1 (2019): 5–19. It has also featured in studies on violence in Colombia. For example, Jacobo Grajales, “Violence Entrepreneurs, Law and Authority in Colombia,” in Michael Eilenberg and Christian Lund (eds.) *Rule and Rupture: State Formation through the Production of Property and Citizenship* (Hoboken, New Jersey, John Wiley & Sons 2017), 95–115; Helen Berents and Charlotte ten Have, “Navigating Violence: Fear and Everyday Life in Colombia and Mexico,” *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 6, no. 1 (2017): 103–17.

³⁴ Vigh, “Motion Squared,” 432.

³⁵ Vigh, 433.

³⁶ Megan Ryburn, “‘I Don’t Want You in My Country’: Migrants Navigating Borderland Violences between Colombia and Chile,” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 112, no. 5 (2022): 1424–40.

³⁷ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 1st edition (Cambridge, Polity, 1994).

³⁸ Joris Schapendonk, “Navigating the Migration Industry: Migrants Moving through an African-European Web of Facilitation/Control,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 4 (2018): 663–79.

³⁹ See also Alessandra Radicati, “The Unstable Coastline: Navigating Dispossession and Belonging in Colombo,” *Antipode* 52, no. 2 (2020): 542–61; Triandafyllidou, “The Migration Archipelago.”

⁴⁰ The concept of countertopography was developed by Katz, “On the Grounds of Globalization” and has been used by other feminist migration scholars. For example Faria, “Towards a Countertopography of Intimate War”; Alison Mountz, “Where Asylum-Seekers Wait: Feminist Counter-Topographies of Sites between States,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (June 1, 2011): 381–99.

⁴¹ Katz, “On the Grounds of Globalization,” 1229; For her more recent reflections on the concept see Cindi Katz, “Splanetary Urbanization,” 597–611.

⁴² Mountz, “Where Asylum-Seekers Wait,” 394.