Interterritorial Violence Against Immigrant Women (IVIW): Migratory Trajectories of Latin American Women Living in Northern Chile

Violencia interterritorial contra mujeres inmigrantes (VIMI): trayectorias migratorias de mujeres latinoamericanas habitando el norte chileno

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ABSTRACT

The term interterritorial violence against immigrant women (IVIW) is proposed as a spatial reading of the continuum of violence suffered by migrant women from the Latin American and Caribbean region in their journey and stay in Chile. Adopting the theoretical-methodological term of migratory trajectories, testimonies of 30 migrant women are analyzed, investigating the spatio-temporal construction of their mobility, nourished by biographical narratives. IVIW reflects its transit through regions with expressions of violence that go beyond the territory of birth, transit, waiting, permanence, as well as any political-administrative border. This inter-territorial reading of violence exposes how the composite condition of migrant-woman in inhabited territories determines a particular positioning in relation to highly masculinized spaces. It is concluded that IVIW is a contribution to the construction of regional migration policies that recognize this violence and allow a female migrant institutionality that appeals to the construction of safe territories.

Keywords: 1. gender-based violence, 2. human rights violation, 3. migration policy, 4. vulnerability, 5. Chile.

RESUMEN

Se plantea el término violencia interterritorial contra mujeres inmigrantes (VIMI) como una lectura espacial del continuum de violencias sufrido por mujeres migrantes de la región latinoamericana y del Caribe en su viaje y estadía en Chile. Adoptando el término teórico-metodológico de trayectorias migratorias, se analizan testimonios de 30 participantes para indagar la construcción espacio-temporal de su movilidad, alimentada por relatos biográficos. La VIMI refleja su tránsito por regiones con expresiones de violencia que traspasan el territorio de nacimiento, tránsito, espera y permanencia, además de toda frontera político-administrativa. Esta lectura interterritorial de la violencia expone cómo la condición compuesta de mujer-migrante en los territorios habitados determina un posicionamiento particular frente a espacios altamente masculinizados. Concluimos que la VIMI es un aporte a la construcción de políticas migratorias regionales que reconozcan estas violencias y permitan una institucionalidad migrante femenina que apele a la construcción de territorios seguros.

Palabras clave: 1. violencia de género, 2. violación a derechos humanos, 3. política migratoria, 4. vulnerabilidad, 5. Chile.

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INTRODUCTION[3]

A migrant woman walks through the streets with her children looking for a place to rent. She had scheduled a visit to a house a few hours earlier. However, upon arriving at the place, after the landlord—a Chilean woman—saw the color of her skin, she told her: "I don't rent the place to Colombians, I don't rent to blacks!" (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 6, 2017).

Another migrant woman is at her workplace when she hears about rumors spread by a *coworker*: "She told everyone that we, the dark-skinned, have AIDS!" (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, April 7, 2017). Meanwhile, another immigrant woman gets on public transportation to commute home. When she tries to pay her ticket, the driver unexpectedly says to her: "Why are you getting on here? Don't you see that we are all Chileans here? Are you here to steal someone's job?" (migrant woman, originally from southern Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, October 13, 2018).

These three situations are narrated by women currently living in cities in northern Chile, which shows at least two relational concepts: processes of racialization and violence. Both materialize from the moment that migrant women are linked to stereotypes, and are complemented by aggressive verbal acts towards them to establish "As precisely as possible the limits within which they can circulate" (Mbembe, 2016, p. 80). In this context, violence is understood as a social and spatial practice (Tyner, 2012) that affects migrant women in their private and public spheres and, therefore, also involves productive and reproductive spaces.

In Chile, the increase in migrant population since the mid-1990s has generated racist and violent discourses and everyday practices, women being their main victims (Tijoux, 2014). Various publications (Echeverri, 2016; Fernández, 2019; Liberona & López, 2018; Pavez-Soto, 2016; Stang & Stefoni, 2016) have reported forms of violence experienced by migrant women, which contributes to revealing experiences, scenarios, and actors involved in various types of aggression. Although violence does not have an exclusive geography (Contreras, 2019), the reported aggressions are framed in a specific migratory stage: when arriving in Chile and when they become aware of all the violence suffered *en route*. Faced with this, this article asks the questions: how do territorialities that reveal multiple forms of violence suffered by migrant women overlap? What happens in the different migratory stages and territories of transit or destination?

Based on these questions and from the concept of *migratory trajectories*, this article explores the type of violence that affects migrant women living in northern Chile. This concept is a theoretical-methodological tool that investigates the spatial experiences of people, and crosses it with other internal and external dimensions of the inhabited, transit and/or destination territories (Sassone, 2018). It also accounts for, from their biographies, all the events and the sequence of factors that explain mobility in relation to migration, regardless of the migratory

stage. From this territorial reading, it becomes possible to understand that the episodes of violence against women would not be limited to the countries of arrival, since they occur in the places of origin, transit, and destination (Stephen, 2017; Vogt, 2013).

Referring to the condition of women, migrant women, and/or racialized women in Latin America requires understanding this region as one of the most dangerous in the world to be a woman. At the same time, it is a region where vulnerable groups in social, racial, and ethnic terms are especially affected (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe [CEPAL], 2007; Essayag, 2018). A patriarchal culture predominates here, where the link between violence and gender is indissoluble, in addition to being rooted in any public and/or private territory (Segato, 2016). Thus, the various forms of violence go beyond private spaces and are deployed especially in the public sphere through different actions that make it known when a woman is out of place (Domosh & Seager, 2001; Massey, 1994; Rose, 1993). Being women and migrant women, jointly, makes them subjects immersed in long chains of impunity (CEPAL, 2007).

That being said, the discussion is positioned from a feminist geography perspective, as it explores gender oppression at a spatial level (Nelson & Seager, 2005) and investigates all the strategies and networks that migrant women have access to, taking into account their intersectionality as mothers, daughters, and friends, among many other roles. This reading also adopts a gender sub-focus, as the experience of migrant women evidences the existence of unequal geographies of mobility (Silvey, 2005) in relation to migrant men. This is not stated so as to ignore the suffering of migrant men and sexual dissidents, but rather to highlight the particularity of female migration in a complex region in terms of violence.

Noting violence against women in the Latin American region is key to understanding their experiences, and the context in which their migratory trajectories occur. The term Interterritorial Violence Against Immigrant Women (IVIW) is proposed so as to synthesize the spatial manifestation of violence experienced when migrating, where aggression persists beyond national, regional, and/or local political-administrative borders (Vanier, 2005). Although violence has been widely debated in the global north, in Chile there are fewer investigations from a feminist approach that analyze violence as a determining factor of migratory trajectories.

Positioned from feminist geography, the migratory trajectories of 30 migrant women from the region, interviewed in the north of Chile, are analyzed. They come from various urban and rural territories, specifically, from the south of Colombia (Cauca & Chocó); from various localities in the Dominican Republic and Haiti; from rural and cross-border areas between Chile-Peru and Bolivia, and in fewer cases from Cuba, Ecuador, and Peru. All the interviewees currently live in mining, extractive, and tertiary cities in the north of the country, specifically in the intermediate and smaller cities of Iquique, Alto Hospicio, Antofagasta, and Calama. Their stories were collected between 2017 and 2023, in repeated interviews and commentary tours. The in-depth interviews are part of two research projects that also study the migratory trajectories of men. However, 30 women—especially Afro-descendant migrants—were selected from a universe of 120 interviewees, given that they identify different forms of violence as explanatory factors of their

migratory trajectories, and note the absence of an institutionality in the region that would protect them.

The discussion is presented in four sections. First, a theoretical discussion is presented that links migratory trajectories with situations of violence towards migrant women, in addition to delving deeper into the notion of the *continuum* of violence. Second, the methodology used and the profile of the interviewees are detailed. Third, the research results are presented, examining the testimonies of the interviewees and their link with the theoretical framework presented here, culminating in the presentation of interterritorial violence against migrants as a term resulting from the discussion. Finally, the fourth section presents the conclusions, challenges, and opportunities of using the migratory trajectories approach from a territorial perspective for the construction of policies that guarantee safe female territories when migrating.

MIGRATORY TRAJECTORIES AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Understood as a polysemic concept, the term trajectory refers to continuous or discontinuous movements and/or displacements that involve moments of waiting, transit, and/or permanence, and that are constructed or result from multiple individual and/or collective decisions. The word trajectory refers to the movement of an object/subject from a starting point to a destination (Fournier & Saint-Jacques, 2014). However, from the social sciences, it pertains the social mobility of people and the sequence of social positions they can occupy in their lives (Authier et al., 2010; Jolivet, 2007). The joint use of both notions has a wide potential to study migratory processes, including projects, motivations, itineraries, and diverse mobility strategies (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014; Velasco & Gianturco, 2012).

In this regard, the Cartesian conception of migratory trajectories has been common, initially analyzed as linear or pre-established movements between two locations, also called starting/origin and end/destination points (Mainwaring & Brigden, 2016). The above assumes that people undertake a journey with clear destinations, under a supposed successful and irreversible route. This reading has been widely questioned given its State-nationalist (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) and binary logic, which does not reflect the complexity of the trajectories and simplifies the migratory processes (Contreras, 2019; Guilbert, 2005).

Assuming that migrants have a predefined destination is to be unaware of the complexity of their trajectory as a socio-political transit, since it is modified by family and personal circumstances, restrictions on access and/or exit from territories, among many other factors. This view is also ignorant of the gender perspective in relation to migratory trajectories, since being a migrant woman, an Afro-descendant migrant woman, or a migrant mother, among other intersectional dimensions, is not the same in terms of understanding such trajectories.

This discussion embraces the concept of *migratory trajectory* given the spatiality and temporality that it conceptually imposes, as it structures an itinerary or journey (Authier et al., 2010). Being loaded with complexity, the trajectory implies, or should be read as, a displacement

on multiple levels and directions, since it operates as a short, medium, and/or long-term node (Contreras, 2019; Guilbert, 2005; Schapendonk, 2012). The trajectory is also configured as a methodological lens to analyze the decisions behind each movement, and even to identify tactics and strategies that are deployed especially when crossing borders. Trajectories allow to analyze the motives and reasons for the moves, originating from the confluence between the context and the availability of economic, material, and/or social resources.

Since the migration crisis, the restrictions imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic and the respective changes to the feminization of migration require questioning the concept of *destination society*. Families or people who have migrated within the region do not necessarily live in the place they wished or needed. Several families and/or women have stayed in spaces that they did not plan to stay in, but that they found themselves in need of relocating and settling at. Therefore, the trajectory and direction of the movements will be determined by the opportunities, facilitators, or barriers found to migration that force unplanned decisions to be made (Duvivier, 2010; Seguel, 2021), especially when one is a woman. Therefore, investigating why one crosses, transits, waits at, or remains in a territory reveals the socio-territorial and gender dimension of migration, and calls into question the meaning of destiny and the linearity of a migration trajectory and project.

Migratory trajectories thus expose that migrants do not displace themselves under precise calculation, nor are their migration stories necessarily associated with the rational and consecutive sequence of traveling, entering, and settling in a new place. Rather, each node that articulates the route responds to a strategy, a negotiation, an arbitration between multiple factors throughout the migration process (Contreras, 2019), which includes family compositions; care mobility; living conditions in terms of work and housing; access and connectivity restrictions provided by a territory; the demands of various national and/or regional migration policies that criminalize and/or promote mobility, in addition to racism, all of which have clear gender focus (Cruz, 2020; Guizardi et al., 2020; Stang & Stefoni, 2022).

Due to the complexity of the dimensions covered, the contributions of Rivera (2012) and Sassone (2018) are fundamental, as they recognize the migratory trajectory as a theoretical-methodological tool that assesses the territorial experience, acknowledging the migrants' own stories instead of imposing a distant reading. Thus, taking into account the broad patterns of displacements and/or stays related in a biographical story, which at first glance may be illegible, it is common to define three moments to analyze migratory trajectories: 1) premigration stage, generally occurring in places of origin and/or birth; 2) travel, that is, movements between territories; and 3) arrival, referring to the current space where the person is located (Linares, 2016; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). In practice, all stages involve various types of movements, such as departures, arrivals, stays, transits, waits, and/or returns, which questions the linearity between travel and arrival.

*Continuum of Violence in Women's
Migration Trajectories*

There are publications that make joint use of the concepts of *migration trajectory* and *violence* to expose cases where the latter occurs in certain regions (Contreras, 2019; Lorenz & Etzold, 2022; Ryburn, 2022; Vogt, 2018) or affects a particular group (Alessi et al., 2021; Ariza, 2000; Guizardi et al., 2020; Le Bars, 2018; Stephen, 2017). These investigations reveal stories of aggression and/or attacks that occurred in travel spaces, especially against migrant women.

Other articles provide a transversal reading between places of origin, transit, and/or current residence or stay. That is, the *continuum* of violence is used to explain its manifestation in the trajectories and experiences of migrants in multiple territories. Thus, the *continuum* is understood as "the connection between types and events of violence, where one seems to flow into the next" (Cockburn, 2004, p. 43). It also refers to situations where victims see their integrity affected by physical, sexual, psychological, and/or material aggression, occurring with varying intensity in a pattern that does not cease (Collins, 2009; Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2003).

Important territorial implications could be assigned to the *continuum* of violence, as it is observed on multiple scales and scenarios. Tyner (2012) argues that it should be "recognized that violence does not only occur in a specific place, but that violence subsequently becomes part of the territory" (p. 168) or builds territories of violence. Thus, the spaces publicly recognized for violent events acquire a connotation of unsafety that triggers a constant state of alert and fear, where one may become a victim or witness of violence at any time and place (Collins, 2009; Valentine, 1989).

Now, contrasting roles can be identified within the *continuum* of violence: those who exercise violence and those who suffer its consequences (Kelly, 2012), which would appeal directly to the link of different subjects with the territory where violence occurs. A couple of decades ago, geographers such as Valentine (1989), Pain (1991), and Koskela (1999), theorized about how fear and perceived risk in certain spaces was heightened in women of different ages. This fear is usually attributed to violence exerted by men in specific spaces and times, in order to repress identities and/or traits contrary to the hegemony that characterizes patriarchy (Segato, 2016; Tyner, 2012).

In this context, migrant women are identified as the main victims of violence, regardless of their migratory status. Menjívar and Walsh (2019) argue that "women's paths towards migration are commonly part of a *continuum* of violence in their lives" (p. 45), where they are usually discriminated against, ignored, and/or subordinated in different aspects of their existence, which affects their freedom, dignity, security, privacy, and physical and/or psychological integrity (Sagot, 2008). Consequently, their experiences may involve intrafamilial or domestic violence (Raj & Silverman, 2002), sexual violence (Ravelo, 2017), work-related violence (Silvey, 2004), as well as being victims of human trafficking (Liberona et al., 2021), and/or negligence by government institutions (Contreras, 2019; Le Bars, 2018; Stephen, 2017).

In relation to migratory trajectories, it is suggested that violence travels with women when they migrate (Preston & Wong, 2019). However, this would not involve an analysis of the spatial

dimension indicated above, or of how the territories where they settle effect any type of movement at the place of origin. Taking into account that episodes of violence are experienced in places of birth or origin, that these cross borders, and that these are also observed during displacement and/or stay, the concept of *interterritorial violence against immigrant women* (IVIW) is proposed, which will be explored in depth in the following sections.

METHODOLOGY

Migratory trajectories make up a theoretical-methodological tool that systematizes displacements, waits, and/or stays that occur during a person's lifetime (Rivera, 2012; Sassone, 2018). As such, their reconstruction, interpretation, and schematization require resorting to the biographical approach, as it gives voice to the protagonist of each trajectory, in addition to allowing the conveyance and understanding of complex stories according to the importance assigned to them by each woman (Velasco & Gianturco, 2012).

The discussion raised is based on the testimony of 30 women from a universe of 120 interviewees, carried out between 2017 and 2023 under research projects of the Chilean National Agency for Research and Development: FONDECYT Regular 123116 and 1171722. The profile of the interviewees is summarized in Table 1. The exclusive selection of migrant women is based on the feminist geographies approach and its sub-focus on gender as a difference, but also results from the exacerbation of the stories of Afro-descendant migrant women, who insisted that they are born in and inhabit territories of violence, regardless of their social or professional status, and the level of the social/family networks within which they mobilize.

Table 1. Profile of the Immigrant Women Interviewed

Length of stay in Chile	Interview number	Education level	Occupation	Maternity status	Origin	Current residence
More than 10 years	4	Technical studies (2); No studies declared (2)	Works in formal sector (1); Unemployed (2); Community leader (1)	Mother (4)	Peru (2); Colombia (2)	Iquique (2); Antofagasta (2)
Between 6 and 10 years	12	University studies (2); No studies (1); No studies declared (9)	Works in formal sector (3); Works in informal sector (4); Community leader (3); No information (2)	Mother (11); No children (1)	Colombia (8); Bolivia (2); Peru (1); Ecuador (1)	Iquique (3); Alto Hospicio (2); Antofagasta (5); Calama (2)
Between 1 and 5 years	10	University studies (1); Technical studies (3); No	Works in formal sector (5); Works in informal sector (2); Unemployed	Mother (7); No children (3)	Colombia (5); Dominican Republic (2); Ecuador (1);	Iquique (4); Alto Hospicio

(continues)

| *(continuation)*					
		studies declared (6)	(2); Community leader (1)		Haiti (1); Venezuela (1)	(2); Antofagasta (4)
Less than 1 year	4	University studies (4)	Works in informal sector (1); Unemployed (3)	Mother (3); No children (1)	Cuba (1); Haiti (1); Venezuela (2)	Iquique (3); Antofagasta (1)
Total	30 interviewees				

Source*: Elaborated by the authors based on interviews ANID Fondecyt Regular 1171722; Fondecyt Regular 1231116.*

The interviews consisted of semi-structured questions to identify the factors that explain the departure from a territory and the strategies that mobilize migrant women residing in northern Chile. In addition, the barriers, enablers, and significant actors in their migration trajectory were investigated. This allowed to identify and spatialize how various forms of violence influenced their departure, entry, and incursion in different territories. To graph the territoriality of violence, some stories were selected that showed the overlapping and *continuum* of violence. The result was the construction of maps and diagrams to position in time and space those episodes of violence in the migration trajectory. Thus, experiences were differentiated according to spaces of origin, transit and current residence.[4] The various types of violence present in each place were taken into account for the identification of the stage of the life cycle of migrant women. Finally, with all of the collected information, maps of the migration trajectories were created through the territorialization of displacements, stays, and violence.

The women interviewed live in four cities in northern Chile (Antofagasta, Calama, Iquique, and Alto Hospicio, see Maps 1A and 1B), where the *continuum* of violence is identified with the same intensity. Therefore, no differences are established between the four territories in terms of violence, but the historical value of these cities is acknowledged as an attractor of internal migrants and immigrants. All four are inserted in highly productive mining macroregions, with boom and decline cycles that partly explain such high mobilities, based on imaginings of economic prosperity and progress both socially and housing-wise. In residential terms, the interviewees live in informal settlements, sublet housing and/or rooms in downtown neighborhoods, while two women of Venezuelan origin, who entered the country during the pandemic crisis, were homeless at the time of the interviews.

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[4] Migration trajectories are spatialized in relation to the classic analytical stages. However, new microstages could emerge between the different stages, according to each story.

Maps 1A and 1B. Places of Origin and Current Residence of Interviewees
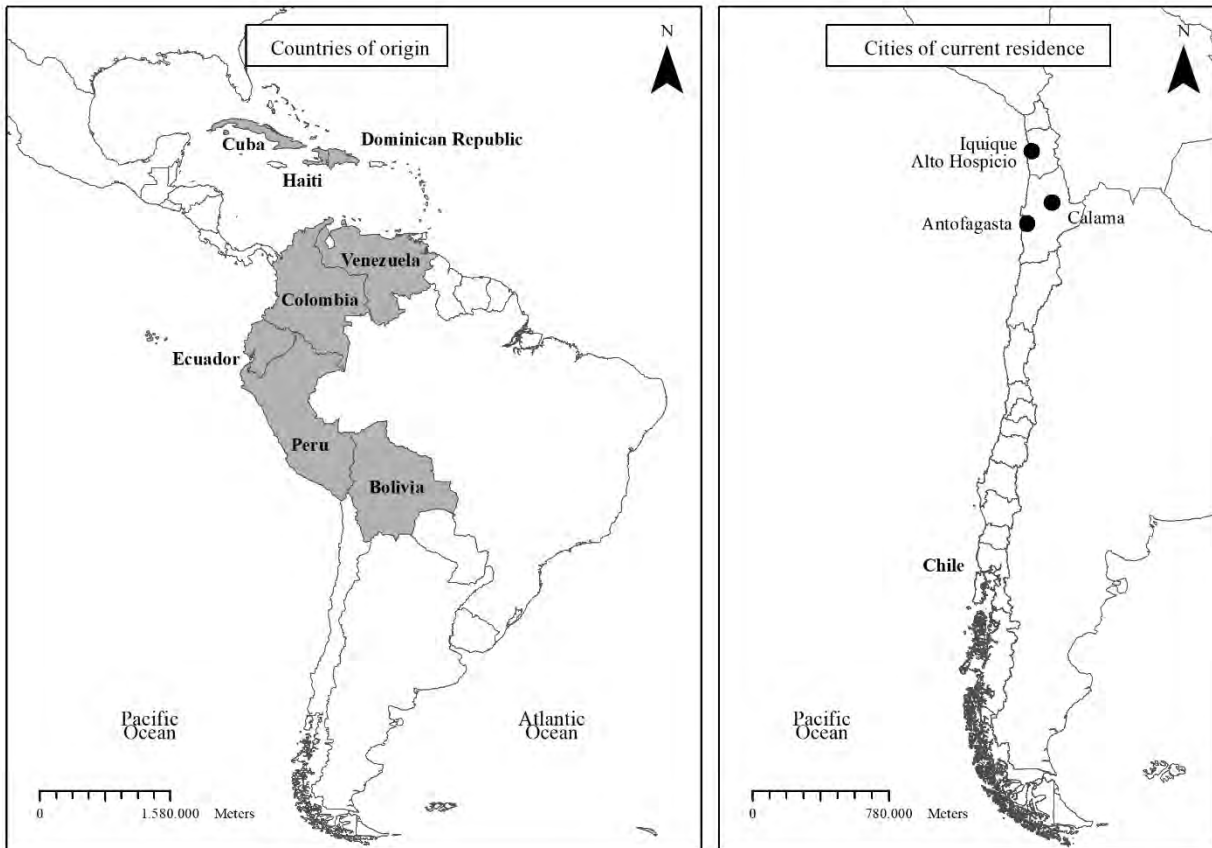
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on Google Earth images.

RESULTS

The testimonies analyzed allow to observe how violence is presented and replicated in female migration trajectories. The territorial implications of such violence are proven, since the aggressions related in the stories occurred indistinctly in public and/or private spaces, administrative borders, urban and rural spaces, and/or in their hinterland, which transforms known places into hostile and uncertain territories (Cruz, 2020). The above gives greater complexity to the territorial reading of female migratory mobility and its trajectories, especially when one is an Afro woman, has children, or wants the place of transit and/or permanence to allow for family reunification.

The above is exemplified by means of two migration trajectories schematized in Figures 1 and 2, which summarize the biographies of a Dominican woman and a Colombian woman, respectively. In both cases, situations experienced over time by two migrant women are presented, which are dominated by the continuum of violence. The two interviewees relate that racism and abuse suffered since childhood were catalysts for emigrating when they came of age. Both women note that the *continuum* of abuse is not made up of a single type of violence that recurs throughout

their lives, but rather includes different types of violence as they move through different territories. Many of these forms of violence were previously unknown to them, and others they had endured at each node that shaped their trajectory.

Furthermore, from the accounts of the two women represented here, it is evident that the presence of perpetrators who perceive them as subject to violence is common in each locality and space of transit and/or stay, given the migrant's supposed condition as vulnerable women and the stereotypes that weigh on them as black women, associating them with multiple problems.

Figure 1. Experiences of Violence in the Trajectory of a Dominican Women
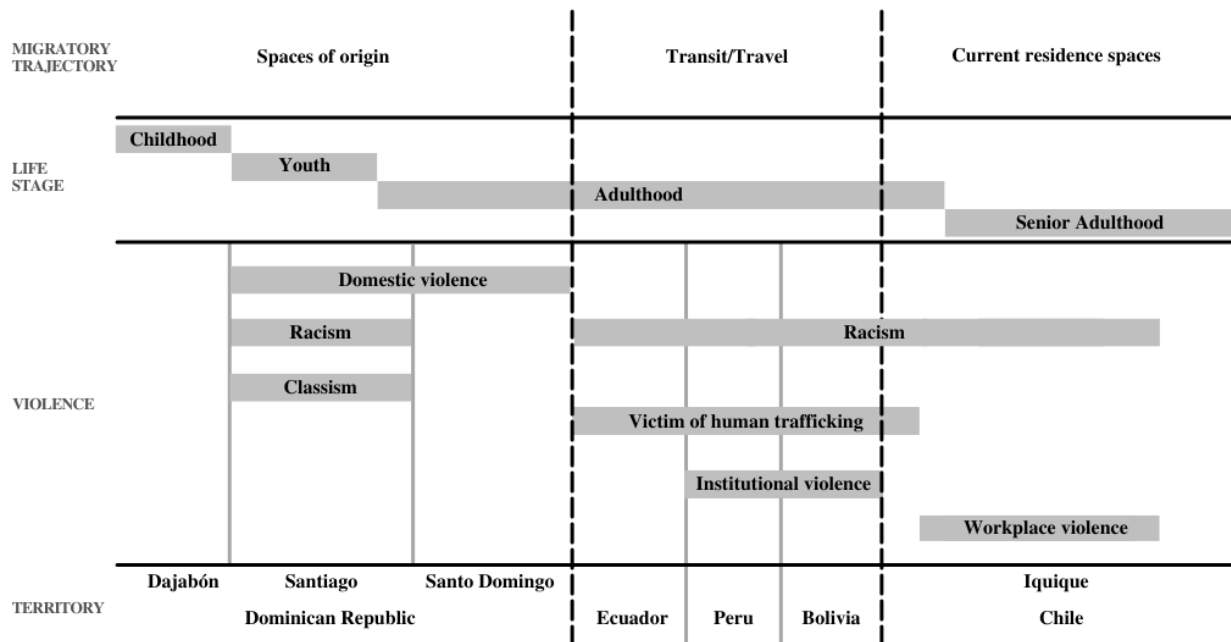
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on interviews ANID Fondecyt Regular 123116; Fondecyt Regular 1171722.

Figure 2. Experiences of Violence in the Trajectory of a Colombian Woman
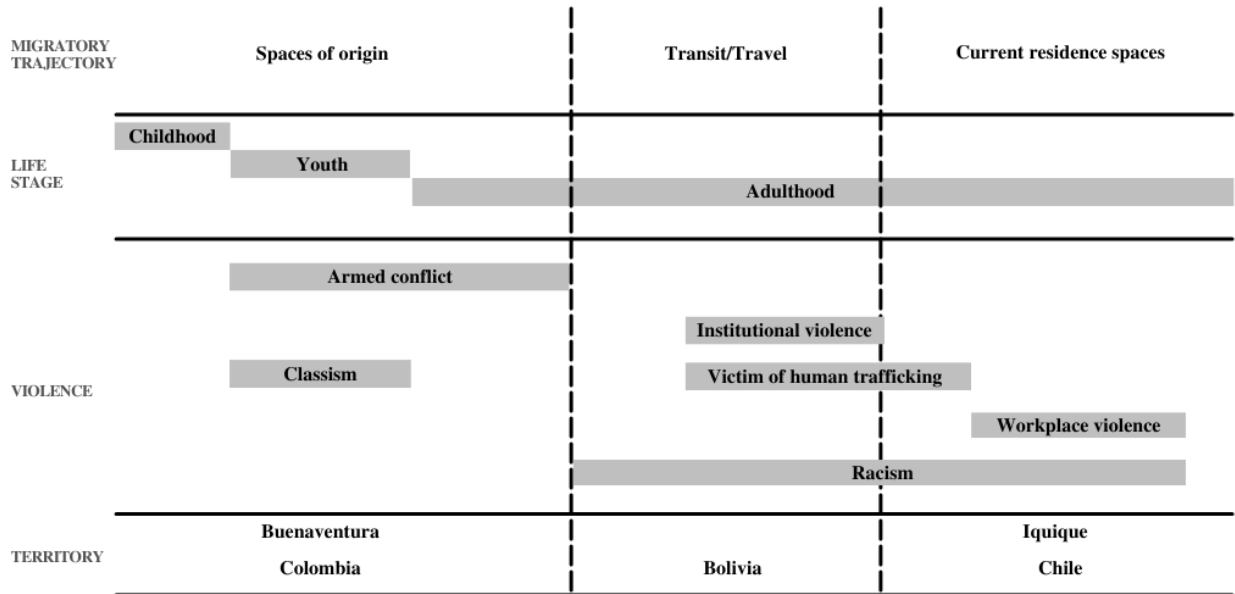
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on interviews ANID Fondecyt Regular 1171722; Fondecyt Regular 1231116.

Both the accounts and Figures 1 and 2 warn that the experiencing of violence did not halt the progress of the migration trajectories of the two women interviewed. For them, migrating was an act of emancipation from historical domestic violence and racialization. Their experiences tend to exemplify the humiliations suffered by the 30 interviewees, who call for alternative institutions that protect them early on in their trajectories. In general, in the accounts of all the participants, at least three stages were identified that reflect part of the territorial *continuum* of violence, all of them dynamic and not necessarily linear stages: *1)* events in the places of origin as determinants of departure; *2)* events in transit and/or travel locations; and *3)* unforeseen events in the current place of residence.

The following sections discuss the spatiality and temporality of the various experiences of violence identified in migration trajectories.

Stage 1. Violence in Places of Origin

When diachronically following the events that occurred in the childhood and youth of the interviewees—stages that they mostly experienced in their places of origin—it is key to observe how the scale of violence changes in each inhabited territory. The women describe events that occurred in their homes, especially domestic violence both towards them and their mothers. Most of them were experienced when they lived in rural territories, where the possibility of reporting is more complex compared to urban spaces. The context in which they were born is loaded with another form of violence: mobility due to land dispossession, agricultural extraction, armed

conflict, death of family members, racism, among many other issues that make their departure an emancipatory act that configures them as multi-mobile subjects in the face of dispossession and pain.

> My mother had problems with my stepfather because he was a jealous man, he was after me to kill me, because I looked a lot like her and so he wanted to end my life (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

> In Tacna, that's where I began to work as a teacher, always making my own money and despite that, always being abused, my husband was violent and an alcoholic, he didn't work at all, I brought in the money, but he had the final say in the house (migrant woman, originally from Peru, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, September 9, 2017).

> I was with him for 10 years (…) he became very strict with my schedule, about not going out, about telling him the address of the house if I was dressed up, and that started to creep me up (…) I really came here running away (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Calama, personal communication, October 24, 2019).

The above stories warn of the deep patriarchal structure in which the interviewees live, as well as the mobility restrictions they experience. The first point requires a more complex reading, since it overlaps with the racism that they have historically suffered, especially Afro-descendant migrants, violence often consented to by their own relatives, in addition to the lack of access to reporting channels, whether due to fear, distance, or ignorance. Although patriarchy affects the majority of women in the region, it becomes central to our interviewees' stories, since it affects and explains migration.

Another case of violence in the private sphere occurs in those instances in which women relate having been racialized. This happened with an interviewee of Dominican origin, who experienced the intersection of racism, classism, and domestic violence:

> I got married but (…) I was never happy because my father never accepted it, the last names, racism. I didn't qualify, there were family gatherings in which I couldn't participate, I had to stay and so, the divorce came (…) because of the difference in currency, the economy. Very poor family, wealthy family, do you see what I mean? So, you could tell... I was discriminated against, it seems that destiny has marked me in that way (migrant woman, originally from the Dominican Republic, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 3, 2017).

The above interviewee is an Afro-descendant woman from the northwest of the Dominican Republic, while her husband was a white man from cities in the south. Her story possibly embodies several of the daily manifestations of racism within the country, as the territorial and racial context is complex, given the proximity and conflicts with the neighboring nation of Haiti (González, 2021). On the other hand, this situation is also experienced by Afro-Colombian women, who are

discriminated against and endure racism within their homes and other everyday spaces, a recurring situation in rural localities, where they are relegated to the private sphere and to care tasks (Palacios, 2019).

Secondly, a gradual expansion of violence towards the public sphere and/or space is observed mainly in the stories of women from southern Colombia, whose experiences are directly linked to the armed conflict and the historically racist condition of these territories (Restrepo & Rojas, 2004). Their testimonies show how the various actors in this war conflict physically and/or symbolically enter the living spaces of the interviewees, which shows how public violence also becomes private.

> This one time the paramilitaries came to my house, they knocked on the door hard, hard, hard and I had to hide under the bed. My mother told me "Hide, hide." She opened the door and they were going to enter as if it was their house. Then my mother said to them "Wait a second, where are you going?" She blocked their way. Then the guy said to her "Don't talk to us like that, miss, we are the paramilitaries" (migrant woman, originally from southern Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, October 13, 2018).

> My uncle is a pastor, and I went to live with him. He was building the church and then in the same neighborhood we received a threat that if he continued building, they would put a bomb or kidnap someone from the family. He received that on a Friday night when we were all sleeping, they put that note under the door (migrant woman, originally from southern Colombia, living in the city of Alto Hospicio, personal communication, April 10, 2017).

The violence of the Colombian armed conflict (Marciales, 2015; Restrepo & Rojas, 2004) has mainly affected a civilian population that, under no circumstances, could prevent the levels of aggression described by the participants. Many of the Afro-Colombian interviewees who have faced violence in their territories of origin, or who have even lost a large part of their family, have requested asylum and/or refuge in Chile. However, the issuance of such status has been widely scrutinized, both in terms of the total amount granted annually and in terms of the demands made on applicants. Of the group of interviewees, only two of them have refugee status. The only support they receive is police control. In the case of refugee women in Chile, it has been noted that the Chilean State does not provide psychological or economic help, which makes them more vulnerable when they are single mothers.

Stage 2. Violence in Transit and/or Travel Spaces

The journey to Chile was full of anxiety and worry for the interviewees, as they traveled through unknown routes and locations, in addition to permanently finding themselves in public spaces where they were unaware of any type of territorial code. Among the testimonies, two predominant and strongly articulated situations were identified: 1) violence linked to human trafficking; and 2) institutional violence.

As the first predominant situation, a large part of the participants stated having voluntarily or involuntarily accessed the services of human traffickers, since they had no other option to cross

the various borders of the Latin American and Caribbean region. This positions them as vulnerable subjects to any type of aggression, negligence, and/or legal consequences. Two women describe complex situations arising from the trafficking of migrants carried out by various actors:

> I left Cuba with 3 000 dollars and stayed 50 days in Guyana because they stole my money. A Cuban woman picked me up there… that was so horrible, she took my passport (…) And then my husband came to rescue me… When he arrived, they gave me back my passport, and she told him that he had to give her about 7 000 dollars or else she would put me in jail (migrant woman, originally from Cuba, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, October 3, 2017).

> Someone motivated me, but I didn't know it was a scam. That person left us stranded in Ecuador, after all the money he took from us (…) I stayed eight months in Ecuador, I collected 1 200 dollars. We all paid that money and it took us about thirteen days to get to Chile, it's like a tour that they prepare with a group. The thing is that I didn't know the others. One of them died from the cold! The altitude in Colchane, you go into the mountains so that the police don't see you, and you have to throw away your clothes there. That's how we got here (migrant woman, originally from the Dominican Republic, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 3, 2017).

The second predominant situation corresponds to situations of institutional violence that the interviewees experienced in transit or waiting territories. Paradoxically, no border institution takes responsibility for such violence, and much less discusses how to legally advise the victims, even when the situations are widely known by central, regional, or local governments. Violence emerges in the accounts of the women interviewed, including experiences of racism and discretionary exclusion that occurred mainly at the Chilean-Peruvian and Chilean-Bolivian borders, border complexes, and their surroundings.

Since approximately the 2000s, there has been a debate in Chile about how administrative restrictions, types of visas, and the denial of refuge and asylum are mediated by abusive, discriminatory, and racist measures (Liberona & López, 2018). Some of the interviewees were denied legal entry into Chile, which was a direct result of the discretionary power of public officials. Part of this is based on prejudices and stereotypes about the sexuality, physical features, and origin of racialized women (Echeverri, 2016).

> When I showed up at the border, they didn't let me through. They told me that no, they weren't going to let me in. That day, only three or four other people showed up and that was it, but when they turn you away, the officer takes your passport away (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 6, 2017).

> In Tacna, I don't know if it was racism, but they would see a black person and say "Colombian, get out." They would make them stand in a line apart. Even if they were wearing ties, were white, they were still Colombian, and the PDI would make them move to

aside. They revoked my passport twice in Tacna (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, October 10, 2018).

They did not let us through, they asked us for financial standing, and we had everything, but even so the PDI did not let us through, without a reason (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, April 11, 2019).

All the interviewees entered Chile before the sociopolitical crisis of 2019 and the following pandemic crisis of 2020, a period where land borders were closed or operated under high restrictions (Stefoni & Contreras, 2022). This leads to think about the increase in violence towards the numerous migrant women, young women, and girls who found themselves forced to enter the country through unauthorized crossings.

Stage 3. Violence in Spaces of Current Residence

After their arrival and settlement in Chile, the territoriality of the violence experienced by the interviewees underwent changes, maintaining a dual condition by being present in both public and private spaces. Thus, three predominant types of violence can be identified: 1) violence in public places and/or means of transport; 2) workplace violence; and 3) violence in access to housing. The first is one of the aspects most commented by the interviewees, where racism is exercised by the Chilean population, especially when the migrants are on their own.

Here discrimination is always a possibility in our day to day, just by the fact that we... I hardly go out, and when I do, I get on a bus and the bus can be full, I go with my son, I carry my son so that someone else can sit next to me, and people still don't (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, September 7, 2020).

One day I was passing by the downtown and there were several guys and two Chilean women, I was pregnant, and I asked one of the guys for an address, and he said "It's over there, I'll take you if you want." And then this one lady told him "Why are you going to take that Colombian woman who comes to take our husbands" (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, September 2, 2017).

On the street they have called me you, black, you, Colombian. Women for the most part... because of my color, because I am Colombian, because of my body, because I am a woman. Well, they give you the looks, they look at you and start laughing (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, April 7, 2017).

The gender violence recounted by the interviewees is a direct result of its perpetrators and the imaginaries that they carry on racialized women (Tijoux & Palominos, 2015). Some will question why refer to a (territorial) continuum of violence. Well, the above accounts show that many of the women, when they left the spaces of violence, did not realize the fact or thought that they would not be faced with racist discourses and practices again, and much less that they would be subjected to other forms of violence, abuse, and/or rape because they were institutionally unprotected. It can

be observed that physical and verbal aggression motivated by racism has no legal consequences, except from the hegemonic dimension regarding discriminating against another.

Chile is thus burdened with different forms of hate speech issued by some authorities in northern territories, as well as local and regional media, which responds to the significant flow of migrants that has occurred in recent years. Even some female authorities have been the main questioners and racializers of the presence of Afro women, especially in the north of the country.

Regarding workplace violence, two women detail situations where they were fired from their jobs for being pregnant, in addition to being subjected to working conditions that are illegal in Chile.

> I got pregnant in September, and I didn't have a contract. The public inspection came, they had me signing the obligatory contract, I was already eight months pregnant... I went to sign and I said, "Ma'am, you're writing down the dates wrong." I went to the public defender's office to complain. When I was able to return, the lady told me: "the audacity you have to come to work, you'll see the kind of life I'm going to give you" (migrant woman, originally from Bolivia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 12, 2019).

> I was in a construction company for four months, and I got pregnant while I working there. Well, the construction project was completed and they fired me. I went to do some paperwork and they told me that they couldn't have fired me, terminate my contract earlier, while I was pregnant. They asked me "did they know you were pregnant?" I said "yes, everyone there knew" (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 8, 2019).

On the other hand, episodes of violence in the procedures of access to housing shows how aggression is again directed towards the private sphere/space. In northern Chile there is a growing exclusionary and racist informal housing market (Contreras et al., 2015) that has been criminalized in recent years, exposing the women interviewed to other violations, as it also exposes, in general, every family that seeks to rent and lives under precarious conditions, to violations. All the participants concluded that their living and habitability conditions were better in the places where they were born, despite being affected by other forms of violence.

> They always have a hard time renting to a Colombian, to a black person here. One has a hard time getting a place to rent here (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, personal communication, October 5, 2017).

That is how forms of violence emerge, forms that women believed would be anchored to their places of birth. The consolidation of an informal rental and subletting market in Chile forces them to live in rooms, bedrooms, or homes with poor ventilation, security, and privacy, as well as in spaces with high fire or flooding risks, among others. It was identified that particularly those migrant women living in central areas are more exposed to violence and racism, since these spaces do not allow the claim of rights, either because they are inserted in a speculative rental market,

because those who rent to them are fully aware of their status as migrants, or because they have few alternatives for residence given their status as Afro women and/or mothers.

The above shows that Afro-descendant migrant women are exposed to other, more hidden forms of violence that the housing market itself, in general, protects. The fear that they or their children will suffer some kind of sexual, verbal, or physical violence is implicit among the interviewees, since, by subletting rooms in old houses, they are forced to share spaces with strangers. Many of them suffer daily controls by intermediaries or managers of rented properties in the city downtown. For this reason, several of the women paradoxically took places in informal settlements on the outskirts, as a way of producing territories safe from racist violence, despite the fact that many of such homes are located in territories threatened in several socio-natural ways:

> Now I feel a little better, I left where I was because there were 17 rooms and only three bathrooms, and my daughter is already… she is a teenager, and as a mother it is not convenient for me that she is in that situation (migrant woman, originally from Colombia, living in the city of Iquique, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

> What I wanted most was for that space to be safe for my daughter (...) Here I have privacy, although I have always rented places with a bathroom for myself. I have never rented a room with shared bathroom, for hygiene and for my daughter's safety. I have always worried about that (migrant woman, originally from Peru, living in the city of Antofagasta, personal communication, September 6, 2017).

Interterritorial Violence Against Immigrant
Women (IVIW)

Recognizing the territorial component of violence against migrant women from their trajectories, that is, the continuous acts of violence in multiple spaces and times, in some way accommodates the invisible causes of the same in the past, present, and future. Violence is entrenched in their homes, perpetuated in their work and public spaces, materializes in a State that generates a political form of violence that dismantles their spaces of care, and finds place in a housing market that racializes them. The above leads to questioning how violence permeates the triad of lived, perceived, and conceived space in migration contexts. Faced with this, this three-dimensionality is understood as central to configuring interterritorial violence against immigrant women, the theoretical contributions of Lefebvre (2013) being significant to understand this three-dimensionality of violence.

In this sense, IVIW is defined as a methodological and spatial reading that reflects the territorial continuum of violence suffered by migrant women in the Latin American and Caribbean region, and which involves aggression in territories of birth, transit, waiting, stay, and/or current residence, including the territories where they live or could live. All of them are located in countries whose migration policies are restricted to the political-administrative boundaries and only delimit administrative entities (Taylor, 1995) that directly expose women to multiple forms of violence, as they include policies aimed at border control. Therefore, IVIW is configured as an act of

vindication within the region, as institutions fail to address the violence that migrant women endure.

All the stories, regardless of the choice of some cases to represent migratory trajectories, show how inter-territorial violence, rather than articulating isolated events, builds spaces of imprint and continuity that transcend local and/or national administrative divisions, by articulating broad territories of social and spatial control over migrant women (Tyner, 2012).

Maps 2 and 3 are the result of the analysis of the migratory and residential trajectories of our interviewees. The black line spatializes the continuity and/or discontinuity of the journey, represented in three moments: departure from origin, transit, and arrival in Chile. In turn, in seven categories shown in different colors, the overlapping types of violence that women face in their daily lives, regardless of the nature of the territory, is evidenced. For this reason, the IVIW is also interspatial, since it impacts on productive and/or reproductive spheres of women's lives. This spatial and transversal component transcends categories of "class, ethnicity, language, and race" (Stephen, 2017, p. 35). In addition to reflecting the complex conditions that could drive emigration from places of origin, Maps 2 and 3 expose the existence of barriers and consequent strategies for continuing the journey (Seguel, 2021), especially when there is a destination territory that one is trying to reach.

Map 2. Inter-Territorial Violence in the Trajectory of Dominican Women
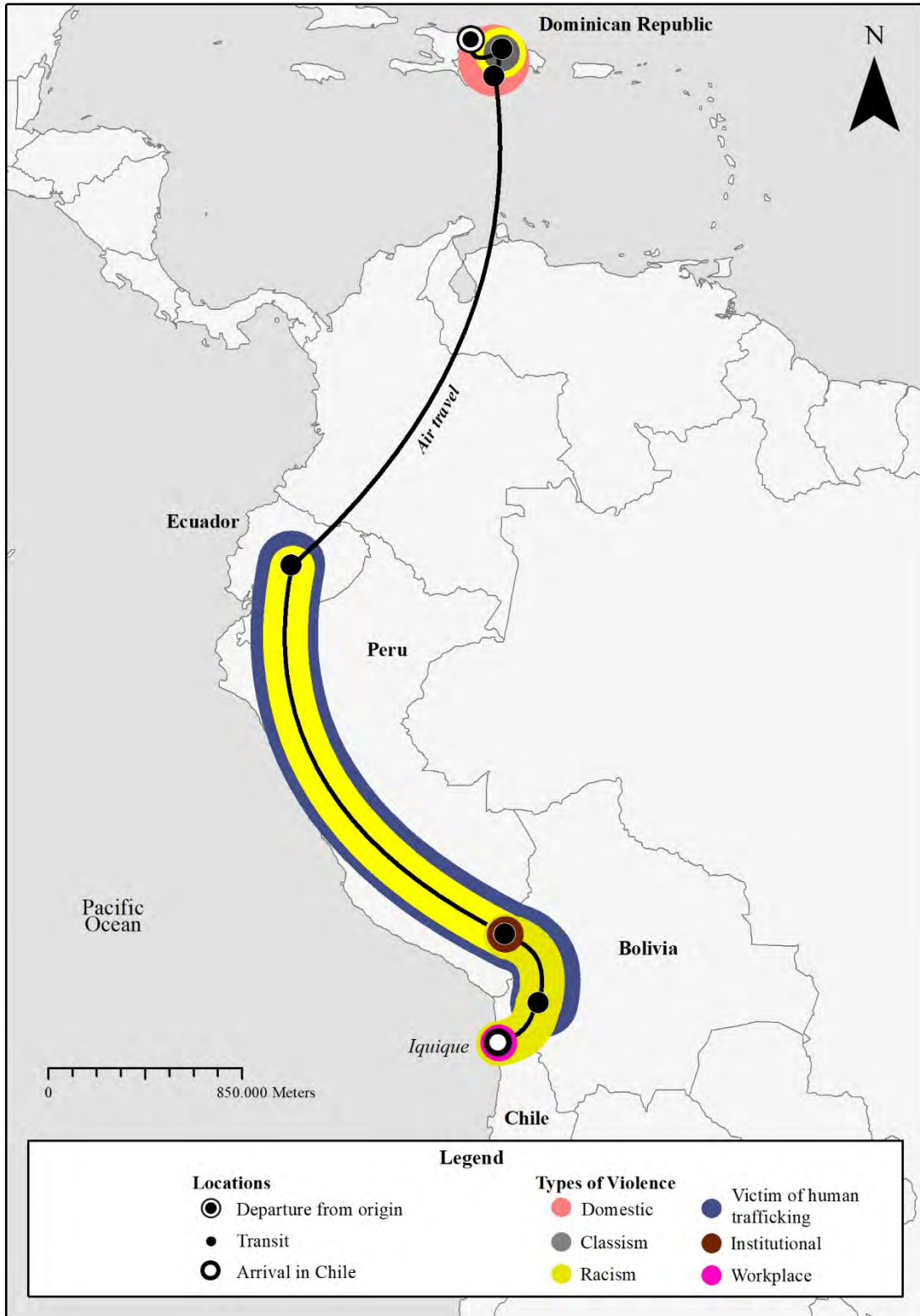
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on interviews ANID Fondecyt Regular 1171722; Fondecyt Regular 1231116.

Map 3. Inter-Territorial Violence in the Trajectory of a Colombian Women
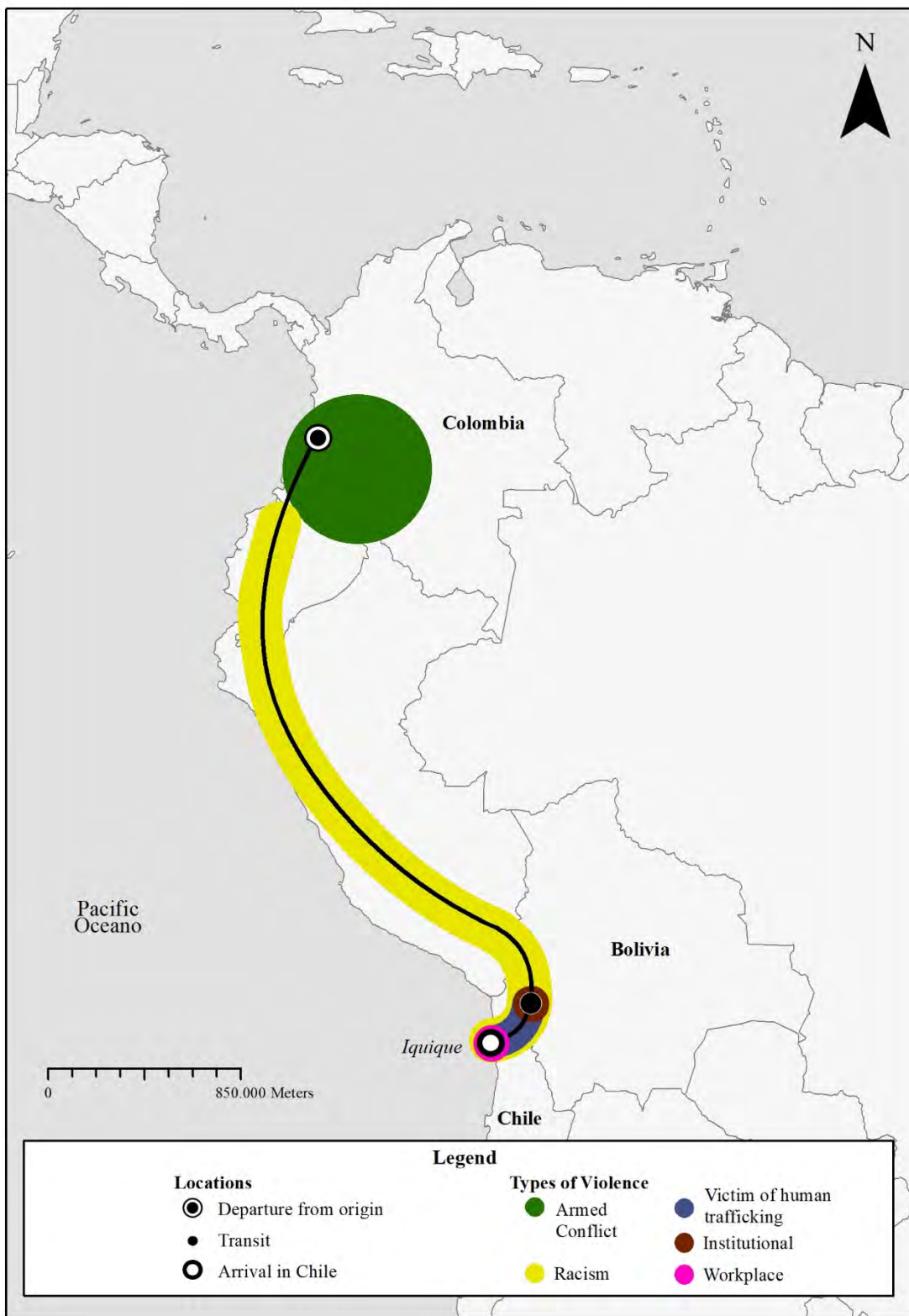
As can be seen, no experience of violence halted the progress of female migration trajectories towards Chile, although for the interviewees this country was not set as a destination territory from the onset, which it finally became due to the uncertainties in said trajectories. However, for other participants, the north of the country was configured as a place of interest, since they considered the country as a safe territory in terms of job offers linked to extractive economies, or in terms of exposure to violence. Regardless of the purpose of departure, all the interviewees, with or without networks in the country, modified their routes and redefined strategies along the way.

Finally, an intersectional logic can be integrated into the concept of IVIW, where the condition of being a woman, a woman with children, an Afro-descendant woman, or one assimilated to a nationality, has repercussions on the type of trajectory these women articulate and, finally, on how they are treated in each of the spaces they inhabit. In summary, the stories presented here reinforce the thesis of the interterritoriality of violence in female migration, interweaving spatial, temporal, and structural dimensions.

CLOSING REMARKS

The migratory trajectories and the story of the migrant women question the way of tracking territorial violence, also assessing which methodologies are best to adequately map and reflect their pain. Migratory trajectory was applied with the purpose of identifying reasons for living in northern Chile. However, it was the Afro-descendant migrant women who revealed violence as undeniable dimensions in their migration trajectories and life experiences. This challenged the researchers, as they were not prepared to listen to them, support them, or write about their experiences. In light of this, mapping violence in relation to life cycles favored the construction of the story and the appeal to IVIW.

From a spatial and feminist approach aimed at understanding the violence, in addition to the story and trust given by the interviewees, this article proposes the term interterritorial violence against immigrant women (IVIW) to challenge the migratory institutions and organizations of the region on the fact that violence does not stop and should be a matter of debate in the different territories in the region. Migrant women, migrant mothers, and/or Afro-descendant migrants are not being contained or protected, while the various conditions that led to their displacement are not accounted for either. Current efforts are insufficient, and these women continue to be exposed to multiple forms of violence.

From the violence in their stories, it is intuited that migrating without stopping or returning is an act of territorial resistance against the historical structural violence of the region. For many migrant women, self-management and community work favor the construction of spaces of resistance against eviction, rape, and the violation of rights. In addition, building self-managed informal settlements configures another way of producing safe territories, since in living spaces located in city downtown areas they saw no way to report that they were victims of sexual abuse, discrimination, and racialization.

In view of this, the Latin American and Caribbean region is understood as requiring a new feminist migrant and anti-racist institutionality, at the service of the needs of adult and adolescent women, and young girls. Paradoxically, many of them believed that migration would provide safe territories outside their State-national borders. Therefore, this new institutionality should articulate each national migration policy as part of a regional macropolicy, without inconsistencies that would hinder female and human mobility.

Furthermore, migration policies, laws, and programs should be linked to mental health and care policies and/or programs. This new institutionality must be at the service of women who have been abused, and it should also be able to prevent new attacks. It is urgent to define transnational migration frameworks that address violence in its multiple dimensions and scales, and that dispel the historical tensions between humanitarian and exclusionary migration policies. It is also necessary to study and analyze what is happening at sea, in current border complexes, and/or at unauthorized crossing points, which subject migrant women and families to violent situations that lack visibility.

Finally, the foundations of the IVIW concept require greater development and robustness, since it is necessary to continue investigating how violence can be read on multiple scales and dimensions, which would allow us to demonstrate that the States of the Latin American and Caribbean region are perpetuators of migrant gender violence, since all the experiences related here have occurred within the administrative boundaries of sovereign countries.

Translation: Fernando Llanas.

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