

Knowledge that shapes migratory trajectories: narratives of Colombian migrant women in Chile

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Abstract: The objective of this research is to disclose the knowledge that six Colombian professional women display in their migratory trajectories in Chile, particularly in upbringing process. From the narrative approach, a case study method was resorted to through interviews. Among the results obtained, it is revealed that the legitimacy of migrant women is conditional on fulfilling their role as workers, with merit and effort gaining strength. Likewise, knowledge that resists the colonial matrix is recognized, displaying diverse strategies recreated in the processes of upbringing, considering them necessary for the welfare of the children. It is concluded that the discovery of knowledge triggers a multiplicity of experiences that put tension in the prevailing forms of neo-capitalism, warn about the subtle disciplinary practices and reveal resistance practices, contributing to scientific thinking with the possibility of distancing oneself from a binary and hierarchical ideology regarding the local and universal.

Key words: migration, narratives, knowledge, women, experience.

Resumen: El objetivo de esta investigación es desvelar los saberes que despliegan seis mujeres profesionales colombianas en sus trayectorias migratorias en Chile, en particular en los procesos de crianza. Desde el enfoque narrativo, se utilizó el método de estudio de casos, mediante entrevistas. Entre los resultados obtenidos, se releva que la legitimidad de las mujeres migrantes está condicionada a cumplir su rol de trabajadoras, cobrando fuerza el mérito y el esfuerzo. Asimismo, se reconocen saberes que resisten la matriz colonial, desplegando diversas estrategias recreadas en los procesos de crianza, por considerarlos necesarios para el bienestar de los hijos. Se concluye que el desvelo de saberes detona una multiplicidad de experiencias, las cuales ponen en tensión las formas imperantes del neocapitalismo, alertan sobre las sutiles prácticas de disciplinamiento y relevan prácticas de resistencia, contribuyendo al pensamiento científico con la posibilidad de distanciarse de una ideología binaria y jerárquica, respecto a lo local y universal.

Palabras clave: migración, narraciones, saberes, mujeres, experiencia.

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Introduction¹

Narrations and knowledge

Migration is a phenomenon that appeals social sciences, in particular to keep permanent epistemological vigilance as regards what and how the categories that enable understanding the inception of such phenomenon in contradictions, fragmentations, presences and absences are produced (Sayad, 2011). This is added by the paradoxes that force the migrant to recognize, rebuild and exploit the difference by means of resistance and their affirmation as subjects in process (Alarcón, 1997). Resistance that in a colonial matrix consists in activating practices, ways of being and thinking, which are constitutive for everyone, opposing a dehumanizing reduction in the face of which it is forcing and resisting to be permitted subjects (Lugones, 2008 and 2011). This in a context where migration configures a functionality that declares openness in recipient countries, but which in reality activates concrete devices to restrict their rights (Tijoux, 2016). In this process, the historic configuration of imaginaries and stereotypes on the jobs performed by men and women is perpetuated; this is to say, racialized labor that operates by means of tags, placing certain groups in specific places in the social structure (Baeza, 2015).

This is, perhaps, the reason why over recent decades, sustained gender selectiveness is noticed, attributable to the global demand of labor force (Massey *et al.*, 1994; Loebach and Korinek, 2012). A process of feminization of migrations is noticed; it associates with the generation of job posts related to caretaking and upbringing, in which migrant women develop trajectories of subordination and vulnerability, in addition to allow the perpetuation of the capitalist and patriarchal system, linked to the dynamic of the colonial power on job posts (Olivos and Sandoval, 2015). The conception that migration reinforces colonial hierarchies is verified (Padilla and Cuberos-Gallardo, 2016). A colonial system that imposes a dichotomic hierarchy between the human and nonhuman or between the nationals and migrants, in which the “autochthonous” subject becomes the referent subject/agent (Lugones, 2011, 2008).

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To sum up, migration particularly refers to the inheritance of the colonial problem, currently valid in the constitution and creation of the national States in Latin America; the colonial logic still works, rearticulated by the presence of forms of exploitation in the countries, being the colonial a constant in the history of Latin American societies, whose inequalities remit to a deep colonial horizon (Rivera-Cusicanqui, 1993; Baeza, 2015). Clearly, the colonial burden is a phenomenon in permanent reformulation, in particular in migratory processes, which is a key element to understand racism, which becomes the paradox of universalism/particularism, in which the idea that “humanity’s historic cultures divide into two large groups: those that consider themselves universalist, progressive, and those utterly particularistic, primitive” prevails (Wallerstein and Balibar, 1991).

Within this context, there is nothing but to devise more humane practices to approach migration, reason why this article asserts the relevance of the narration and knowledge. As regards narration, it is worth mentioning that it is associated to a certain understanding of reality, which offers, among other things, the possibility to criticize hegemonic discourses, by means of specific embodied subjectivity experiences (Grollmus and Tarrés, 2015), subject to an labor *ethos*, whose base is the exploitation that is noticed in various forms, “in that racism does not dare to appear without makeup, as it denies itself” (Fanon, 1956: 43).

Jointly, narratives capable of negotiating differences in meanings and interpretations configure with their respective open horizons (Gadamer, 1998). Therefore, they account for the anger, of *enough of hiding and appearing gradually*, of non-soothed memories of colonialism (Lugones, 2008). This is to say, the narration allows a mimetic action, “go beyond the self (language) and especially from the ontological referential dimension”, which in its interpretation will look “to detach the world from it reference in virtue of its disposition” (Ricoeur, 2001: 298). This is to say, on the narration the life of those who simultaneously inhabit two worlds, trapped between different norms and cultural practices; those who experience internal wars or a cultural clash (Anzaldúa, 1987).

This way, an episodic dimension is noticed in the stories, which accounts for the facts, and other configuring dimensions, where the plot changes the occurrences in history. In this case, the unity of temporal totality is attained, transforming a succession in a full significant, defined as a final topic (Ricoeur, 2007).

According to the above, White (1992: 154) states that the configurative produces the symbol, “which tells more than what it says”, but in the

narration it always says the same: historicity. Therefore, narrations announce historicized inter-subjectivities, embodied and resilient, which become an extremely reduced and quotidian agency (Lugones, 2011).

In this article it is stated that episodic and configurative dimensions refer to account for knowledge, which allows answering the question of how to unveil them. To do so, Kusch's (2000) statement is retaken, who denotes them as "knowledge in symbols", a semeiotics that is built with multi-vocal terms and multidimensional indicative concepts. Hence, tropes, subjunctive modes and the symbolical use of language are the elements with which knowledge becomes an empirical and symbolic instrument of communication, by understanding that knowledge is an immanence in which there is neither rupture nor isolation of the being in knowledge; associated to the experience and everyday world which has been defined as an epistemic and political tool, demanding the comprehension that struggle and decoloniality take place in the sphere of knowledge, as an opportunity to retake our ways of inhabiting the world. Knowledge is a category that enables accounting for the multiple and fragmented of the subjects' dwellings, where ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality and language integrate, never individual, and built from fragments and threads from various fabrics (Anzaldúa, 1987).

In Foucault's (1968) words, it is subject knowledge that has been disqualified as non-competent or insufficiently elaborated, ingenuous, hierarchically inferior, below the required level of knowledgeability or scientificity. However, its nature, local in essence, gives an account for a sort of autonomous theoretical production, non-centralized; that is to say, they would not need the approval of a system of common rules to affirm its validity.

According to Santos (2010), this obligates to pay especial attention to the epistemicide unleashed in the history of Latin America. This way, the present article proposes an approach to knowledge as accepting that we move over a hermeneutical and phenomenological substrate, which leads to the world of life, from a global perspective and with willingness for internal cohesion, articulating other spaces, situations and meanings (Contreras and Ramírez, 2017).

Therefore, knowledge, understood in the way it has been produced, materializes Freire's (1969) premise, which intends to make the subject a being-knowledge of relations, who not only is in the world but in the world; since knowledge, as place of abode, enunciates the multiple ways of "rooting", of making the no place a place, so as to fully participate in social interaction

from there (Contreras and Ramírez, 2017). This makes it necessary to state that disclosing knowledge contributes to resist from the colonial difference (Lugones, 2011). In a feminist epistemology, knowledge, as it is being understood, would refer to the conception of the experience as a word of authority in itself (Smith, 2016).

In this context, it is proposed to address the link between narration and knowledge to produce comprehension for migration, especially of resistance, in the minimum sense of agency required for the relation oppression/resistance is active, unlike the maximum sense of agency imposed to the subject (Lugones, 2008), in views of distancing from the temptation of building the image of stereotyped or victimized migrant women. To do so, we have particularly resorted to the configurative dimension of narration, owing to the process of transformation into a significant totality that announces knowledge. What knowledge? That which evinces the testimoniality inherent to being, i.e., linguistic expressions and/or tropes that act as proto-narration, proving the narration with verisimilitude, in addition to remit to the notion that human beings have concepts they themselves have produced, making them an existential phenomenon, which in every case is interpreted in the space of vital public comprehension (Fink, 2009).

From Lugones' (2008) standpoint, knowledge creates active subjectivity, accounting for the minimum sense of agency and allowing the removal of colonial veils (Du Bois, 2001), which contributes to recognize the specificity of oppression; knowledge which, because of its nature, allows rescuing the emotional and heartfelt struggle of living in complex forms; which host the enemy and ourselves at once (Crenshaw, 2018). Dark knowledge generated in violent experiences, but nonetheless are eloquent and vitally important facing the need to survive (Zipin, 2009).

At this point, it is worth mentioning the originality of the present study, in the sense that it focuses on migration and the knowledge mobilized over the experience, in and from women's stories, who are professionals in the recipient country, experiencing a "good life" in economic terms, escaping from the of most of the research carried out in Chile, which address the migratory trajectories associated to job posts located at the bottom of the social pyramid. All of this within a context in which migration accounts for approximately 2,3% of the national population (Observatorio Iberoamericano sobre Movilidad Humana, Migraciones y Desarrollo, 2016).

The aim of this research is to disclose the knowledge unfold by six Colombian professional women over their migratory trajectories in Chile, mainly during upbringing. In a context in which coloniality marks become

visible in the places which migrant women still hold and in which the locus of enunciation configures maternity. To do so, the usual places in which it is imposed to live must be relativized, assuming maternity as a closely related practice to the cultural, social and economic context in which it is performed (Bidaseca, 2015).

For many a migrant woman, this practice means raising their children in a society composed of structured oppression, racial domination, economic exploitation and patriarchal orders. This adds to the ambivalence of the statement of the capitalist economy, aimed at deconstructing the identity around collective wellbeing, demanding at once that women continue to be beings-for-the-others (Freixas 2015; Villenas and Moreno, 2001; Lugones, 2011), in which teaching-learning processes between mothers and children develop amidst tensions and contradictions, but also as spaces of possibilities. In this sense, pedagogical familial action entails the dilemma of teaching children to fit into the oppression systems in views of securing their survival and, on the other side, teach them to not become voluntary participants in their own subordination.

Methodology

The research was carried out following a qualitative methodology, with a narrative approach, as it is considered the most relevant according to the stated goal. The design responds to a multiple-case study, in which the story of each participant is built by means of interviews developed over a number of meetings.

How it is told

Narrations were built by means of three narrative interviews carried out in the respondents' homes between August 2016 and July 2017. Following Riessman (2008), referring to interviews as narrative occasions, special attention was paid to give the respondents the opportunity to deliver their testimonies "in their own fashion". Because of this, professional migrant Colombian women were interviewed to somehow ensure the configuration of a reciprocal interaction environment.

Later on, a narrative analysis was carried out, and following Cornejo *et al.* (2008), the intra-case singularity of each experience told was privileged in the first place; while in the second, an inter-case transversal modality. Likewise, thematic and structural analyses were run which, as stated by

Riessman (2008), are not excluding. As regards the structural analysis, it was developed considering Ibáñez's (1985) proposal, which focuses on the linking of elements and structures of referential, logic, poetic and topical verisimilitude, which allowed paying attention to the way the story tries to be real in the sphere of its relations with the world (Contreras and Ramírez, 2017).

The narrators

Six women who migrated to Chile with their children and live in communes of the Capital. These women deliver their words as testimonies of their being in the world. In the present research, their voices were rescued, as very few have listened to them and are not considered to approach migration. In table 1 in the Annex, at the end of the present article, some data on the respondents are shown.

Development

The narrations take three forms: the first, called episodic, accounts for a narration built by those who interview, in which the migratory experience narrated by the participants is summarized. The second shows the configurative dimension called proto-narration, which announces a way to root, which in the analysis process is identified as knowledge that configures the respondents' narration. The third corresponds to the interpretative narration produced by the researchers, since the narration is not an end in itself, as its value in social sciences is appraised by its contributions to the re-signification processes of the forms and expressions that inhabit colonial and violence matrices.

Diana

Narration's episodic dimension

The first attempt to reach Chile is an event that will not be easily paralleled in terms of contingencies, disappointments and frustrations, this is the case of Diana, a Colombian phono-audiologist, who reaches Chile in 2009 for the first time, with no identity documents, 500 pesos in her pocket (under a dollar) and afflicted by an advanced state of acute meningitis, which worsens

over the travel. Her family situation, professional dissatisfaction and the will to begin a new life motivated her to take the long journey. The first time, she is rejected by migratory authorities, because of which she was forced to return to her country. Later on, her husband moves to Chile because of work, seven months later Diana travels as well, leaving her child, Daniel, with her mother. After arriving in Chile, to her surprise, she discovers that her husband already has a new family. However, he offers her economic support until she is able to work and be independent. Labor insertion in Chile is not difficult for her, as she manages to start working the following month after her arrival and regularizes her documents.

Albeit, she was discriminated by some coworkers and director in an establishment; the latter sprayed disinfectant in the air every time Diana left her office. The Church, her close relations and permanent training have changed her life. At present, she has a partner. Together they permanently try to “de-educate” their child; this is to say, potentiate his emotional intelligence and reorient conventional education, as they consider it is not useful to find financial liberty and true happiness. Even though she misses her family in Colombia, she considers that what she does now in Chile is important for them, as in the future she might offer them help. Diana sees Chile as a “land of opportunities”.

Narration’s configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: “I will be enslaved for another six months”

Sure, I don’t want him to be an employee [referring to her child], I told him: don’t hire yourself, I’ll have a replacement of a pregnant girl, and I say: ah I will be enslaved for another six months, only six months Daniel. When are you enslaved? He asked, and I say, next week already (laughs). And tell him in these terms, because it is so, it is virtually becoming a slave (Diana).

As proposed by Hinkelammert (2017), human being is one in need, by understanding that every being must integrate in the natural circuit of life, from a historic process that expresses the imperative of integration in terms of needs. This specificity appears in Diana’s protonarration, in addition to configure two sub-worlds that comprise the entire world by means of the social division of labor, for being subject to commercial conditions, labor is conceived in abstract (work for another), distancing from the idea that as human beings in need we are entitled to labor and the effects become visible in life. “Living is not being confined by a job behind a counter, behind a desk, is it?” (Diana).

Mercantile relations configure external worlds, where some would live and some others will be condemned to death. In the face of this relation market – no life, Diana resists in and from her narration, configuring knowledge indispensable to recreate in her upbringing processes. Clearly, she rebels against the alienation existing between the worker and labor, becoming a duality that distances them from their own life, resisting the market's automatism. In this sense, it is possible to appreciate that in living migration such mystification and distance between the being in need and the corresponding labor are exacerbated, especially when the current borders between feminine licit labor and their exploitation as workers are imprecise (Laite, 2017).

This way, it may be interpreted that this is non-modern knowledge, which institutes ecologic, economic and spiritual practices opposed to the modern dichotomic, hierarchical, colonial and categorical logic of labor; this is to say, it allows warning her children that certain conditions in labor are a reflection of relations of domination, in which the stereotypes, discrimination and discourse of colonialism are inscribed. In this way, she prepares them to not voluntarily agree on subordination. According to Lugones (2011), this knowledge is resistant, somewhat dark and colonial nevertheless.

Elizabeth

Narration's episodic dimension

Elizabeth is a woman who was born in a rural zone in Colombia. She began to migrate nine years ago mainly out of economic reasons, since labor conditions in Colombia were not good and she was unemployed. She travels alone, planning a temporary stay which prolongs, without her realizing. As soon as she arrives in Chile, she began to revalidate her degree and then she started working in a language school. Some years ago, she became pregnant and went to live with the father of her son, a Colombian, though years later they separated.

When Elizabeth speaks of her life and the difficulties she has had to overcome, she remembers that back then, when she was unemployed, she had to experience mistreatment from her partner, as she did not have where to go. When discrimination is mentioned, she comments that in an establishment where she worked, her payment was lower than what was corresponding, and additionally her supporter humiliated her. In this sense, what she noticed the most was that everyone realized the mistreatment but did nothing. In

like manner, she comments that she has involuntarily lost her identity and considers that this is mainly noticed in the way she dresses, as she had to change to go unnoticed in a culture other than Colombian. She wants to stay for a while longer, but she keeps in mind to return, especially now that her son is growing up, as she wants to raise him up in her native country.

Narration's configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: "fight the fight"

As it is said at home, "you fight the fight", really, there was a war on me in a job just for being a Colombian and being a phono-audiologist, and I felt it, not because of that, on the contrary, I worked harder, did better my job, studied harder, cared for my patients, because that cannot be a reason to be denigrated, on the contrary, it was to show that if one indeed knew, could and reached this post is because one knows, not because it was a gift.

In this case, fighting translates as act correctly, "studied harder, cared for my patients" enabling "walking tall"; another knowledge part of the plot of the proto-narration. Therefore, "fight the fight" and "walking tall" is knowledge in which Elizabeth establishes a causality relation; i.e., if you cannot fight (cause), you cannot walk tall (effect). This knowledge built in the family and which has produced a way to live the world from childhood, becomes knowledge that recreates the migratory trajectory to maintain survival strategies and face arbitrary discriminatory practices. Such strategy is not enough to detach from the colonial and mercantile inheritance, as the fight mentioned by Elizabeth lives in the matrix of effort and merit, which "includes self-confidence, capacity for commoditized labor or creation (what has to traverse this commoditizing road), individual initiative responsibility, 'intelligence and ingenuity'" (García, 2006: 276). This way, assuming that "you fight the fight" is to consent to the individual struggle and responsibility.

From a different stand point, in this knowledge other worlds where Elizabeth has lived appear, providing her with the opportunity to remember herself; entailing an infra-political resistance, adopting constituent forms (Lugones, 2008). It would be knowledge that, in the contradiction and multiplicity of inhabiting different worlds, may be interpreted as the announcement of the struggle of an undervalued woman, who locates in a clearly more humane inhabiting, in a classic opposition between struggles of conquest and liberation; resorting to an ancestral plot, not escaping from herself anymore and rediscovering the meaning of the past, being the past now a constellation of values (Fanon, 1956). Knowledge in which the premise

that subjects are neither merely victims or oppressed nor only oppressors and victimizers.

Instead, this knowledge and its practices give an account that the subject negotiates within the imaginary with a decolonizing otherness; mixed knowledge that mobilizes in strategically ambiguous teachings, moving in the interstitial spaces of colonialities, patriarchates, nation and capitalism, as spaces with possibility of interruption (Villenas, 2001). It is considered that this knowledge configures spaces in which the threads are subversively instructed to dream beyond their mothers' lives, to be compliant and rebellious at once".

Mirtha

Narration's episodic dimension

Mirtha is 32, from Colombia and an accountant. She arrived in Chile five years ago, leaving her daughter with her mother. The most important reason to leave her country was the complicated economic situation. She began to travel to Chile supported by her sister. She mentions that it was a difficult time, as she arrived with no money. Once the revalidation of her degree began, she had to wait for a long time, fortunately she was supported by her sister who she lived with. Initially, she worked in a fast-food restaurant and then at hairdresser's, where she earned her bosses' trust, this way on occasions she was the manager of the place. She does not refer noticeable discrimination toward her owing to her condition of migrant, rather because she was a woman with a macho boss. However, she declares that her daughter has experienced discrimination from the color of her skin and height, and she, who is only 12, adopts the same customs of her classmates, who already smoke, something not seen in Colombia. As regards upbringing, she claims she still promotes her cultural practices, for she considers they are supported on values, traditions and what she was taught as at an early age. Referring to her compatriots, she says she does not have many Colombian friends, as she thinks some of them have damaged the image, harming those with an honest work.

Narration's configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: "I have worked hard to make a name for myself"

Wherever I see Colombians I try not to get involved, I think I'm not a patriot in that way, because regretfully they have made a bad impression, and I have worked very hard,

very hard here! And I have worked hard to make myself a name and earn the respect of the people, and I don't want that all of a sudden because of other people's attitudes my effort goes to waste.

"Make a name for oneself" is conceived as an individual's valuable moral and social patrimony, as they are inseparable from dignity (Torres, 2015); in addition, it is the guarantee of acting rightly, whose results in her migratory trajectory have meant recognition in her work. "I have done fine, I believe I'm approved by the boss or owner who trust a lot in me, then it's positive, isn't it? that is good."

A good name that comes from the right behavior, supported on her being respectful, obedient, responsible, collaborative and honest. Highly regarded qualities in the recipient society. A society that, nevertheless, supervises her, suspects of her accent, skin, colors of her clothes and exuberant body. She knows that begin a Colombian means having to mitigate the effects produced by her compatriots who do not share such good standing.

The knowledge to make a name for oneself is born in the spirit of capitalism, whose base is merit, as it configures in the belief of a market that rewards the effort and intelligence of each individual, becoming true cornerstone of the neoliberal economic system. In such manner that the human dimensions are reduced to individual action as a drive for personal and productive development. "Make a name for oneself" implies admitting that one is better situated and one's privileged position is "legitimate", as they are the result of a "merit"; while the position of Other is visualized as a product of a "fault", of a no-effort (Weber, 1973). The Colombian Other.

It is knowledge that intertwines in the colonial legacy of honor and shame, and assimilates as a form of dignity and cultural integrity. Make a name for oneself is part of a *good education* (Villenas, 2001). Consequently, mothers teach their children lessons in merit and effort, which have a "moral" background of the knowledge. Essential knowledge in the logics of mobility that stress the valuation of cultural capital and individual merits. A precarious resource, always available though, to lessen the unwelcome threat of failure in a project of promotion (Arango, 2016). Finally, it makes us reinterpret this knowledge from the feminist proposals critical to the affective twist, which point out that the fantasies of progress, mainly those of upward social mobility, are a particular affection in which ideological aspects operate to make individuals lead lives which in reality are not conducive to their happiness (Macón, 2014).

Mónica

Narration's episodic dimension

Born in Barranquilla, Monica worked as a lawyer in her country of origin. Moreover, she was married for 17 years; however, owing to her husband's mistreatment she divorced. She began her migratory process toward Chile about two years ago, when at 50 years of age she decided to migrate because of the deteriorated relationship with her husband, in addition to death threats from work-related issues. She has four sons; she left the country with the youngest son, 15, the other three stayed to take care of her mother. Once in Chile, she began the process to revalidate her degree and to look for a school for her son.

Her first jobs were as a sacristan and saleswoman, until she was able to work as a lawyer. She says that her hardest times were the first months, for in addition to being unable to find a job, she had to provide false information on herself, hiding her training and only presenting high school studies so that she could be hired. When one enquires on her life and difficulties related to discrimination, she states that it is strong in the country, mainly toward women; she mentions that they are harshly criticized for dressing, wearing makeup and being different, and that Chileans associated these customs with prostitution.

As regards her child's upbringing, she states that she continues promoting her own cultural practices, as she deems they are based on good values and respect for the other. She points out that in Chile life is quiet in comparison with her country, this is why she will remain some more years working as a lawyer. At present, she has a particular office where she works, especially with migrants, and is part of the national coordination of migrants, providing support as a lawyer.

Narration's configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: "overlooking and letting do"

Discipline is difficult, rules are difficult, because everything here is overlooking and letting do [...]. The time to start and finish work, personal appearance, house activities, investigation assignments, et cetera [...]. Here there is no discipline in the sense of entering and leaving, youths can dress as they want, long hair, earrings, tattoos, smoking... little respect for the teacher.

When asked about rules at home, she elaborates:

We've lost the principles and values we brought, they are not really considered here [...], then that affects a bit, because one cannot exercise authority here as I did there, because children have other elements not to obey.

The migratory trajectories imply mobilizing latent knowledge, but also re-signifying it according to the new stances defined by the recipient society. This takes place in a space where various cultural practices coexist, where it is inevitable they reconfigure. One of such reconfigurations is the one that is summarized in the proto-narration "overlooking and letting do". This phrase conveys a strong political-economic stance, however in more quotidian spheres, it takes a practical approach of not concerning too much about the course of actions. In and from Mónica's story, it is the same as "allow doing"; announcing basal knowledge that serves as an inclusion strategy in the recipient country. This knowledge is recreated over upbringing, produced in the everyday experience and it is possible to illustrate in this story:

My 15-year-old son attended school well dressed, did his tasks and that was the reason for him to be bullied repeatedly, that is why I had to take him from such school.

In this way, living in certain spaces is allowed on the imposed conditions; but, additionally, a proper place is built, in which those practices and knowledge defined as necessary unfold. Mónica's strategy verifies the importance of revealing and validating the upbringing patterns in the family space, as "a place" to re-signify and re-contextualize the immaterial capital, as it is a home a source of knowledge.

This knowledge gives an account of active subjectivity, multiple, trapped between the regulations and practices of various worlds. It is, therefore, a woman's knowledge who experiences a culture clash, announcing herself as capable of mobilizing a divergent thinking, characterized by distancing herself from established and constitutive patterns, approaching a more complex perspective, which includes rather than excludes. Knowledge that becomes anguish of neither having nor legitimizing the sense of all the regulations and practices of the new context. Finally, this knowledge accounts for a unity-disunity paradox, which not only produces one subject of darkness and another of light, but also knowledge that contests both worlds and provides them with new meanings (Anzaldúa, 1987), but above all, it indicates that the colonial invades the intimacy of home.

Margarita

Narration's episodic dimension

Margarita, dentist, 36. She comes from a wealthy family of the city of Popayán. She decided to travel to Chile encouraged by some friends who already lived there and exercised their profession. Back then, her main motivation was professional and economic, but also a way to escape from her family, which always tried to make decisions for her. Her migratory process began almost 10 years ago. As regards cultural differences and the strategies to insert into the culture, it is verified that what impacted her the most was the lack of respect toward difference in opinions and the others' time.

In like manner, she comments that she had to change aspects such as the way she spoke, laughed, dressed and wore makeup, since these were associated with prostitution; she claims that her spirit remains intact deep inside, but she has modified the exterior almost unaware, though she always fights for her identity preservation. As regards the social, she comments that she has Chilean friends who are good people; however, she shares more with her group of Colombian friends. Some years ago, she met her partner, a Mexican, with who she has two children born in Chile, both children attend school. She considers that schools must devote longer time to work on the difference, diversity and other values to be able to live in community. As regards her way of building herself as a woman, she comments that her strategy has been to be willing to take in the good things, all that can help her to be a better person; this she does looking for activities that give her satisfactory experiences and make her happy. Another important element in her life are her Colombian friends, who "do not let her dim".

Narration's configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: "to avoid problems shut your mouth"

I believe that somehow even if one tries to keep one's customs, in any case one modifies in a way the vocabulary, the way one expresses, even gestures, one can change that as well, though something slips once in a while and more importantly, how to learn to ignore many things one does not agree with [...] it is worth remaining silent.

The phrase "to avoid problems shut your mouth" takes a turn when it is conceived in the migratory experience. It remits to prudence that unfolds practices of permanent reflection, in relation to the effects that certain words may produce in a trajectory that is built from "making what is correct" to

ensure an insertion process without being challenged. This proto-narration invites to discover in the migratory movements those responsible for “the silenced suffering that migrants drag because of their need to keep quiet, hide and even accept aggressions trying to remain in a place with the intention to live and not being ejected or pursued” (Tijoux, 2016: 29).

Hereon, the relevance of approaching identities as performative, for in and from the migration experience these are particularly contested, making it impossible that each subject locates in a previous and fixed entity. That is to say, migration demands the subjects to think of themselves as provisional, contingent and unstable, as *being* in what they say and what they do not. Margarita makes it clear from her proto-narration, in addition to give it the incarnate dimension that enables building more humane understandings, associated to knowledge that in the upbringing processes might perpetuate a culture of servitude, which even operates in professional works’ markings. Knowledge that is to a certain degree a dehumanizing reduction, as other beings. This, translated to the feminist perspective, evinces that such knowledge enables the persistence of the binomial in which without the migrant housemaid, in its broadest meaning, the non-housemaid occidental woman would be conflicted, as one enables and supports the other (Cumes, 2012).

However, in this “to avoid problems shut your mouth” we can recognize the “faithful witnesses”, who, being imagined and treated as inferior, have the opportunity to be witnesses. Witnesses of all that is seen in their undervalued spaces, serving as example for their subordinate and children, to move their infrapolitics, active subjectivity and corrode the colonial matrix (Lugones, 2011). Furthermore, this knowledge locates in the narrative fabric which it becomes, demanding to understand migrant women as subjects built by historic processes and leave the idea that women are called to assert the cultural, social and biological characteristics as something given naturally by the place where they live (Cumes, 2012).

Eli

Narration’s episodic dimension

Eli, a 35-year-old woman; phonoaudiologist; married and mother of two boys: the first, 5 years; the second, a newborn. When she began her migratory process, nine years ago, she was still single, but dating her husband-to-be. The decision to migrate was Elizabeth’s, but since she was leaving for Chile,

her boyfriend decided to go with her. Both began the travel purely out of economic reasons. Elizabeth managed to find a job very soon in a language school where she had a contract to haste the process of visa. She claims she was fortunate that her boss was a good person and the work environment agreeable. As regards her identity, she points out that unbeknown to her she has had to change some cultural traditions such as the way she dresses, wears makeup, the colors of her clothing and the way she speaks in order to enter the Chilean culture; she added that on occasion she feels being intently observed. After her sons' births she had to resort to a nursery, as she had to carry on working to afford the household expenses. She states that only now she complains about not having had time for her son, as she left early to work and arrived late. Eli dreams of returning to her country of origin, as she does not want her children to grow up in Chile, far from their families, living in a small apartment and, even with no time for them.

Narration's configurative dimension.

Proto-narration: "I've been fortunate to meet people who have been good people".

We are fortunate to know the landlady [...]; at least in my case, I've been fortunate to meet people who have been good people, good bosses, I have not been discriminated by them or been treated badly due to the fact of being Colombian [...] yeah sure, fortunately I had bosses who were considerate.

As noticed, Eli's story is configured in and from "fortune", as a divine luck in which the fortunate subject seems to be successful because of the divinity, thriving because of its impulse. "Fortune" becomes a system of meaning, contributing to the conception of a particular vision of the world. In like manner, "fortune" appears as a religious representation that encompasses the set of imaginary constructions, by means of which Eli confers meaning on her daily experience. This knowledge configures practices that according to Anzaldúa (1987) bring the role of culture to light, including religion as a form of tyranny, as a means to blackmail which from the inside/outside articulates against subordinate and racialized women to subdue their rebelliousness.

From here that fortune is a concept predefined by the dominant paradigms, which see it as a way to pacify insurrection. We refer to a law that women transmit. This concept ensures that they show better acceptance and capability to adapt top the system of values that insist on submission (Anzaldúa, 1987). This is to say, fortune in its survival and improvement logic operates in the heaviest dependency on the others' arbitrariness or goodwill

in the context of relations of clientelism and reciprocity; i.e., the mechanisms of undervaluation and restriction of cultural capital operate in it.

Limitations of the study

Among the limitations of this study we have to mention that the obtained results deliver a focalized and partial vision; this way, they are cannot be extrapolated to other realities or circumstances.

Conclusions

Outcome

In the idea that “experience is to know how to take a new understanding from every contingency” (Gadamer, 1998: 239), which assumes that conceiving an outcome for the narrations built is an experience that becomes complex to announce, if familiarity is not resorted to tell a story. Therefore, recovering the value of experience in scientific texts is the purpose of the present research

Then, the following story is told:

In an activity to disseminate the results of the present research, an academican, which by means of her accent takes to Spain, admits she is not close to the ethnographic perspectives and has recently arrived in Chile. She wonders, out of the knowledge exposed, which would be the three most important items? From this question, a longer distance than the sea that separates both countries is noticed and embodies the relevance of the epistemological struggle of localization, stressing the intensions on people's life, in aspects that comprise the body up to a structuring and structured inhabiting (Haraway, 1995).

Speaking of hierarchizations makes us look for ways to give an account of that submerged and undervalued knowledge, aspiring to authentic insurrection (Foucault, 2003); reinforcing the idea of understanding the importance of the struggle and decoloniality processes in the field of knowledge, retaking the proper and contingent forms of living the world. Because of this, asking for knowledge more important than other is keep wasting experience, without asserting the knowledge of subordinate women, insert into a supposed universalism. Much less possible is it to conceive the multiplicity in the fracture of the enunciation *locus* of migration and gendered colonialism. Then, there is no persuasion that multiplicity never reduces or hierarchizes (Lugones, 2011).

Another case: a researcher on migration asks: what is the distinction between this knowledge and the sort of knowledge that one can find in the experience of other migrant women, non-Colombian, non-professionals? Answering this question led to the relation of the universal and the particular. To do so, we retook a proposal by Laclau (1996: 46), who states that “the universal emerges from the particular, not as a principle that substantiates and explains the particular, but as an incomplete horizon that sutures a particular dislocated identity”. This and other knowledge are a “symbolical output” for the emotional agitations generated by the social imbalance entailed by reaching another society, and are, at least in a general manner, common to everyone who lives migration, however, they still hold a certain role or social status; therefore, ideological reactions to such perturbations would tend to be similar. Above all, this knowledge denounces the existence of polarities, indicating there are no harmonious resolutions to the inheritance that divides their being in light/darkness, mother/prostitute, victim/victimizer are imposed as knowledge that announces and contains the contradiction, making something positive out of the ambivalence (Anzaldúa, 1987).

Finally, as an outcome, it is considered that the narrations presented in their episodic and configurative aspects announce located, mixed and intruding feminisms with divided loyalties and detached from exclusive belongings, which as they narrate gather the tension and conflict of dangerous and blasphemous crossroads they mobilize in their inhabiting in different and simultaneous worlds; which, nonetheless, are committed to questioning the geopolitics of colonial knowledge, which intends to impose that some know, while other do not. To sum up, these stories invite to travel through inhabiting and thereby, to notice the erosion of the capitalist-modern-colonial system (Lugones, 2011).

It is concluded that in a system that preserves historic practices of domination and subordination, different sorts of knowledge contribute to deconstruct it, mainly if the women’s migratory cartographies related to upbringing processes are analyzed, since in this project configure active subjectivities. Especially, by means of the production of the quotidian, of the histories that are narrated, advice given to children resistance builds up; such resistance intends to revert practices of domination and colonialization. To sum up, knowledge as exposed in this article contributes to the Latin American proposal to decolonize, allows reviewing the fabric of modernity, systems and ideologies such as capitalism, patriarchy, racism and liberal democracy.

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Annex

Table 1
 Participants' data

Name	Diana	Elizabeth	Eli	Mónica	Mirtha	Margarita
Origen	Popayán Cauca	Silvia Cauca	Popayán	Barranquilla	Piendamó	Cali
Edad al migrar	30 years	24 years	25 years	50 years	Cauca 27 years	27 years
Formación	Phonoaudiologist	Phonoaudiologist	Phonoaudiologist	Lawyer	Accountant	Dentist
Estado civil en origen/ en destino	Married/divorced	Divorced	Engaged/married	Married/ divorced	Single	Widow
Trabajo/s en Chile	Language school	Language school	Language school	Lawyer in migration	Commercial assistant	Particular office
Forma de salir	Tourist visa	Tourist visa	Tourist visa	Tourist visa	Tourist visa	Tourist visa
Año en que llega a Chile	2009	2007	2008	2014	2011	2009
Experiencias anteriores de migración	None	None	None	None	None	None
Contactos en Chile para migrar	A friend	Friend and colleague	Friend of her father-in-law	Online friend	Sister	Friend
Children	1 Colombian son	1 Chilean son	2 Chilean sons	4 Colombian sons	1 Colombian daughter	2 Chilean sons

Source: own elaboration.

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