POLITECNICO DI TORINO
Repository ISTITUZIONALE

Migration, the Archive, and the Map

Original
Migration, the Archive, and the Map / Asoni, E.. - In: GEOGRAPHY COMPASS. - ISSN 1749-8198. - ELETTRONICO. - 19:7(2025), pp. 1-10. [10.1111/gec3.70040]

Availability:
This version is available at: 11583/3003893 since: 2025-10-13T09:47:40Z

Publisher:
Wiley

Published
DOI:10.1111/gec3.70040

Terms of use:

This article is made available under terms and conditions as specified in the corresponding bibliographic description in the repository

Publisher copyright

(Article begins on next page)

06 November 2026

Check for updates

Geography Compass

WILEY

REVIEW ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Migration, the Archive, and the Map

Ettore Asoni

University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy

Correspondence: Ettore Asoni (ettore.asoni@unibo.it)

Received: 23 October 2024 | **Revised:** 13 June 2025 | **Accepted:** 18 June 2025

Funding: This work was funded by the European Union -European Research Council Advanced Grant 2021 (ERC-2021-ADG, project n. 101054428 *"The Game: Counter-mapping Informal Refugee Mobilities along the Balkan Route"*). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Keywords: archive | border | cartography | counter-archive | countermapping | migration | mobility

ABSTRACT

In recent years, archiving and countermapping have emerged as popular and powerful instruments to represent unauthorized migrations and criticize contemporary border regimes. This resulted in a variety of political projects involving academics, migrants, and advocacy groups, using archiving and mapmaking as vectors of dissensus and affirming politics. This parallel between maps and archives is not just a contemporary trend; it speaks to their longstanding relationship throughout political modernity, as well as the overlap between the archival and cartographic critiques over the past century. This article reviews contemporary projects that mobilize this nexus to challenge contemporary border regimes. In doing so, I direct attention to how their goals, methods, and designs align with different conceptual approaches to archives and maps. The analysis explores the contributions of geographic thought to this conceptual framework, and it encourages further reflection and participation from geographers in projects making political interventions through archival and countermapping methods.

1 | Introduction

Recent years have seen a growing interest in archives across geography (DeLyser 2014; Hodder and Beckingham 2022; Mills 2013), migration studies (Stierl and Tazzioli 2021), and the social sciences more broadly (Battaglia et al. 2020; Horsti 2019). For geographers, one interesting development is the frequent association between archiving and countermapping as interconnected practices and analytical tools. Some scholars have explicitly connected the two, encouraging interdisciplinary work that bridges mapping and archiving in research on unauthorized migrations and border regimes (Appadurai 2003; Stierl and Tazzioli 2021; Tazzioli 2015). Even when not formally linked, the continuity between archives and maps is evident in their parallel usage across the literature, where both function as tools to generate multiple "counter" perspectives on migratory mobility.

This essay presents a conceptual analysis of the relationship between archives and maps, focusing on their use in academic and non-academic projects that challenge contemporary border regimes. The review serves two main purposes. First, it offers an overview of various projects in which archiving and mapmaking are combined or used in parallel to generate dissent and support affirmative politics. Second, it classifies these projects based on their goals and structures, highlighting which insights within archival and cartographic theory are mobilized by each project, and for what purpose. This design offers an accessible introduction to current, parallel trajectories in cartographic and archival theory, linking them to their practical application across a variety of projects that mobilize them for political purposes. This may be of particular interest for geographers looking to transfer their training and methods into projects combining these practices.

For this purpose, the next section of the article discusses how and why the nexus between mapmaking and the archive is particularly visible in projects focused on border violence and migratory mobility. This boils down to their ability to document events,

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

© 2025 The Author(s). *Geography Compass* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

experiences, and journeys, taking up position across struggles over the representations of violence and migration. The following three sections focus on specific categories of projects, each corresponding to the project's purpose and design: forensic, evocative, and participatory projects. Forensic projects aim to collect evidence of abuses and border violence, either to affect public discourse or provide evidence in court; evocative projects use countermapping and the archive to challenge mainstream representations of migration, and to generate understandings of migratory mobility centered on its political significance; finally, performative projects focus less on the finite outcome and more on the phases of assembling repositories and drawing maps, treating these moments as opportunities to generate connections and build communities across multiple participants.

2 | Mobility, Migration, and Maps

Contemporary, unauthorized migrations and their violent containment are not the only context where archiving and mapmaking reveal their nexus. This connection runs deeper, encompassing both their role across political modernity as key instruments of state-making and colonialism (see Atkinson 2003; Craggs 2008; Edney 1999; Mitchell et al. 2019; Richards 1993), and their eventual transition into vectors of dissent and affirmative politics (Stoler 2018). Yet, their prominence in migration politics hints to their suitability in this context. Here, archives and maps serve dual purposes. On the one hand, they offer concepts to analyze migrations and borders, focusing on the conditions that enable, empower, or hinder human mobility. On the other, they provide material instruments to launch critiques against contemporary border regimes, and to elicit understandings of human mobility centered on its political significance.

The first use was aptly described by Appadurai's famous quote: "For migrants, more than for others, the archive is a map" (2003: 23). Appadurai used this analogy as an interpretive lens to examine migratory mobility. He emphasized how international migration is supported by flows of information connecting communities across countries, and how the individuals' decision to migrate depends on the material and emotional support provided by their networks. In this reading, the archive is a set of decentralized information that generates mobility, and, as such, it may be visualized as a map allowing people to embark on their journey. Notably, neither the archive nor the map is here intended as repository of neutral data. Instead, they are intended as generative substances (Stoler 2009), meaning assemblages of data and information creating the conditions to empower people into moving.

Appadurai's essay exemplifies the use of archives and maps as analytical concepts. Here, the two are not understood through their modern definitions in archival and cartographic theory (Lustig 2020, 74–75), as there are no archivists or custodians charged with appraising the records or regulating the users' access (Ketelaar 1996, 33). Furthermore, their function is not to provide a neutral, universal representation of a place "out there" or a past "that was", as much as to assemble memories and data that may trigger new thought and action in the future (see Azoulay 2011; Stoler 2016, 7–10). This use of the concept of archive is not metaphorical, rather a reorientation that challenges its conventional definition under modern archival theory. It traces back to the seminal work of Foucault (1972), who employed the archive in his theory of discourse to indicate the sum of pronounced statements as the conditions for further pronouncements.

In the context of migration, the same concept directs attention to the material conditions affecting human mobility, thereby linking archives and maps as inscriptions that empower individuals to embark on a journey. Furthermore, this perspective reveals its suitability for an additional, empirical reason: the role of documenting, and consequently archiving and mapping, in the conflict over mobility unfolding across borders and routes. Here, the archive describes not only the migrants' ability to access and produce information supporting their travel, but also the behavior of those working to contain them. Documenting serves as a lens to visualize migration as a struggle among competing forces, particularly by examining how actors choose to document—or refrain from—individuals or events for various reasons. For institutional actors, documenting enables the analysis and visualization of migration through data describing the volume and direction of human flows (see Van Houtum and Bueno Lacy 2020). In her analysis of the EU border regime, Tazzioli (2020) argues that authorities "make" migration by constructing a statistical understanding of mobility which, in turn, generates strategies to govern it. Furthermore, this generative power extends beyond the macro, statistical analysis of people's movements. It also shapes their lives and identities, as individuals are categorized and assigned specific labels across legal and administrative systems, including terms like refugee, vulnerable person, and economic migrant (Metcalfe 2021).

The significance of documenting, however, shifts depending on who is documenting, what is being documented, and how it is done (Casas-Cortes et al. 2017). Notably, documentation often serves as a tool of surveillance along routes, prompting migrants to evade it to hide traces of their passage (Tazzioli and Garelli 2020, 1016). Yet, in other instances, migrants actively assert their right to be documented, especially when applying for asylum. Authorities, on the other hand, may deliberately avoid documenting migrants' movements, while migrants employ various tactics to ensure their registration in official records (Santer and Wriedt 2017). Furthermore, migrants may use phones and cameras to document abuses, pushbacks, and violence along their journey, effectively recording practices designed to leave no trace (Davies et al. 2023). In this context, documenting—and thus archiving and mapping—emerges as a critical practice available to multiple actors.

Contemporary experiments with counterarchives and countermapping take place in the conflictual context described above, which is key for explaining their role and positions. These terms encapsulate an antagonistic stance, with the prefix "counter" signaling that such approaches to archiving and mapmaking challenge not only the representations issued by institutional channels, but also the methodological and ideological assumptions embedded in modern cartographic and archival theory (Ben-David 2020; Motha and van Rijswijk 2016). As such, the *"counter"* position becomes a defining quality of the projects themselves (Berger et al. 2018; Squire et al. 2021; Reynolds

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

et al. 2023). Their experiments do not seek to represent migration and border violence from the outside, as they take up documenting as a political gesture designed to convey dissent and create conditions for affirmative politics.

This article offers a review of such projects by linking their designs with insights and developments within archival and cartographic theory. Depending on their goal, the projects rely on specific strategies and theories to collect data and drawing maps. In doing so, they mobilize the archive-map nexus in the pursuance of their goal, which ultimately consists in producing a counter-knowledge challenging the tenets of contemporary border regimes. I classify these projects across three categories, each defined by the project's goal. Each category approaches archiving and mapmaking through different theories and methods, precisely because the goal affects how participants take up their task.

The first category encompasses projects operating with a *forensic* goal. They document abuses, deaths, and disappearances across migratory routes, providing evidence that may be utilized across media or tribunals to denounce policies of border control. When challenging institutional representations of migration or immigration enforcement, these projects direct attention to the unsaid, meaning the violence and abuses that are missing from the discourse of institutional actors. The second approach, on the other hand, is not concerned with what is missing from institutional representations, as much as on the latter's capacity to "make" migration according to ideological parameters. Participants in these projects operate under the assumption that critical representations of mobility and border violence may be generative of new politics. They aim at eliciting alternative understandings of migratory mobility, which are centered on its conflictual, political significance. I dub this the *evocative* approach. Finally, within the evocative approach I distinguish those projects that focus less on the finite outcomes of their work, and more on the process of assembling archives and maps. These are *participatory* projects operating under the assumption that archiving and mapmaking are endeavors capable of enabling exchanges and affirming communities. Their focus is on what happens during the documenting process, as this is where the projects' political potential unfolds, by bringing together different participants and groups.

Each of these approaches may be linked to specific development encompassing critical cartography and archival theory, further demonstrating the nexus between archives and maps as technologies of representation. Thus, the rest of the article is organized into three sections, each dedicated to reviewing projects adopting the specific approach, but also their intellectual development across archival and cartographic theory. Each goal corresponds to a specific understanding of the archive and the map, which determines and organizes their assembling, drawing, and furthermore their reading.

2.1 | Looking at the Absence: Symptomatic Reading and Forensic Projects

Forensic projects using countermapping and the archive operate under the assumption that institutional representations of migration may be criticized for what they deliberately fail to include, and especially abuses, deaths, and disappearances stemming from strategies of immigration enforcements. Something that is missing from their content, and which qualifies their narration as incomplete at best and fraudulent at worst. All these projects are effective in denouncing violence and abuses hidden from public view, and to support legal litigation by providing evidence in court. Unlike other approaches to archiving and mapmaking, they do not attack the very epistemic parameters underpinning institutional representations, as their focus is not on what they say or how they say it, as much as what they don't say at all.

Notably, the same idea animated the first wave of critical approaches to archival and cartographic theory in the late 20th century. At that time, the adoption of Marxism and eventually feminism and postcolonialism in the context of historical research led to a critique of institutional archives that centered on what was missing from their records (Miller 1981; Spivak 1985). Historians took aim at the main tenets of modern archival theory, which conceptualized the archive as an organic whole mirroring the life of an institution (see Ridener 2008). Instead of treating the archive as a neutral witness of the past, critics would qualify its histories as hegemonic narrations by the ruling classes, directing attention to the erasure of those voices that did not make it into the records: the working class, women, colonial and indigenous subjects (Dirks 2002).

In the context of archival research, this approach consists of a hermeneutic strategy that interprets the archive as text, while also assuming that the text's pivotal meaning and significance is hidden beyond its surface. In the context of historiography, this interpretive approach drew from the reading of Freud, Nietzsche, and especially Marx (Ricoeur 1970, 32). In Paul Ricoeur's work, the three philosophers are associated with a hermeneutics of suspicion, or a "symptomatic reading" as it is generally referred to in the Anglo-American context (Best and Marcus 2009). The acknowledgment of the archives' partiality also led to experimenting with alternative methodologies, and especially oral history (Portelli 2010). This could overcome absences in the archive by permitting historians to collect data from groups whose memories and voices did not make it into records. Especially in the context of migration and border studies, oral history continues to play a fundamental role for writing histories "from below" (Martinez 2014; Steinberger 2023; Strle 2023).

In the context of contemporary projects, the same questions and problems may be observed in forensic strategies to collect evidence of abuses. A notable example is the work of the Border Violence Monitoring Network (Border Violence Monitoring Network 2020), a collective of different advocacy organizations operating on the Balkan Route. The group's main mission is to document abuses and illegal practices on the Route, and especially the use of pushbacks by state agents. In 2020, evidence unearthed by BVMN was crucial for leading an Italian tribunal to establish that Italy was conducting an illegal policy of informal pushbacks at its Slovenian border (StateWatch 2021). Beyond tribunals, the work of BVMN aspires to sway public opinion by providing evidence of violence that is absent from

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

institutional, mainstream representations of migration in Italy and Europe. Migrants are key informants for investigators, as their testimonies and recordings allow for the reconstruction of events that are deliberately hidden by the informal strategies of states' agents.

Other notable efforts are found in projects working on deaths and disappearances across migratory routes, especially in the Mediterranean Sea and across Mexico and its northern border. Some of these projects are driven by the humanitarian goal of identifying human remains in the interest of the victims' families and friends. An example is the LABANOF (Laboratorio di Antropologia e Odontologia Forense) archive in Milan, which collects evidence of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean (Kittner 2021). Among the evidence are the possessions of deceased and disappeared individuals, which are stored to permit their identification by family members. Other projects, however, operate with the goal of linking deaths and disappearances to immigration policies, thus advancing accusations of political and criminal responsibility against states or international organizations. The Colibrí Human Rights Center in Arizona is a notable example. This organization collects data through interviews with relatives and friends of disappeared individuals, combining them with work by forensic anthropologists (Lize and Fischer 2022, 11–14).

Historically, "symptomatic reading" has affected critical cartography as much as archival theory, and the forensic approach informs a range of projects utilizing countermapping to offer cartographic representations of abuse or structural violence. The very term countermapping was first adopted by Peluso (1995), who used it to describe how NGOs and indigenous communities in Indonesia utilized mapmaking to support their claims to forest use. Since then, and especially in Latin America, the term has indicated the drawing of maps that represent the historic presence of indigenous communities across territories now part of postcolonial states (Bryan 2019; Wainwright and Bryan 2009). In this context, the prefix "counter" identified the antagonistic posture of these maps, which targeted the erasure of indigenous communities by the modern mapping of Latin America. This process also required the collection and archiving of oral histories, indigenous knowledge, and traces of indigenous presence across the land, thus linking mapping and archiving as political and epistemological practices (Dunnavant et al. 2023; also see Maharawal and McElroy 2018).

In the context of migration, countermapping supports forensic projects denouncing border violence. For example, cartographers working in the Undocumented Migration Project utilize GIS to map deaths and disappearances across the Western section of the US-Mexico border (Gokee et al. 2020), thus giving a visual representation of the human toll of US immigration enforcement that is erased in institutional representations. In the context of the Balkan Route, the Push-Back Map Collective (2020) stands out as a countermapping project concerned with mapping illegal pushbacks across the Balkans, drawing from data collected by BVMN. Finally, another example is the *Forensic Oceanography* project led by Pezzani and Heller (2013), which famously maps shipwrecks and disappearances in the Mediterranean through investigations designed to unearth institutional responsibilities by FRONTEX or EU Member States.

2.2 | Looking at the Presence: Surface Reading and Evocative Projects

As discussed, a symptomatic reading finds a text's meaning and significance in what is absent from its surface. However, this hermeneutic approach risks leading to an impasse, as it may end up discounting archives and maps as spoiled documents incapable of conveying any worthy information. In other words, a critique that is solely concerned with absences risks narrowing the textual analysis to the unsaid, thus detracting attention to the actual content of the records. Such an approach may disregard how the documents' surface is not simply a mask, as it also establishes epistemic and political parameters that have a greater significance than mere cover-up.

As a hermeneutic approach, "surface reading" offers an alternative (Best and Marcus 2009). It treats the text as a whole, and not by imagining it as a perfect, objective photograph of the events that it describes, but as the unspoiled results of its historic conditions of possibility, thus offering a window into the context of its production. In cartographic research, there are numerous examples of such a hermeneutic approach to the reading and analysis of maps by states and international organizations, particularly in the context of migration (Cobarrubias 2025). Cartography plays a key role in this context, offering both a visual representation of migratory flows, and enabling specific solutions to their containment. In this sense, these analyses do not read maps to find what they are missing, as much as to identify which strategies, understandings, and ideologies are produced through specific cartographic techniques (Casas-Cortes et al. 2017; Van Houtum and Bueno Lacy 2020).

This approach to the reading of maps dates back to developments within critical cartography since at least the 1990s. These consisted of a change in focus from the analysis of specific maps to the examination of cartography as a specific practice, epistemology, and profession (for an analysis of the cartographic gaze outside the Anglo-American context see: Farinelli 1998; Olsson 1994). Within this transition, maps were investigated as windows into the political and historic contexts of their production (Pickles 2004). Furthermore, deviating from an understanding of maps as finite objects with a fixed meaning, scholars conceptualized them as inscriptions whose significance would change depending on the contexts. As such, maps carry their generative power across time due to their endless possibilities of re-reading in the present and the future (Cosgrove 2005; Driver 2010; Kitchin and Dodge 2007).

These conceptual developments inform a variety of projects using countermapping to challenge contemporary border regimes. In this case, the focus is not on what institutional representations deliberately fail to include, as much as on the use of cartography to challenge their very epistemic parameters, and to elicit understandings of migratory mobility that center on its political significance. Examples are found in the work of collectives and groups where countermapping is conceptualized as an explicit political practice, such as the Migreurop (2017), or the work of Kollektiv Orangotango (2018). These are examples of maps that do not simply include more or different information than mainstream maps, as they also provide new concepts to interpret migration and represent it politically. "Mustafa's

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

journey", which is contained in the Migreurop's Atlas (2017: 91), is a powerful example. The map depicts the journey of the author from Syria to Greece. The experiences and emotions felt across the route are reported through text, thus linking space, time, and duress through a style of mapmaking that consciously rejects the usage of "scientific" techniques such as GIS, as they would inevitably erase the experience and agency of migrants on their journey (also see Brown and Knopp 2008).

Remaining on countermapping, the possibility of evoking different understandings of mobility, and especially while directing attention to its political significance, links mapmaking and archiving in innovative ways. The work of Tazzioli (2024) stands out as especially groundbreaking in this context. Tazzioli conceptualizes counter-archiving and countermapping as a single methodology and analytic, which consists of tracing migrants' routes by using archival research and interviews with migrants and residents living close to the trails. In doing so, she maps a route's development over time, while centering her description into the political nature of the route itself, which emerges as a site of conflicts among different actors, knowledges, and claims to mobility. Tazzioli's work in the archive consists of a close examination of records concerning the passage of people across the French-Italian border since the 1950s'. In doing so, she analyzes how the presence of foreigners was perceived by authorities and residents over time, examining the route's formation as an uneven development made up of different understandings of migration by separate observers.

This approach to archival research is not exclusive to Tazzioli's work. When brought into the archive, "surface reading" entails a close examination of the records which are never read as incomplete or spoiled, as much as testimonies on the context of their own production (Bastian 2006). The work of Stoler (2009) is likely the most influential example of such an approach to archival research. In her reading of colonial archives, Stoler treats the records as windows into the workings of colonial administration. Records demonstrate what their authors feared, what they considered unimportant, unspeakable, or mere common sense. This approach treats the archive as a "generative substance," (Stoler 2009, 1) meaning a collection of records and artifacts that may be re-read at different historical junctures with multiple effects.

This is a conceptual approach strongly tied to French philosophy and poststructuralism. In Derrida's influential lecture (1998), it is captured by the idea of the archive as "open to the future," an openness that is guaranteed by the possibility for "an extended reading, or rewriting, of what others have written" (Harris 2002, 61). In this context, the archive can potentially refer to any body of knowledge, text, or artifacts, as long as it is examined for its ability to produce new meaning, and not for its value as evidence of past events (Fierz 2021). This understanding of the archive rejects the major pillars of modern archival theory, as the records' significance no longer stands in their authenticity or ability to photograph past events (Brothman 2001, 63–66; Cook 1997; Houdek 2016; Meehan 2009). Instead, they owe their power to the ability to generate re-readings and re-writings, and their importance is transferred into the future and no longer to the past (Hamilton et al. 2002; Ketelaar 2017; Steedman 2011).

In the context of archival projects, a typical example of the "evocative" approach are archives and collection gathering objects left across the migrants' trails. There is now sizable literature examining the significance of these records. Concerning the US-Mexico border specifically, scholars have explored how objects left across the trail become charged in political discourse, often described as trash by right-wing or humanitarian groups sharing anti-migratory sentiments (Sundberg 2008; Squire 2014). Conversely, activists supporting freedom of movement treat migrants' objects as artifacts with the power of conveying meaning and memories (Soto 2018). De and Léon (2015) and Brigden (2018) take this approach in their ethnographic work on migration into the United States. They relate to the objects as traces, which can be examined not so much for their ontological value as empty bottles, clothing, or food cans, as much as for how their characteristics and location permits to retrace the dynamics of migratory routes (also see Amigoni and Aru 2023).

In other words, the objects are not collected due to their authenticity. Nothing makes the shirt left across the trail more valuable than any other shirt but for its power to convey a narration, a description that may be mobilized in the future for the pursuance of a goal. This idea informs the numerous attempts to build archives, collections, or expositions of migrants' objects collected across the routes. Examples include the famous exposition *Encounters,* which is made up of objects carried by the Mediterranean sea (Goldhahn and Ricciardo 2021); *Panta Rei*, which displays objects left by people on the move across the Balkan Route (Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso Transeuropa 2019); *Laundromat,* a collection of clothing left by refugees in the Greek camp of Idomeni after their forced displacement (Claramonte 2024).

All these projects pose political and ethical challenges (Bublatzky and Siegenthaler 2022). How should the archivist operate when confronting such artifacts? Any collection is preceded by the phase of appraisal, thus charging the archivist with the responsibility of judging the value of an object whose history and previous owners are often unknown. Furthermore, once the objects are collected how to order them is exceptionally difficult, as any act of cataloging implies an authoritative operation where the archivist pilots the narration that is conveyed. In Lampedusa, this very issue led to a breakup within a group formed by activists and academics working around a museum centered on migrants' objects carried into the island by the sea. A group of activists concluded that the project was ultimately unbearable, as it would have obscured the agency and voices of the unknown, often deceased individuals to whom the objects had previously belonged to (Gatta 2017).

The case of Lampedusa speaks to the issue of impasse discussed above. Just as an exclusive focus on the absence in the archive may lead to give up on the repository as a worthy source, here the absence of the objects' owners—coupled with their violent deaths—placed an unbearable responsibility on the collectors. At the same time, in his account of the incident, Gatta (2017: 96) raises an important objection to opposition against the project: any act of collecting and ordering the objects—and even the choice not to organize an exhibition at all—implies an active intervention by the collector, who cannot escape this responsibility. More broadly, this argument implies that there is

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

no way to document, map, or archive any experience or event as "it truly happened." Returning to the case of oral histories mentioned above, even the collection of the informants' words should never be confused for a strategy of "letting them speak" (Portelli 2010). An interview, the appraisal of a record, the description of an object, all presume the presence of more than one speaker, and the idea of an unspoiled voice is but a fiction produced by the narration itself. Nevertheless, when confronting this problem in exceptionally violent contexts, refusal to engage remains a viable option, due to the weight and grief behind the artifacts, and the political and ethical risks inherent to their possible misuse and appropriation.

As a field of historical research, slavery studies have closely scrutinized this problem (Fuentes 2016). In the archive, slaves only appear as cargo, or the victims of graphic violence. Failure is inevitable for those entering the archive looking for closure, to commemorate the disappeared, or even remedy a past wrong (Best 2011; also, Mbembe 2002, 24). On the other hand, there is a liberatory potential when accessing the archive to open it. As mentioned, opening the archive implies re-reading the records not to testify about what happened, as much as to affect the present and future by re-writing its content. This is the central argument of Samaya Hatman's research on the Atlantic slave trade. When confronting the violence against nameless slaves, she imagines their lives and identity before enslavement as the "anticipated future" in the process of re-writing the records (Hartman 2008, 4). Hartman's own existence as an African American makes the erasure of the slaves' lives immediately present, and the *political* impossibility of closure is precisely what makes the question of the archive so actual and urgent (Hartman 2007). Thus, grief and anger do not lead to inaction, as they are turned into powerful forces to be harnessed in the present for subversive purposes.

2.3 | Participatory Projects: Archiving and Mapmaking as Generative Practices

Finally, the third approach that I find concerns those projects focusing not so much on the maps or collections that are gathered or drawn, but on the process of their making and assemblage. These projects should not be intended as independent or radically distinct from the "evocative" approach discussed above. In this case as well, archives and maps are treated as generative of thought and action, and the projects' purpose is to challenge dominant representations of migration by laying out the conditions for alternative politics and understandings. However, they do so while focusing on their participatory nature, and by treating the very moments of assembling the records and drawing maps as generative of possibilities.

The idea of participatory archives stems from developments within archival theory during the late 20th century. While modern archival theory imposed a clear distinction between archivists and users—with archivists conceived as custodians of records—(Jenkins, 1922) the shift toward alternative models challenged this division of roles and responsibilities. For archivists, this transition prompted the adoption of ordering methods oriented toward the users, to enable and facilitate their access (Huvila 2008). But furthermore, the acknowledgment of the generative potential of the archive would lead to treating it as a tool for political communities to gather and assemble their own histories and memories (Assmann 2010). Thus, participatory approaches resulted in the establishment of archives and counter-archives bringing together participants with different backgrounds and skills, overcoming the very distinction between archivists and users in this context (see Cook 2013; Punzalan and Caswell 2016; Vukliš and Gilliland 2016).

A powerful example of a participatory archive is the Archive of Migrant Memories (AMM) in Rome. In this case, the archive stands as a collection of multiple life stories of migrants who reached Italy through different routes, but usually from the Horn of Africa (Triulzi 2014). However, the power of the archive lies in its participatory design, where migrants record and order their own stories, which become available for further work such as documentaries and films. Archiving here becomes a political and social practice, and the telling of life stories is utilized as an opportunity for exchange between Italian and non-Italian participants. In fact, storytelling is adopted in the school of Italian available to migrants, where students do not learn the language through standard curricula but by using Italian in combination with their native language to reconstruct and map their life stories (Triulzi 2020).

Among the archives discussed here, AMM stands as the most developed example of an open archive, as there is no defined boundary between the inside and outside of the repository. Films made with migrants' testimonies are actual parts of it, and not external products that work on the record from the outside. In fact, the archive's purpose is not to collect finite records as much as to enable practices, meaning, and discourse. It builds communities by providing the conditions for productive exchanges.

In terms of mapping, this approach has been adopted in ethnographic works where scholars have asked participants to draw their own migratory journeys (Campos-Delgado 2018; Ceola 2023; Scheuing 2017; Swanson and Torres 2016). In this case, mapmaking is treated as a performance, so that the attention shifts from the map itself as a finite product to the very process of its drawing (Mekdjian 2015). As discussed above, this inherently criticizes the very notion of the map as a finite, "closed" product, and the understanding of cartography as an exclusive purview of skilled professionals. Instead, mapmaking is conceptualized as a practice that is productive of new meaning and discourse, allowing migrants to depict their own understanding and experience of the journey (Dalton and Mason-Deese 2012; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2017; also see Fish 2021; Oslender 2021). For the ethnographer, it is not only the map itself to be relevant, but the process and exchanges around its making (Brigden 2018, 148–153).

3 | Conclusions

This article examined how the archive and the map show a connected history and application from their modern understanding to their current usage across political projects and interventions. In tracing this parallel, I did not attempt to unveil

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

some essential qualities that are common to both. Instead, I focused on their applications across different contexts, tracing a connection that is rooted in the possibilities they open. In their current use and conceptualization, maps and archives function as generative instruments that have proven effective to express a dissensus and build affirmative politics. As demonstrated, this is particularly the case in the context of the politics of unauthorized migrations, where countermapping and the archive have served as material instruments and concepts to challenge contemporary border regimes.

I distinguished three main approaches to countermapping and the archive in this context. Regardless of their structure and aim, all these projects play a vital political role by documenting mobility in a way that is apt to preserve and construct memories of migration that are disqualified by institutional mediums and representations. The value of these projects, however, is not the quality of their maps and repositories as finite objects. Instead, it is rooted in their ability to generate the conditions for new thought and action, where maps and archives are instruments across broader political projects and campaigns.

In this sense, the value of the archive, and ultimately its very power, does not lie in the evidence of the past that it carries, as much as in its ability to open new possibilities in the future. As such, the archive is an especially powerful instrument in the current political context, and one to which geographers may contribute through their training and methods. This article, therefore, is intended as a proposal for scholars wishing to work on archival projects, and especially those willing to engage with, reflect on, and critique the ideas presented here, while also pursuing further work on both the archive and the map.

Acknowledgements

Open access publishing facilitated by Universita degli Studi di Bologna, as part of the Wiley - CRUI-CARE agreement.

References

Amigoni, L., and S. Aru. 2023. "Memories From the 'Invisible City': Migration Traces at the French-Italian Border of Ventimiglia." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 50, no. 4: 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2219018.

Appadurai, A. 2003. "Archive and Aspiration." In *Information is Alive. Art and Theory on Archiving and Retrieving Data*, edited by J. Brouwer and A. Mulder, 14–25. NAI Publisher.

Assmann, A. 2010. "Canon and Archive: The Dynamics of Cultural Memory Between Remembering and Forgetting." In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by A. Erll and A. Nünning, 97–107. Walter de Gruyter.

Atkinson, D. 2003. "Geographical Knowledge and Scientific Survey in the Construction of Italian Libya." *Modern Italy* 8, no. 1: 9–29. https://doi.org/10.1080/1353294032000074052.

Azoulay, A. 2011. "Archive." *Political Concepts: A Critical Lexicon*. https://www.politicalconcepts.org/archive-ariella-azoulay/.

Bastian, J. A. 2006. "Reading Colonial Records Through an Archival Lens: The Provenance of Place, Space and Creation." *Archival Science* 6, no. 3–4: 267–284. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-006-9019-1.

Battaglia, G., J. Clarke, and F. Siegenthaler. 2020. "Bodies of Archives/Archival Bodies: An Introduction." *Visual Anthropology Review* 36, no. 1: 8–16. https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12203.

Ben-David, A. 2020. "Counter-Archiving Facebook." *European Journal of Communication* 35, no. 3: 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323120922069.

Berger, D., Donea, M., Hattwig, D., & Rowland, D. (2018). "A Counter-Archive of imprisonment: The Washington Prison History Project." *Public: Arts, Design, Humanities*, 5(5).

Best, S. 2011. "Neither Lost Nor Found: Slavery and the Visual Archive." *Representations* 113, no. 1: 150–163. https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2011.113.1.150.

Best, S., and S. Marcus. 2009. "Surface Reading: An Introduction." *Representations* 108, no. 1: 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2009.108.1.1.

Border Violence Monitoring Network. (2020) *The Black Book of Pushbacks*. Brussels: the European Parliamentary Group.

Brigden, N. 2018. *The Migrant's Passage*. Cornell University Press.

Brothman, B. 2001. "The Past That Archives Keep: Memory, History, and the Preservation of Archival Records." *Archivaria* 51, no. 1: 48–80. https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12794.

Brown, M., and L. Knopp. 2008. "Queering the Map: The Productive Tensions of Colliding Epistemologies." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1: 40–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045600701734042.

Bryan, J. 2019. "Counter-Mapping Development." In *The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development*, edited by J. Cupples, M. Palomino-Schalscha, and M. Prieto, 263–272. Routledge.

Bublatzky, C., and F. Siegenthaler, eds. 2022. *Unsighted Archives of Migration: Spaces of Encounter and Resistance*. Routledge.

Campos-Delgado, A. 2018. "Counter-Mapping Migration: Irregular Migrants' Stories Through Cognitive Mapping." *Mobilities* 13, no. 4: 488–504. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2017.1421022.

Casas-Cortes, M., S. Cobarrubias, C. Heller, and L. Pezzani. 2017. "Clashing Cartographies, Migrating Maps: Mapping and the Politics of Mobility at the External Borders of E.U.Rope." *Acme* 16, no. 1: 1–33. https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/1094.

Ceola, F. 2023. "Counter-Mapping and Migrant Infrastructures: Some Critical Reflections From the' Campscape' of Shatila, Beirut." *Mashriq & Mahjar: Journal of Middle East and North African Migration Studies* 10, no. 1: 137–170. https://doi.org/10.24847/v10i12023.364.

Claramonte, M. C. Á. V. (2024). "Migrant objects." In *Translation and Objects* (Vol. 5). 38–75, Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003488170-3.

Cobarrubias, S. 2025. "The Moral Geographies of Migration Maps: Spatial Order as a Normative Basis for Border Control." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 51, no. 10: 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2461348.

Cook, T. 1997. "Archives, Evidence, and Memory: Thoughts on a Divided Tradition." *Archival Issues* 22, no. 2: 177–182. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41101980.

Cook, T. 2013. "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms." *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3: 95–120. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7.

Cosgrove, D. 2005. "Maps, Mapping, Modernity: Art and Cartography in the Twentieth Century." *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 1: 35–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/0308569042000289824.

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

Craggs, R. 2008. "Situating the Imperial Archive: The Royal Empire Society Library, 1868-1945." *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 1: 48–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2007.04.002.

Dalton, C., and L. Mason-Deese. 2012. "Counter (Mapping) Actions: Mapping as Militant Research." *Acme* 11, no. 3: 439–466. https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/941.

Davies, T., A. Isakjee, and J. Obradovic-Wochnik. 2023. "Epistemic Borderwork: Violent Pushbacks, Refugees, and the Politics of Knowledge at the EU Border." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 113, no. 1: 169–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2022.2077167.

De Léon, J. 2015. *The Land of Open Graves*. University of California Press.

DeLyser, D. 2014. "Towards a Participatory Historical Geography: Archival Interventions, Volunteer Service, and Public Outreach in Research on Early Women Pilots." *Journal of Historical Geography* 46: 93–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2014.05.028.

Derrida, J. 1998. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. University of Chicago Press.

Dirks, N. B. 2002. "Annals of the Archive: Ethnographic Notes on the Source of History." In *From the Margin: Historical Anthropology and its Futures*, edited by B. K. Axel, 47–65. Duke University Press.

Driver, F. 2010. "In Search of the Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire." *History Workshop Journal* 69, no. 1: 146–157. https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbp029.

Dunnavant, J. P., S. A. Wernke, and L. E. Kohut. 2023. "Counter-Mapping Maroon Cartographies: GIS and Anticolonial Modeling in St. Croix." *Acme* 22, no. 5: 1294–1319. https://doi.org/10.7202/1107310ar.

Edney, M. H. 1999. *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843*. University of Chicago Press.

Farinelli, F. 1998. "Did Anaximander Ever Say (Or Write) Any Words? The Nature of Cartographical Reason." *Ethics, Place & Environment* 1, no. 2: 135–144. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668799808573640.

Fierz, G. 2021. "The Blank Spots: Making Migratory Archives Visible by Exploring Photographs." *Visual Anthropology* 34, no. 4: 368–384. https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2021.1944775.

Fish, A. 2021. "Participatory Cartography." In *The Handbook of Peer Production*, edited by M. O'Neil, C. Pentzold, and S. Toupin, 185–196. Wiley Blackwell.

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Pantheon Books.

Fuentes, M. J. 2016. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gatta, G. 2017. "Tracce alla deriva: Gli oggetti dei migranti a Lampedusa tra musealizzazione, partecipazione e ideologia [Drifting traces: Migrants' objects at Lampedusa in Between musealization, participation, and ideology]." *Afriche e Orienti* 1: 91–103.

Gokee, C., H. Stewart, and J. De Léon. 2020. "Scales of Suffering in the US-Mexico Borderlands." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4: 823–851. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-019-00535-6.

Goldhahn, A., and M. Ricciardo. 2021. "Objects of Migration—Photo-Objects of Art History: Encounters in an Archive." *Visual Anthropology* 34, no. 4: 339–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2021.1944773.

Hamilton, C., V. Harris, G. Reid, and C. Ham. 2002. *Refiguring the Archive*. Springer.

Harris, V. 2002. "A Shaft of Darkness: Derrida in the Archive." In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by C. Hamilton, V. Harris, G. Reid, and C. Ham, 61–82. Springer.

Hartman, S. 2007. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey along the Atlantic Slave Route*. FSG.

Hartman, S. 2008. "Venus in Two Acts." *Small Axe* 12, no. 2: 1–14. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003053989-5.

Hodder, J., and D. Beckingham. 2022. "Digital Archives and Recombinant Historical Geographies." *Progress in Human Geography* 46, no. 6: 1298–1310. https://doi.org/10.1177/03091325221103603.

Horsti, K. 2019. "Temporality in Cosmopolitan Solidarity: Archival Activism and Participatory Documentary Film as Mediated Witnessing of Suffering at Europe's Borders." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 22, no. 2: 231–244. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549418823062.

Houdek, M. 2016. "The Rhetorical Force of 'Global Archival Memory': (Re)Situating Archives Along the Global Memoryscape." *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 9, no. 3: 204–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/17513057.2016.1195006.

Huvila, I. 2008. "Participatory Archive: Towards Decentralised Curation, Radical User Orientation, and Broader Contextualisation of Records Management." *Archival Science* 8, no. 1: 15–36. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-008-9071-0.

Ketelaar, E. 1996. "Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual." *Archivaria* 41: 31–40.

Ketelaar, E. 2017. "Archival Turns and Returns." In *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, edited by A. J. Gilliland, S. McKemmish, and A. J. Lau, 228–268. Monash University Publishing.

Kitchin, R., and M. Dodge. 2007. "Rethinking Maps." *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 3: 331–344. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132507077082.

Kittner, A. E. 2021. "Objects of Migration: On Archives and Collections, Archivists and Collectors." *Visual Anthropology* 34, no. 4: 385–404. https://doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2021.1944777.

Kollektiv Orangotango+. 2018. *This Is Not an Atlas*. Transcript Verlag.

Lize, P. D., and A. R. Fischer. 2022. "Death and Disappearance at Border Crossings: Factualization Devices and Truth(s) Accounts." *Tapuya: Latin American Science, Technology and Society* 5, no. 1. https://doi.org/10.1080/25729861.2022.2111106.

Lustig, J. 2020. "Epistemologies of the Archive: Toward a Critique of Archival Reason." *Archival Science* 20, no. 1: 65–89. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09313-z.

Maharawal, M. M., and E. McElroy. 2018. "The Anti-eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108, no. 2: 380–389. https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1365583.

Martinez, M. M. 2014. "Recuperating Histories of Violence in the Americas: Vernacular History-Making on the US-Mexico Border." *American Quarterly* 66, no. 3: 661–689. https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2014.0040.

Mbembe, A. 2002. "The Power of the Archive and its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by C. Hamilton, V. Harris, G. Reid, and C. Ham, 19–26. Springer.

Meehan, J. 2009. "The Archival Nexus: Rethinking the Interplay of Archival Ideas About the Nature, Value, and Use of Records." *Archival Science* 9, no. 3: 157–164. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-009-9107-0.

Mekdjian, S. 2015. "Mapping Mobile Borders: Critical Cartographies of Borders Based on Migration Experiences." In *Borderities and the Politics of Contemporary Mobile Borders*, edited by A.-L. Amilhat-Szary and F. Giraut, 204–223. Palgrave Macmillan.

Metcalfe, P. 2021. "Autonomy of Migration and the Radical Imagination: Exploring Alternative Imaginaries Within a Biometric Border." *Geopolitics* 27, no. 1: 47–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2021.1917550.

Migreurop. 2017. "Atlas des migrants en Europe.". *Approches critiques des politiques migratoires*. Armand Colin.

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

Miller, F. M. 1981. "Social History and Archival Practice." *American Archivist* 44, no. 2: 113–124. https://doi.org/10.17723/aarc.44.2.r5x54qq0r71275w4.

Mills, S. 2013. "Cultural-Historical Geographies of the Archive: Fragments, Objects and Ghosts." *Geography Compass* 7, no. 10: 701–713. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12071.

Mitchell, P., A. Lester, and K. Boehme. 2019. "The Centre of the Muniment': Archival Order and Reverential Historiography in the India Office, 1875." *Journal of Historical Geography* 63: 12–22. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2018.08.007.

Motha, S., and H. van Rijswijk. 2016. *Law, Memory, Violence: Uncovering the Counter-archive*. Routledge.

Olsson, G. 1994. "Heretic Cartography." *Fennia* 172, no. 2: 115–130. https://doi.org/10.1177/147447409400100301.

Oslender, U. 2021. "Decolonizing Cartography and Ontological Conflict: Counter-Mapping in Colombia and 'Cartographies Otherwise.'." *Political Geography* 89: 102444. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102444.

Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso Transeuropa. 2019. *Panta Rei: Vite migranti lungo la rotta balcanica*. Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso Transeuropa. https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/Appuntamenti/Panta-Rei-Vite-migranti-lungo-la-rotta-balcanica.

Peluso, N. L. 1995. "Whose Woods Are These? Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia." *Antipode* 27, no. 4: 383–406. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1995.tb00286.x.

Pezzani, L., and C. Heller. 2013. "A Disobedient Gaze: Strategic Interventions in the Knowledge(s) of Maritime Borders." *Postcolonial Studies* 16, no. 3: 289–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2013.850047.

Pickles, J. 2004. *A History of Spaces. Cartographic Reason, Mapping and the Geo-Coded World*. Routledge.

Portelli, A. 2010. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. State University of New York Press.

Punzalan, R. L., and M. Caswell. 2016. "Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice." *Library Quarterly* 86, no. 1: 25–42. https://doi.org/10.1086/684145.

Push-Back Map Collective. 2020. "The Push-Back Map: Mapping Border Violence in Europe and Beyond. A Collective Self-Reflection." *Movements* 5, no. 1: 197–290.

Reynolds, J., G. Wu, and J. Young. 2023. "Counter-Archive as Methodology: Activating Oral Histories of the Contested Canada-US Border." *Acme* 22, no. 4: 1197–1214. https://doi.org/10.7202/1106681ar.

Richards, T. 1993. *The Imperial Archive. Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. Verso.

Ricoeur, P. 1970. *Freud and Philosophy. An Essay on Interpretation*. Yale University Press.

Ridener, J. 2008. "From Polders to Postmodernism." In *A Concise History of Archival Theory*. Litwin Books.

Santer, K., and V. Wriedt. 2017. "(De-)Constructing Borders: Contestations in and Around the Balkan Corridor in 2015/16." *Movements* 3, no. 1: 141–150.

Scheuing, D. 2017. "Whose is This Space? Using Collaborative Cartography on the Balkan Route to Navigate Oppressive Spaces." *IReflect* 4, no. S1: 69–96.

Soto, G. 2018. "Object Afterlives and the Burden of History: Between 'Trash' and 'Heritage' in the Steps of Migrants." *American Anthropologist* 120, no. 3: 460–473. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13055.

Spivak, G. 1985. "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives." *History and Theory* 24, no. 3: 247–272. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505169.

Squire, V. 2014. "Desert 'Trash': Posthumanism, Border Struggles, and Humanitarian Politics." *Political Geography* 39: 11–21. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2013.12.003.

Squire, V., N. Perkowski, D. Stevens, and N. Vaughan-Williams. 2021. *Reclaiming Migration: Voices from Europe's 'migrant Crisis*. Manchester University Press.

StateWatch. 2021. "When Informal Means Illegal: Italian Interior Ministry Guilty of Pushbacks to Slovenia." *StateWatch*. https://www.statewatch.org/news/2021/january/when-informal-means-illegal-italian-interior-ministry-guilty-of-pushbacks-to-slovenia/.

Steedman, C. 2011. "After the Archive." *Comparative Critical Studies* 8, no. 2–3: 321–340. https://doi.org/10.3366/ccs.2011.0026.

Steinberger, S. 2023. "Mapping Belonging: Analysing Spaces With Oral History in the Border Region of Melilla and Nador." *Wrocławski Rocznik Historii Mówionej* 13: 64–84. https://doi.org/10.26774/wrhm.334.

Stierl, M., and M. Tazzioli. 2021. "Toward an Archive of Migrant Struggles: Critique and the Materiality of Justice." In *Migration and the Contested Politics of Justice: Europe and the Global Dimension*, edited by G. Grappi, 227–241. Routledge.

Stoler, A. L. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton University Press.

Stoler, A. L. 2016. *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Time*. Duke University Press.

Stoler, A. L. 2018. "On Archiving as Dissensus." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 38, no. 1: 43–56. https://doi.org/10.1215/1089201x-4389967.

Strle, U. 2023. "The Ethical Imperative in the Oral History Method: Select Observations on Historical Research on Migration and Border Spaces." *Acta Histriae* 31, no. 3: 363–528. https://doi.org/10.19233/AH.2023.17.

Sundberg, J. 2008. "'Trash-Talk' and the Production of Quotidian Geopolitical Boundaries in the USA—Mexico Borderlands." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 8: 871–890. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360802441424.

Swanson, K., and R. M. Torres. 2016. "Child Migration and Transnationalized Violence in Central and North America." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 15, no. 3: 23–48. https://doi.org/10.1353/lag.2016.0029.

Sweet, E. L., and S. Ortiz Escalante. 2017. "Engaging Territorio Cuerpo-Tierra through Body and Community Mapping: A Methodology for Making Communities Safer." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 4: 594–606. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2016.1219325.

Tazzioli, M. 2015. "Which Europe? Migrants' Uneven Geographies and Counter-Mapping at the Limits of Representation." *Movements. Journal Für Kritische Migrations-Und Grenzregimeforschung* 1, no. 2: 1–20: ISSN 2364-8732.

Tazzioli, M. 2020. *The Making of Migration*. SAGE.

Tazzioli, M. 2024. "Assembling Traces of Border Violence. Counter-Mapping as Counter-Archiving." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 43, no. 3: 525–542. https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758241303367.

Tazzioli, M., and G. Garelli. 2020. "Containment beyond Detention: The Hotspot System and Disrupted Migration Movements Across Europe." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 38, no. 6: 1009–1027. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818759335.

Triulzi, A. 2014. "Storia e futuro. Voci racconti e testimonianze dall'Italia delle migrazioni." In *L'Archivio Delle Memorie Migranti (AMM) [History and Future. Voices, Tales, and Testimonies from an Italy of Migrations. The Archive of Migrant Memories]*, Vol. 35. Storia e Futuro.

Triulzi, A. 2020. "Archiviare il presente. L'autonarrazione dei migranti come fonte [To archive the present. Migrants' self-narration as a

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

source]." In *Stranieri Nel Ricordo. Verso Una Memoria Pubblica Delle Migrazioni*, edited by D. Salerno and P. Violi, 41–62. Il Mulino.

Van Houtum, H., and R. Bueno Lacy. 2020. "The Migration Map Trap. On the Invasion Arrows in the Cartography of Migration." *Mobilities* 15, no. 2: 196–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2019.1676031.

Vukliš, V., and A. Gilliland. 2016. "Archival Activism: Emerging Forms, Local Applications." In *Archives in the Service of People – People in the Service of Archives*, edited by B. Filej, 14–25. Alma Mater Europea.

Wainwright, J., and J. Bryan. 2009. "Cartography, Territory, Property. Postcolonial Reflections on Indigenous Counter-Mapping in Nicaragua and Belize." *Cultural Geographies* 16, no. 2: 153–178. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474008101151.

17498198, 2025, 7, Downloaded from https://compass.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/gec3.70040 by CochraneItalia, Wiley Online Library on [14/07/2025]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License