

Harraga, kharba, banlieue:
an approach to the transnational imaginary of young Moroccan people.

Author :

Chabier Gimeno-Monterde.

Doctor in Sociology, social worker and lecturer in the University of Zaragoza (Spain).

Member of :

- Research Group on Risk Societies (University of Zaragoza, Spain).
- Instituto Universitario de Investigación sobre Migraciones, Etnicidad y Desarrollo Social (Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain).

E-mail : chabierg@unizar.es

<http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/researcher-directory/chabier-gimeno-monterde>

Contact :

Chabier Gimeno-Monterde.

University of Zaragoza.

Faculty of Social Sciences and Work.

Department of Social Work and Social Services.

23, Violante de Hungría street.

50009 Zaragoza (Aragón, Spain).

All images have been taken from the profiles on social networks of young people who participated in the research.

Résumé :

Depuis 2007 nous étudions l'imaginaire symbolique des jeunes nord-africains qui migrent isolés vers Aragon (Espagne) et le sud-ouest de la France. Dans le cas de Toulouse, la symbolique est tamisée par la présence des quartiers ségrégués spatialement et socialement et présentant les imaginaires analogues 'd'exile'. L'analyse des réseaux sociaux virtuels et des entretiens montrent que l'iconographie de vandalisme et d'exclusion émanant des 'banlieues' agit comme facteur d'attraction, mais en même temps de dissuasion dans les projets migratoires de nombreux jeunes qui préfèrent contourner la France soit comme étape ou comme destination finale. Cette iconographie nourrit également l'imaginaire des jeunes qui, tout en restant dans l'Aragon, vandalisent leur esthétique et leurs discours.

Mots-clés: migration irrégulière, mineurs non-accompagnés, imaginaire, socialités, exode.

Abstract:

Since 2007 we are analyzing the symbolic imaginary of young people from North Africa who migrate alone to Aragon and Southwestern France. In the case of Toulouse, the symbolic is riddled with the presence in its territory of the spatial and socially segregated neighborhoods, with the corresponding imaginary of banishment. According to the interviews and analysis of virtual networks, the iconography of vandalism and exclusion emanating from the *banlieues* acts as a pull factor, both as a deterrent factor in the migration projects of many young people, who prefer to escape France as a stage or as a destination. But it also soaks the imaginary of those who remain in Aragon, vandalizing their aesthetic and discourses by mimicry.

Keywords: Irregular migration, unaccompanied minors, imaginary, socialities, exodus.

1. Minors who are migrating on their own

Children and young people are new migration actors. This is a new face of globalization, a growing trend in our century, with a more intense flow between states hierarchical and economically tied up. Whether between Mexico and the United States, between Morocco and Spain, or between South Africa and Mozambique, minors and new adults are migrating accompanied by relatives, badly accompanied by mafias or, often, just on their own (Suárez, 2006). The latter, legally called ‘unaccompanied minors’, are starring in Southern Europe migratory routes with a high administrative and media impact on migration policies. These young people live their migration under two conditions. As minors, they are subjects who, under international law, must be protected and hosted until they attain the age of majority (López, 2008). And although, under the European security policies, they are foreigners accessing irregularly to Europe, so they are subjects to be controlled and, when possible, to be expelled.

The research we present here comes from the author’s professional contact, as a social worker, with these young migrants institutionally hosted in Aragon, a region in Northeastern Spain. Between 2007 and 2012 we have held in-depth interviews with sixteen young migrants and thirty-nine professionals who deal with them (social workers, judges, prosecutors, policemen, forensic experts, etc.), in Aragon and other Spanish regions and in Morocco. Then, in an investigation still ongoing, we have broadened the scope of these interviews with youth, families and professionals in the South of France, especially in the area of Toulouse. From our statistical analysis of the 298 host records in the System of Protection of Children in Aragon (from 2000 to 2010), reflecting approximately half of the number of minors detected in this region, we can participate that it is a group of teenagers between 15 and 17 years old, from the Maghreb in a 78'5% and from West Africa in a 17'4%. And only a 4.4% are girls (Gimeno, 2013a).

However, this approach to a migration coming from the underground, using classic methodologies, did not explain many of the nuances that our daily contact with youth allowed us to intuit (Gimeno, 2013b). So, in order to move away from our established position of social workers, we combine those more uniform techniques with those less conventional. Thus, we complemented a participant observation with a floating observation (Pétonnet, 1982). And, at the same time, imitating these youngsters practicing *parkour*, we wandered through the urban spaces of Aragon and southern

France, according to the technique of the situationist drift or *dérive* (Debord, 1958). That's how we've found actors and migration scenarios non-observed by Child Protection Systems.

We have come across these actors and scenarios when living, not only as professionals, with young people who have migrated alone but also living in a virtual transnational space, conveyed through social networks in the net (Facebook and Tuenti). Through these networks we have participated in some of the manifestations of their imaginary (De Block, 2004). This imaginary can hardly be assumed by the symbolic frameworks of victimization established by humanitarian organizations and the Welfare State (O'Higgins, 2012) as a part of these teenagers hosted in the Child Protection System, because it seems to be 'unacceptable' (Mai, 2011).

The symbolic imaginary of young people from North and West Africa is an overflow of what we called Order, as a hegemonic power, both in origin and destination (Gimeno, 2013a: 111). Entangling ourselves in young people's matters and being soaked in their cultural creations of resistance -music, body worship, etc- (Aston, 2010), we were led by the research to the South of France, where we explored the ramifications of these transnational networks in neighborhoods on the periphery of cities with a strong presence of migrants.

We present here some of the findings of this ongoing investigation. An itinerary that begins in the North of Africa and takes us to Europe. While on this, we sat down to chat, to take a look to Europe and to have tea at the Cafe Hafa in Tangier (Morocco). We have chatted and uploaded videos with young people on Facebook, from Aragon. And we have practiced the *dérive* in the French *banlieues*. So, 'on the move' we also think that we intuit an imaginary with, at least, three dew points.

2. An imaginary in three stages

Being the virtual social networks and other on line tools meant to cross borders the vehicle of expression of this transnational imaginary, it is necessary to begin with by saying that these allow the synchronous creation of shared symbolism in both continents. The imaginary of youth who migrate alone extends beyond the administrative borders and it is supported, as we shall see, by adolescents with families in at least three States (Gimeno, 2013c).

From the analysis of the uses and contents thus virtualized, we concluded that there are at least three possible stages in this evolving cultural hybrid. The first stage shows us an imaginary of exit, wherein the symbols that hegemonic African power poses youngsters are aimed to limit their expectations (Pandolfo, 2007), socializing them in the perception of their place of origin as a space that doesn't provide opportunities to meet their global desires of young people: a place where it is not possible to consume in the way the global consumer society proposes.

About this imaginary we know what young people who come to Europe share virtually with those left behind, often expectant on a migration extremely present in their family histories. In fact, cultural creations around *harraga* or North African irregular migrants (Vacchiano, 2014) have a profuse presence on Youtube and other websites.

As an exercise of resistance young people respond to this power migrating to Spain, whether supported by their families, whether on their own. The imaginary is then nourished by symbolisms about passage (Gimeno, 2014), where hybrids of victimization and criminalization converge with cultural creations. These hybrids come from the coercive power, both the migration control devices and the social protection. And the cultural creations express the capability of agency that these youth have and their choice by the exodus and desertion (Virno, 2004) against the Order.

In other texts (Gimeno, 2013d) we have stated that although the State, spreading out its cognitive tools (Social Sciences) and techniques (Social Work), wants to make what happens in society predictable and controllable, minors are making unpredictable and uncontrollable what happens in socialities (the affective, the aesthetic). Or putting it in another way, the instituted, the Order, has established a symbolic structure of the adolescents' migration as subjects to be under control (for being foreigners) and subjects to be under protection (for being minors). While Disorder, that is, minors who migrate illegally, swims in an imaginary, in a subversive magma that overflows that symbolic structure (Bergua, 2007).

This magma of the imaginary, as we have said, runs underneath the instituted representations as the recurring photographs and videos of minors who risk their lives in fragile pateras (small and rickety boats, rafts, etc.) or in the underside of a truck. But social networks show minors who, aware of their position as losers on the 'educative' wrestling versus the child protection system, laugh at it again, in a speech *on line* which exhibits their desires, emotions and aesthetics, all marked by a hedonism, an

immediatism, and a consumerism incomprehensible by the protocols of the technicians that hold their guardianship.

However, the routes of children migrating alone to Spain do not stabilize themselves according to administrative borders, but rather due to the desires and the agency of family and peer networks with transnational presence (Arab, 2009). Around these hybrid and metastable pathways, where we are focusing our research today, imaginary of banishment emerges, pointing to the other European states North of the Pyrenees, as a destination for some, as a stage for some others. At this point we have studied France as a paradigm of this route. For that, we have begun carrying out observation and interviews to young people for whom the autonomous migration to Europe has or has had a stage in Spain. In the Iberian Peninsula these young people have found social and administrative barriers that social networks had already shown them when they were expectant migrants (Gimeno, 2013c: 149). And once these tensions are solved out, the migration routes may have been rooted in Spain or, increasingly, have continued to new stages, including those directed at France.

The French state focuses much of youth transnational imaginary on its former African colonies.

“They come [on holidays to Morocco] from Spain and France. There everything’s fucking right, there is work, you study ... so cool ... And you believe it, you think it’s going to fall from heaven. But they lie a lot, when you get [to Europe] you see the truth, you have been ripped off, almost going to die for ... [nothing]” (interview with young Moroccan Berber)¹.

In this imaginary about France the presence in its territory of the spatial and socially segregated neighborhoods has an outstanding position. The *banlieues*, inhabited by immigrants from five continents: these are the so-called places of banishment or *lieux du ban* (Dell’Umbria, 2006). These no man’s lands, as it occurs in virtual social networks we have observed, seem to represent for those youngsters who migrate alone no appropriated spaces, with no limits and no rules where it would be possible to live without distinctions (We-Others). While outside the *banlieues* migrants would be perceived through the binomial We/Others, which distinguishes and separates the different or enemies (Bergua, 2002).

¹ All translated texts, from interviews and chats on the internet, try to stick to the original register.

Let us now have a closer look at what these imaginary are and on what migration routes are located.

3. Complex migration itineraries

While for Social Work, as for the rest of state actors involved in migration control policies, migration routes of young Maghrebi to Europe have in Spain their first stage, the reality observed is far more complex.

Throughout our professional experience, as well as during our fieldwork in Morocco, Aragon and the south of France, we have been able to interview young people who have left North Africa to France (and to Italy as well), and from there they have arrived subsequently in various Spanish regions. These itineraries are not explained before child protection services since they break the stereotypes of the media and of the professionals on this migratory flow.

“I’ll skip that question of how I came, because I have not come as others ... If you turn that off [recorder], I’ll tell” (interview to Moroccan Arab minor).

Likewise, we have met young people who have moved regularly and intermittently between France and Spain, regularizing or not their legal situation in these states.

“How’s it going man?? I’m back from France last Sunday, so see you whenever you want ;) ciao friend =)” (Moroccan minor on Facebook).

In some cases, young people go through Spain briefly, avoiding migration controls, or running away from the protection centers for minors where they are referred to in case of being detected. They do so until they reach their goal and arrive in France, where their family network welcomes them. On these occasions, the goal is to settle in the south of France, in cities like Toulouse or Marseille, where developing their migration project with better options than in Spain is expected, beneath the shelter of relatives already rooted (image 1).

Image 1: From Morocco to Toulouse, passing through Zaragoza.



Source: Profile of young Moroccan on Facebook.

However, difficulties to regularize, to have access to employment or to get some support from programs protecting vulnerable population, eventually present the return to Spain as a desirable stage. Especially when they have other members of the family network or peers in this state.

“I’m in the street as usual [in Algeria], there are people who want to come [to Europe], they tell me you want to come, I know the sea, ... I never think of coming here. My brother does, thinks always, a year went five times and doesn’t arrive in Spain ... [We travel] on ordinary patera [precarious dinghy], four meters long, thirty hp engine. From Algeria, near my house, to Murcia [Spain] directly, ... Coastguard get me, I entered the police station, and in the morning directly to child protection center ... I entered the hospital, they test me, in my hand [to determine whether they’re minors or not] ... I stay only three days and I leave ... I leave France [with his family] ... There wasting time for nothing, work in the fields, no papers ... I have to go back to Spain. I have a friend ... He says you can come here. He was in the center of [child protection center] ... You can do a course and get papers. I tell my cousin [resident in Marseille], he got me here, to Zaragoza” (interview with Algerian minor).

4. The banishment as a deterrence

Therefore, the condensation of the transnational migration imaginary about France characterizes it as a stage that attracts at the same time that deters and rejects. To the young people interviewed, the limits on social mobility that French society impose on migrants, well described by Yamina Benguigui in 2004 in his film "Le plafond de verre", acquire new nuances and pose an additional migration overrun. The spatial and social segregation from peers and family living in the *banlieues* is manifested in the imaginary of these young people as an inner border. Thus the hegemonic power, that that puts limits to expectations of changing People's biographies, has inoculated in those who are migrating alone an image of the *banlieue* as a small Maghreb with no future (*Petit Maghreb sans avenir*, in the interviews).

Those who are migrating alone and have not arrived yet in France fear the rejection of that society, which they identify as the state and its tools of social control. In his profile on social networks, a minor points out angrily that excluding host (image 2):

“The fuckinngggg police only come after foreignersssss anything else” (young Moroccan Berber on Tuenti).

Image 2: Perception of institutional xenophobia.



Source: Profile of young Moroccan on Tuenti.

At the same time, among young people who doubt about a possible migratory stage in France, a tied resistance to spatial exclusion and police control is perceived: the vandalization of everyday life. This is transmitted from the *banlieues* to the rest of the globe as an exercise of self-affirmation, and it is perceived by young people as an inescapable part of the binomial Order-Disorder. The image 3, from a video, is commented in the same way by a young boy who has migrated alone to Aragon:

“*chof rwapa dial franc* [look at rappers from France]:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=9R-qFenjw8

“ (Moroccan minor on Facebook).

Image 3: Perception of vandalism.



Source: profile of a Moroccan young on Facebook.

Vandalism, however, is a co-creation (Peralva and Macé, 2002), of both elites who criminalize migration (Cette France-là, 2012) and of migrants who internalize and assume their role of symbolic resistance. The iconography of social war emanating from the *banlieues* leads young migrants, both in Africa and in Europe, to over-represent these scenarios in their imaginary about France: for not all migrants participate in that aesthetic and not all suburbs generate such segregation. So that this uniformization becomes a deterrent factor in migration projects of many young people, who prefer to leave aside France as a stage or a destination. This is being facilitated by the transnational assessment of the opportunities that these segregated habitats offer. This may be based on information from other peers, but is especially fueled by families, present actor on both sides of the borders (Gimeno, 2013c). For these the French

suburbs offer even fewer opportunities for social mobility than the economic and social precariousness of the North African community in Spain.

And this intensely questions the pull factor that has the state social assistance (*aide social*) as a trigger for migration to France; contrary to what is claimed by those who regards these young people through the prism of fuzzy xenophobic and standardising stereotypes. Being a non-citizen in Spain, something which is being mocked about on the profiles of these young people (image 4), seems to be better for some of them than to be ‘inserted’ or ‘integrated’ by social workers and other state agents, for example, in neighborhoods like *Le Mirail* or *Bagatelle* (both in Toulouse, France), where illegal migrant residence or regularization process is more difficult than on the Iberian peninsula. This is something that fits with the anthropological reticence to the Power of young people starring globalization (Maffesoli, 1996).

Image 4: Mockery about discrimination in Spain².



Source: profile of a Moroccan young on Tuenti.

We also said that peers, these other young compatriots, both those in a migration process and those members of the so-called ‘second generation’, emit other assessments on the French stage, parallel to that of the families. Supported by the perceptions of

² Translation: ‘You are Moroccan and you think you are Spanish, then you are a donkey.’

these peers, many young people have moved between Spain and France. Some with the ambiguity of shuttling between Toulouse and Zaragoza, without finally settling in either regions. Others in a determined scape in search of less limited horizons than the vandalism and the exclusion offered by the French suburbs (Santelli, 2007).

“Rap from neighborhoods, only rap ... They're obsessed with rap ... I liked Juanes, Manu Chao, ... in school they taught us all in the Spanish class ... I was already tired of France, I was already five years. Because you cannot be like that [residing irregularly]“
(interview with young Moroccan Berber).

In fact, relations between young people who have lived previous stages in France and have chosen to seek new opportunities in Spain can be narrow, implying accompaniment to youngsters once they reach Aragon, among other support.

“The next day a friend of [name] accompanied me. A guy who went through what I went through. He was in France too, that his uncle took him there ... He had problems there with school, stealing things and fled ... His sister brought him here [Zaragoza], at his cousin house” (interview to Moroccan minor).

In conclusion, despite that in the child protection centers in southern France we have contacted during our fieldwork with young Maghrebi that had been previously hosted in Spain, the ‘French myth’ has no stability, as it is with other transnational rumors around top migration destinations in Europe for these young people³. Just as everything in the migration of unaccompanied minors. All that seems to reach equilibrium, it loses it in months or years. Analyzing this metastability has allowed us to see the French stage as a misstep (*un faux pas*) for many young migrants, which leads to new resistances.

A Moroccan boy, who records his own songs and emulates most critical discourses from Arab rap, recounts that same experience of disappointment and search of new destinations:

“Friends that close the door on you and I continue my way, because in the hard times all turn their backs on you. And they say [name] won't be able to follow. Now we'll see who will stand and who will surrender” (song in Arabic, on his profile on Facebook).

³ “At the center there is now a myth on Germany, you can stay there until twenty-one, you are fine there” (professional of a public entity in Zaragoza).

5. New resistances: mimicry and chameleonism

What are, then, the new migratory overflows that come from these new actors? It becomes meaningless aspiring to standardize, to delimit the strategies of resistance of young people who are migrating (Bourqia, 2010), alone or networked. But in order to approach them, we offer some indications of what we have been able to intuit. After their previous stage in France, or as an alternative to this, many young people now opt for new migratory routes in Spain. Whether they get regularized in the peninsula or they remain irregular and not expelled to their states of origin. Therefore a paradoxical appreciation of the precariousness in Spain arises.

For some, especially if their educational and career paths exclude them economically, reproducing the symbolic structures of the French *banlieue* in Spanish cities is a new way to position themselves as Others (Cloke and Jones, 2005), resorting to the cultural do-it-yourself (Bennani-Chraïbi, 1998). Taking discretionally, from the culture of origin and of destination, all that that allows them to recreate their otherness: the rap music, the Berber language, the sporty look, the display of aggressiveness, the hedonistic leisure, etc. In these cases the over-representation that we cited above also soaks their imaginary. Here the symbolism thrives because of the rejection from European institutions, especially from the media, responding to it by vandalizing their aesthetic and discourses, through the use of mimetic 'frenchified' symbols of social confrontation as a way of affirmation (image 5).

“I started my lifestyle here and I will go on like that,... and if someone does not like it, piss off. On the street, from one side to another, I have no fear of anyone” (Casa School, Arab rap in Zaragoza).

Just like the Maghrebi adults who are residing in Aragon, young people who opt for mimicry have also included among their livelihood strategies the acceleration of circular migrations (Arab, 2009). So that many of them return to the Maghreb to spend a few months at their home, once they have managed to complete the months of paid employment that migration legislation is requiring to renew residence permits; or, in some cases, to avoid the consequences of convictions or other forms of repression of their activities as juvenile offenders.

Image 5: Young Moroccans in Zaragoza imitate Arab rap from France.



Source: video on Youtube, spread by Tuenti.

For others, once they reach adulthood and no longer are hosted in the child protection centers, support from existing family and peer networks in the Iberian peninsula becomes the key to reactivate their geographical mobility. Seeking new opportunities in other Spanish provinces, different than those where they were hosted in child protection centers, is a very common choice. And within these new itineraries, getting married with young Spanish females and other strategies of reaching the regularization (purchase of contracts to renew the residence permit, etc.) are usual.

The ultimate goal of this chameleonism is to go unnoticed by migration legislation. This now imposes on them, as new adults, to stay within the active population in terms of work, or inserted in one of the 'native' family structures, in order to reside legally. Their efforts and the sacrifice of their initial objectives (Quiroga, 2009), often linked to a much higher consumption and income levels than the young have reached, paradoxically have a practical mid-term objective: to get the Spanish nationality, in order to move within Europe under legal certainty, probably to France.

In short, and assuming that 'we know little' of such an unstable migration, we can resort to the voice of young people themselves to assess what we have researched to date. Maghrebi youth who migrate alone to southern Europe, supported by family and peer networks have developed and are going to develop strategies of resistance to migration control, both from police and social work. These global youth always find crevices in the external and internal borders of the European Fortress, since their wishes to be part of the global and the hedonistic life that the postindustrial *carpe diem* offers to all youth around the planet are extended transnationally on both sides of the Mediterranean coasts.

“The outlook is hard, it wants us to hit it hard. M-o-r-o-c-c-o,... I am seeking El Dorado, purple wads [euros]. The best controls are those of the money ... We're changing the game ... I just say Hamdullah [thank God] as I have everything I have ... Nothing's the same, everything has changed. Short of time and I do not want to waste it” (Sarakusta Mdina, Maghreb and sub-Saharan juvenile rap in Zaragoza).

References

- Arab, Ch. (2009). *Les Aït Ayad. La circulation migratoire des Marocains entre la France, l'Espagne et l'Italie*: Rennes: Presses Universitaires.
- Aston, J. (2010). Spatial montage and multimedia ethnography: using computers to visualise aspects of migration and social division among a displaced community. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 11 (2).
- Bennani-Chraïbi, M. (1998). *Soumis et rebelles, les jeunes au Maroc*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Bergua, J.A. (2002). Nosotros y los otros. Una aproximación reflexiva. *Nómadas*, 2002, 6, electronic edition.
- Bergua, J.A. (2007). *Lo social instituyente. Materiales para una sociología no clásica*, Zaragoza, Prensas Universitarias.
- Bourqia, R. (2010). Valores y cambio social en Marruecos. *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, 13, pp. 105-115.
- Cette France-là (2012). *Xenophobie d'en haut. Le choix d'une droite éhontée*: Paris: Editions La Découverte.
- Cloke, P. and Jones, O. (2005). Unclaimed territory: childhood and disordered space. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6 (3), pp. 311-333.
- De Block, L. and others (2004). *Visions across cultures. Migrant children using visual images to communicate*. London: CHICAM.
- Debord, G. (1958). Théorie de la dérive. *Internationale Situationniste*, 2, pp. 19-23.
- Dell'Umbria, A. (2006). *Si c'est de la racaille. Eh bien, j'en suis!* Montreuil: Éditions l'Échappée.
- Gimeno, Ch. (2013a). Menores que migran solos. Análisis de los expedientes de tutela administrativa en Aragón. *Migraciones*, 34, pp. 1-37.
- Gimeno, Ch. (2013b). Jóvenes que migran solos. Actores y escenarios fuera de los sistemas de protección de menores. *Alternativas. Cuadernos de trabajo social*, 20, pp. 41-56.
- Gimeno, Ch. (2013c). Expectativas de acogida en el imaginario de los menores que migran solos. *REID*, 9, pp. 142-158
- Gimeno, Ch. (2013d). El orden y la gente: los menores migrantes no acompañados. In M. Fernández (coord.), *Negociaciones identitarias*. Madrid: Commonground Publishing, pp. 25-36.
- Gimeno, Ch. (2014). Cultural bricolage on minors who migrate on their own. In *Perverse identities. Identities in conflict*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

- López, A. (2008). El tratamiento de los menores extranjeros no acompañados en el Derecho español. *Revista de Derecho Migratorio y Extranjería*, 18, pp. 103-134.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996). *The time of the tribes: the decline of individualism in mass society*. London: Sage.
- Mai, N. (2011). Tampering with sex of angels: migrant male minors and young adults selling sex in the UE. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37 (8), pp. 1237-1252.
- O'Higgins, A. (2012). Vulnerability and agency: Beyond an irreconcilable dichotomy for social service providers working with young refugees in the UK. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 136, pp. 79-91.
- Pandolfo, S. (2007). The burning: finitude and the politico-theological imagination of illegal migration. *Anthropological Theory*, 3, pp. 329-363.
- Peralva, A. and Macé, E. (2002). *Médias et violences urbaines. Débats politiques et construction journalistique*: Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Pétonnet, C. (1982). L'observation flottante. L'exemple d'un cimetière parisien. *L'Homme*, 22 (4), pp. 37-47.
- Quiroga, V. (2009). *Somnis de butxaca . Nois i noies menors migrants no acompanyats a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill.
- Santelli, E. (2007). *Grandir en banlieue. Parcours et devenir de jeunes Français d'origine maghrébine*. Paris: CIEMI - Collection Planète Migrations.
- Suárez, L. (2006). Un nuevo actor migratorio: jóvenes, rutas y ritos juveniles transnacionales. In F. Checa et alter (eds.), *Menores tras la frontera. Otra inmigración que aguarda*. Barcelona: Icaria. pp. 17-50.
- Vacchiano, F. (2014). Beyond borders and limits: Moroccan migrating adolescents between desire, vulnerability and risk. *Saúde e Sociedade*, 23 (1), pp. 17-29.
- Virno, P. (2004). *A Grammar of the Multitude: For an Analysis of Contemporary Forms of Life*. Nueva York: Semiotext.