

Moroccan Minors and the Internal Frontiers of Undocumented Migration (Turin, Northern Italy, 2003-2009)

Alice Rossi

*Doctoral School of Human Sciences - Anthropology of the Contemporary,
University of Milan - Bicocca
E-mail: rossalice77@yahoo.it*

Abstract: *Illegal migration to Turin (one of the biggest industrial centres of Northern Italy) is related to the masculine collective ideal among minors and young migrants from Khouribga (Chaouia-Ouardigha, Morocco). This contribution will assess the impact of Italian legal protection's system of undocumented minors and securitization policy on their lives. By a long process leading to 'Pacchetto Sicurezza' in 2009 (a set of legislative measures aimed at controlling migrant's flows across Italian external/internal borders) illegal migration has become a criminal offence, a sort of 'moral death' normalized by media and technocratic services. This legal exclusion has become a social experience in migrant daily life. My ethnographic data were collected from 2003 to 2009 in the assistance centre for minor undocumented migrants, which in 2003 Turin municipality opened up in Porta Palazzo, an historical migration neighborhood with the largest open market in Europe. Here, I worked as a social operator in a multidisciplinary team (socio-anthropological and ethno-psychiatric) and I met young Moroccan migrants, mostly under age, refuting Municipality dorms and living in occupied houses, garages or illegally rented houses and prison as well. This allowed me to get acquainted with their suffered trajectories among different institutions and with their strategies to counter the legal criteria fixing the status of both undocumented migrants and minors. It is by following these subtleties and the ways they were manipulated by social workers and young migrants alike, that I will try to describe the subjective and material frontiers and the associated marginalities in this border-town context.*

Keywords: *Illegal Moroccan migration; Unaccompanied minor subjectivities; Structural Violence; Social Suffering; Social and Moral Death.*

1. Introduction

The following observations are the fruit of ethnographic research conducted during 2003-2009. Turin, an industrial city in the north of Italy, was where the survey was effectuated; in those quarters of Porta Palazzo, where the most extensive, European, open-air market is found; that is, within the confines of an urban context between the Barrier of Milan periphery and the central zones of the Roman Quadrilateral. It is an area often defined as a ghetto; the crossroads for streaming and exchanges. Historically, it was dubbed a privileged 'migratory arena' at the time of the exodus from the south of Italy in the sixties and towards the end of the eighties from 'Third Party Countries'.

It was a survey carried out under the supervision of the Ethno Psychiatry Clinic Centre F. Fanon and occurred during those years of my occupation as a social operator at the Foreigners' Office for Minors – Municipality of Turin. Initially, my work was indoor. This was ensued by my attendance required principally outdoors whilst occupied in the public project of outreach¹. Thanks to my daily presence in the streets and the square of Porta Palazzo. In this manner my path intersected with that of 'unaccompanied foreign minors'; clandestine emigrants hailing from Khouribga and from contiguous countryside-areas in Morocco; in the region of Mid Atlantis, where a part of my research was carried out during the summer months of 2007.

With this contribution, my intention is to demonstrate how the entirety of national, juridical-level, emergent discussions - which culminated in the 2009 Security Package - is productively interwoven with the rhetorical forms related to the ambience of Turin's public Assistance. Moreover, the weight of political, anti-immigration rhetoric, by now normalized in Italy for decades, has to be taken into consideration.

This theoretical and praxis system has contributed towards determining a sort of 'moral economy' (Thomson, 1971; Scott, 1983; Fassin, 2009) reception, which has interpreted behavioural patterns and forms of sufferance by minors in a culturally unambiguous manner (Kleinman; 1980); rarely reflecting on the context of their origin. Within this framework it will be seen that some have emerged among the categories and the forms of migrant, existence classification.

¹ It is about the project named "The window on the Square", financed by the fund of Intervention for Drug Fighting, which came under Regions jurisdiction ex art. 1 – Law 18/2/1999. The outreach work consists in the presence of social workers directly on the street, where those people to be involved in the project are. In this specific case, the multi-tasking, professional team (educators and mediators) got in touch with the unaccompanied minors at their aggregation areas.

At the one extreme you find skilled migrants, who are capable and deserving. At the other extreme there are the ones devoid of prerequisites; those judged as being incapable and affected by culturally-justified, presumed 'syndromes'. It is almost like dealing with tangible, essential entities.

By describing legalization procedures in the ensuing paragraphs, I'll show how they contribute towards determining the condition of illegality (De Genoa, cit. in Mezzadra S.; 2004) of these youngsters that crossed my path, especially so with their delicate passage from minors to their becoming of age.

Moreover, life stories demonstrate how clandestine migration could become a strategy (Bloch, Zetter; 2008). Thus the fact of being youngsters or minors can be considered as an incentive towards migration even without documents.

However, there rarely exists full awareness of the consequences and of that which clandestine migration implies in everyday life. In fact, arrival-context exclusion and the need to hide migratory-project failure, fuel a sentiment of *social and moral death* (Kleinman; 2011). There is that immaterial mourning of severed bonds with derivation; the impossibility of representation and of planning themselves within the future for fear of risking expulsion, under the condition comparable to that which Sayad has efficaciously defined as 'the double absence' (1999).

2. 'Unaccompanied' minors and their legalization procedures

Unaccompanied minors² fall under the guardianship and rights foreseen by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and national law. The phenomenon is concerned with those minors to be found in Italy devoid of assistance or representation by their parents or other adults legally responsible for them. This is a relatively recent phenomenon in both Italian and European contexts. In fact, it has been ongoing with a certain consistency ever since the nineties, even though the first under-aged youths as 'unaccompanied minors' had been crossing the European borders already during the eighties.

At a European level the initial definition of this concept dates back to 1997 (EU Ministry Council, Resolution 26 June 1997). In Italy it was promulgated in 1998 via the *Testo Unico* (T.U.) on immigration 286/98.

Reasons for engendering migratory desire in numerous Moroccans, who arrived in Turin, emerge in correspondence to the acceleration of the development process under way in Morocco in the eighties. This was the follow-up of a massive inundation of emigrants; former phosphate mine-workers of the OCP³. According to my interlocutors, passports were issued to the said workers by their own government as a means of contextual facilitation out of the so-called 'phosphate crisis'. During the emigration years, the pioneers were mostly males, who sought economic-cultural opportunities. This had transformed into an integral part of the masculine, collective-imaginary ideal and a kind of ritual-passage for the minors (Van Gennep; 1909) with age maturity. On the arrival of unaccompanied minors in Turin - subsequent to their initiation of the journey towards their Italian destination - they experience other forms of 'initiations' and the redefining of the self; inclusive of those germane to contact with Institutions and procedures foreseen for their legalization.

The character of 'urgency', which generally distinguishes related social interventions to the migratory question also of minors, is one of the reasons that led to the creation of the Foreigners' Office of Minors in 1992. In fact, 'public concern' cyclically oscillates between requests for more intense guardianship with regard to minors and appeals to the police for the intensification of control and security for the sake of citizens. Mediatory battles often raise the alarm due to the so-called 'baby-pusher' or 'Mickey-mouse'; notorious for this individual's capacity to dodge threats within the entrails of sewers and to be in and out of manhole covers along the embankments of the Po River.

Legalization procedures require a sort of training that bears accurate techniques that hit the person's integrity; beginning with his body (Mauss, 1934). It may be asserted that the required ability of the unaccompanied minor is that of being able to adapt; to be malleable towards the social paths from time to time provided by the regulations for the expected result of being issued with a Foreigners' Permit of Stay. This initiation is ulteriorly complicated by the fact that

² According to the 2nd Save the Children Annual Report on foreign minors in Italy (2010), "there are at least 4,438 unaccompanied foreign minors on the Italian ground nowadays. 90% of them are male, mostly (85%) between 15 and 17 years old, but there are also minors 12, 13 and 14 years old. The largest group is that of Afghan minors (20%), followed by minors from Morocco (14.7%), Egypt (11%) Albany (9%), Bangladesh (5%), Somalia (3.9%), Kosovan Republic (3.8%), Palestine (3.1%), Eritrea (3%).".

(http://www.savethechildren.it/IT/Tool/Press/Single?id_press=285)

³ The Office Cherifien des Phosphates was the Body in charge of extraction and export of these minerals. It was established in 1920 and operational immediately. In 1921, the extractions in the mines next to Khouribga had their beginning (Specialistic Graduation Thesis in Anthropology, Alice Rossi, 2008).

society as the 'trainer' is not that of the minor's derivation. Therefore, the question of 'categorical deception' emerges instantly (Kleinman; 1980), i.e. of univocal reading risk of adaptability, capability and goal achievement concept. The provisions concerning the reception of over-fourteen-year-old minors were named 'Bassa-Soglia'⁴ (Low-Threshold) for that specificity of their 'easy access'. These have been activated since the first years of the existence of the Office and with time have been extended in line with migratory streaming. This is about structures more similar to the dormitory than the reception centre, and very distant from the typology of the foreseen minor community that prioritizes Italians. Since the initial opening years of the Office, the minors spontaneously presented themselves at the counter once a week; at times already with the name of the Turinese Operator written on a piece of paper carried on their person right from their departure. A waiting list in order of arrival existed with priority granted to those who, guesstimated by operators and mediators, were eligible regarding the criteria of *First Aid*; usually based on their physical conditions and age. Those designated on the list often had to present themselves at least three times – once a week – prior to being accepted in order to access the dormitory. Unemployed minors were granted shower coupons and were provided with indications for canteens. In addition, they were given a written invitation by the Office to subject themselves to a tuberculosis examination; obligatory also for adults before accessing dormitories. Exigency, at least initially, was represented by the 'body'; interpreted as a biological entity, which speaks for itself. It can be stated that incommunicability through languages was filled in an unambiguous manner by the interpretation of body language. It was as if biology were in turn immunized by 'social construction processes' (P. Farmer in *Annuario* 2006, p. 23). Employed minors had to adhere to set clock-in/out times. During the daytime they could remain on the premises solely in a case of illness. Their intention of sleeping out had to be communicated each time or face exclusion from the structure. The said rules continued to be respected even in 2004 when, instead of direct access, only the provision of *First Aid* had been maintained. An apposite team, provided with active telephonic communicability around the clock, had been set up with warnings deriving from the police as well as from private citizens.

Even today legalization praxes still foresee, apart from domicile, other requisites in strict adhesion to legislative indications indispensable for the issuing of a Foreigners' Permit of Stay. With the Bossi-Fini Law of 2002, the said criteria had become determinants; above any reflexion of subjective and cultural differences of minors and of the type of offered provisions guaranteed by several entities. Since 2002 the issuing of a Foreigners' Permit of Stay at the age of 18 years has been foreseen only for those, who had been admitted to a social and civil integration project by a public or private entity for at least three years (art. 32 of T.U. 286/98, paragraphs 1-bis and ter, law 189/02)⁵. This implied a certain margin of discretion with the application of this regulation on the part of various Police Headquarters; with notable discrepancies on a national scale.

Currently, further to compulsory education and courses of professional qualifications run by the Region, employment continues to be provided through the formula of the 'borsa formazione lavoro' (job formation stock-exchange) renamed as 'tirocinio formativo' (formative training) during these years. This latter-mentioned formula lays down the regulation that the minor be requited by the public entity directly (413.17€ per month for 30 hours a week; at about 3€ an hour). In exchange the employer, who is not required to disburse money, should guarantee formative vocational-training with the objective and promise of employing the minor; even though there is a dearth of cases of this really occurring. On a very similar horizon to that of the so-called 'Workfare' (Wacquant; 2004, p. 105), formative training financed by either the Municipality or Europe – as was given inception with the Equal Palms plan (2005-2007) – continue to guarantee unskilled labour at zero cost; at least so for the employer. This proceeds with a paucity of contractual power, if not any power at all, on the part of the subordinate youngster; dependent on employment promises the Bossi-Fini law has transformed into a

⁴ The "Low-Threshold" methodology arose within the projects related to drug-addiction and it is related to the interventions of *damage reduction*, widely adopted in Northern Europe, which, at least in Italy, may lend themselves to economical and political exploitations. Generally speaking, in the social sphere, Low-Threshold services include an extremely heterogeneous service range, their common feature being appreciable threshold lowering, in terms of reduction of users selection procedures (Specialistic Graduation Thesis in Anthropology, Alice Rossi, 2008).

⁵ The issue of a Foreigners' Permit of Stay at the moment of the majority was regulated, at the beginning, by Art. 32 T.U. 286/98: its first paragraph states that a Foreigners' Permit of Stay for studies, work etc. may be released to minors, in any way under guardianship, in accordance with Art. 2 Law 184/83. On the contrary, paragraphs 1-bis and ter, introduced by Law 189/02, provide for the issue of that Foreigners' Permit of Stay to minors having been in Italy for at least three years and who had taken part in an integration project for at least two years. The coordination between these two measures – specifically whether they had to be interpreted as being alternative or contrasting – created significant cases at the T.A.R., State Council and Supreme Court. Save the Children Report, 2007

determinant element for the issuing of 'non luogo a provvedere al rimpatrio-assistito'⁶ (no cause for the provision of assisted-deportation) on the part of the Committee of Rome⁷. In a paradoxical and contradictory manner through abusive procedures of an administrative type – like circular No.300 of 2000 – the employment of minors has been allowed and disallowed over the years with consequences leading to the favouring of clandestine economic forms.

3. Clandestine lives

Stories dealt with in this paragraph are evidence of legal exclusion risk from legalization procedures for the large part of migrant minors of the over-fourteen-year-olds represented⁸. As will be seen, these are the legal prerequisites of that sense of *social and moral death* (Kleinman; 2012) often shared by minors and youths steeped in clandestine conditions. There exists a sort of 'geography of being without documents' (Bloch, Zetter; 2008); that is, a map of safe and prohibited places within the construction of social networks. My work between 2003 and 2007 got me involved in a project of outreach in Porta Palazzo; finalized within having had to reach minors not acceding the institutionalized 'Bassa-Soglia' (Low-Threshold) provisions. There exist places perceived as being safe (some streets and houses, the mosque, etc ;) and other dangerous ones controlled by the police or economically abusive terrain similarly 'guarded'. In confrontation to the institutionalized procedures described by me, the street with its regulations and codes, represents an alternative for those coerced to acquit the migratory warrant of having to earn, even if illegally so; even without documents and various foreseen criteria.

'All those deriving from the countryside areas in proximity of Khouribga, Ben Iklef, were minors between fifteen and seventeen years of age. During the afternoons, they mingled along the main street that runs into the square. It is here where the principal, commercial activities are expressed in the forms of small food markets, Moslem butcheries, kebab shops and bars frequented chiefly by Moroccans. Street economy is vented in various activities. Apart from peddling and the abusive sale of telephone cards, there is also the sale of home-made bread; baked by Moroccan women, who often display this together with mint. Like all illegal merchants, their presence is highly mobile. With each alarm signal in correspondence with the arrival of traffic police, the women wrap up the bread and disappear with the same speed with which they 'decorated' their clandestine stalls. There appears to be no recognizable 'look-outs', but warnings of the arrival of police or of traffic police control can be effectuated by anyone, who has the interest of guarding such commercializing at heart. There are always those that think of others⁹'.

The group of street youngsters, who gradually 'root themselves' within the planning headquarters named 'Halting Point' for its function of 'offering respite' from the frenzy of clandestine street-work, had reached the network of their relatives; above all their fathers, who had already immigrated in the eighties. These children substituted their fathers, uncles and cousins; performing the tasks of guaranteeing recoveries towards the original family. This latter-mentioned aspect continues to reinforce and build the male role and ideal of the successful migrant; thus more appetising for the already-arranged marriage with compatriots by the original family still residing in Morocco.

Still today, the map pertinent to transits and the supportive network established by already allocated migrants - especially family members - constitute one of the cardinal elements on which they activate the prospect of expatriation

⁶ Art 33, paragraph 2-bis, T.U. 286/98.

⁷ With Art 5 D.L. 13 April 1999 no. 113, some amendments to the Immigration T.U. were introduced. They refer to powers and functions of the Committee for foreign minors, at Art 33 D.L. no. 286, which was introduced in 1994, with the "Martelli Law". Its scope was to monitor and regulate the reception and temporary stay in Italy procedures for foreign minors within programs of solidarity and temporary reception; proposed by voluntary organizations, local agencies (for one, the summer stay for Ukrainian children hit by Chernobyl radiations, etc.). [...] While, within the period of the Martelli Law, the treatment of unaccompanied minors came into Judicial Authority trusteeship from the previous Police jurisdiction, with the new functions foreseen for the Committee, a central agency, a semantic and political shifting of the "reception" concept has occurred on the administrative level. "Through appropriation or extension of the lawmaker's power to an administrative body, from now on the Committee of Rome shall decide on the subject of assisted repatriation" (pp. 83, 84, Specialistic Graduation Thesis, Alice Rossi, 2008).

⁸ Based on data provided by 2008 and 2009 Reports of the Inter-institutional Observatory on Foreigners in the Province of Turin, there appears to be a preponderance of unaccompanied minors between the ages of 15 and 18 and of male gender.

⁹ From the notes of my work diary, May 2004.

(Van Der Erf R. and Heering L. 2002; Persichetti A. 2003). This is in agreement with the giving of form to *hijra* (departure, exit, emigration) in accordance with recurrent and repetitive modality.

Within these life stories relatable to numerous minors there is the recurrence of recounts concerning the journey with similar modalities; at least so for those, who today have reached the age of about twenty-five years and hailing from the countryside areas around Khouribga at the beginning of the two-thousands:

'We all arrived in the same manner; that is, with a false passport. For a fee of 4000 € at that time, they pasted our photograph in the place of that of a son; we used to get our documents in Khouribga, where you can find everything. Like-wise as with the guy that stamped your passport to leave Ceuta (reference to my research conducted in Morocco, 2007) you also bought the customs officer. He tells you to pass from a certain hour. For example, he says: "Pass through between two and four o'clock. I will be there and for me there's no problem (...)". All of us arrived here between 1999 and 2001; paying, but it's safer. Those from Casablanca and Tangiers take risks. It's dangerous under a truck, in a ship; there are more dead than alive'.¹⁰

Frequently, once the migrant youths arrive they have gone to live the quarters of Porta Palazzo, where a thick network of compatriots live and run various types of commercial activities:

'...if you stay here you really don't miss Morocco; in fact it's like being in Morocco. Everyone speaks darija (Arabic dialect). You have the mosque, the market with koshered meat, fresh bread sold by the ladies even on a Sunday'¹¹.

Within the group, which has gradually become rooted at Halting Point, lots of them have inherited the commercial activities of their fathers; wandering about market places in all of Piedmont Region and Valle d'Aosta Region in order to sell little objects for domestic use. And if the opportunity presents itself, they commit a 'compensating' theft as a result of the poor profit obtained with the official activity; nevertheless, even this being illegal in the absence of a licence. Both these activities were perpetrated in a group; with the function of welcoming and of showing the ropes to the new arrivals. A day of this type for these jobs meant that they had to get up at dawn to board a train towards the Towns of the Province and follow the weekly time-tables in order to head where there are open markets. Often life projects in Turin, even now, make provision for the maximum exploitation of the ambiguity of that 'active process of migrant-work inclusion through its clandestineness' (De Genova, cit. in Mezzadra S.; 2004).

4. Fariq: blessings and curses

Fariq was amongst the first Moroccan street minors known in 2004. He was fifteen at the time and had left Morocco and his mother, who had divorced his father by the time he was born and with whom he lived. His departure and stay in Italy should have allowed him to be of economic assistance to his mother as he was the only male child. Once arrived in Italy, in 2001, Fariq had always felt a sense of responsibility towards his mother; openly blaming himself for his father's abdicating of his paternal duties. On several occasions it was written in my notes about Fariq saying that he did not feel well and that he felt *hammering in his head*. The *sense of guilt* Fariq was living with regard to economic failure was probably imputed to the failure of a *hammering* warrant to be resolved; that of sending money to his mother abandoned to herself. All this weighed heavily on his self-perception; no longer *the son*, who ought to be maintained, but the family man, who has to provide maintenance for the family in a distant land. His existence was hanging in the balance between the desired adult immigrant status of responsibility and precariousness of the new situation in Italy. The question of earning for Fariq was connected to a symbolic universe and of values relative to the parental warrant with the possibility of freeing himself at any cost. Since prerequisite forms and time required for legalization would not have permitted Fariq the 'quick buck' he had dreamt of, he resorted to the world of illicit economy (in Arabic: haram, impure) towards success. This put him in the position of having to live an ulterior conflict to conceal from his mother and himself; that is, the fact that in order to conform to the parental migratory warrant, implies instead an illicit choice of conduct. The threatening sense of risking fragmentation with relations of origin persists, as in this case. But also respect for the newly built relationships because of the possibility of being arrested and deported, fuel the condition of social and moral death that characterises the lives of unaccompanied minors. Almost in a prophetic manner the juridical label of unaccompanied minors appears to

¹⁰ A fragment of Zakaria's story, from the notes of my work diary, November 2008.

¹¹ A fragment of Mohamed's story, from the notes of my work diary, November 2008.

define that sense of solitude right from the beginning. To lots of them this is their common, daily path they routinely trace also as adults.

Even though Fariq's way could guarantee his formal legalization in the terms of the law, the situation precipitated exactly when the attainment of a Foreigners' Permit of Stay for those of age appeared to finally be possible and within reach. One of the last episodes that contributed to signify his dissociation with Porta Palazzo and his regularization, had been his escape from Turin following 'some business to settle' with a few of his compatriots emanating from a money dispute¹².

When he reappeared to pay us a visit, his physical aspect was demoralising; he was emaciated and down-and-out. He endeavoured to regain his legal situation but, as a consequence of his having become of age in the meantime, there existed no possibility at all. In his story, there are recognizable moments of repetitive and re-proposed fragmentations that describe a sort of traumatophilia (Beneduce; 1998) tied to the migratory process.

Fariq's biography evidences the tension of a periodic compulsion towards the 'destruction' of contacts and relationships with persons and contexts filled with affection. To this end, he engages perverse reactions of specular eschewal and separation; almost as if to exorcise the fear itself of separation and solitude.

Another essential aspect is associated with clandestine economy (A. Colombo;1998) that as a social buffer, exercises the function of welcoming the 'excluded'; he who is 'extraneous' to the criteria of the law and he who in any case believes he will return 'home' and maintains that the 'under aged' has to be exploited to the full.

In my collection of biographies of these years, stories of *daily clandestineness* are evident; the recounts and memories of violent inscriptions within the bodies like 'incarnate memories' (Beneduce; 2001). In the form of scars, cuts and in gestures, incorporated at a less visible level, the 'visions of the world' emerge; tightly interwoven with the conditions common to clandestine migrants; juridical state and *forma mentis* transmitted from father to son.

The cultural uprooting and mass emigration to which Khouribga and its surrounding countryside have been subjected to are the derivations of most Moroccan immigrants in Turin. These places are at the base of tragedies and epic success stories of ostentatious opulence by those who had made it. These latter-mentioned aspects and the forlorn hope of a better future are in agreement with the instillation of the desire that destroys the possibilities and motivations of living in their own country. The young child migrants, those deported to their patria, the potential ones waiting for the right moment and the right truck are defined as being *harrâga* (from the verbs to burn, cut, depart); those that cross the borders and the confines of the law, burn (Vacchiano; 2007).

5. Conclusion

Safety, Employment and Emergency: the reasons for State Violence and the Perpetual Present

With the passing years the possibility of a rapid overturning between the illicit and the eligible subject has been taking shape in a normal and legal manner through the recurrent tightening of legislative criteria. Within discussions and prescribed indications the reformulation of that which Fanon defined as 'the height of bad faith' (1956, p. 50) – wherein the colonized black is remonstrated for his inertia - has been effectuated in a different way from operator to operator.

The procedures of introducing minors into the various reception centres are the first step to the legalization process. Normative and social discipline imply in a paradoxical manner per se a state of exception (Agamben, 1995) that concerns both the revocability pertinent to inclusion criteria relative to reception norms, and the suspension of the legitimate order within the forms of deportation and detention in CIE (Centres of Identification and Expulsion)¹³.

During the last Berlusconi government, the so-called 'Security Package', Law 94-2009, was promulgated, as a sign of the general atmosphere of Zero Tolerance and criminalization of misery (Wacquant; 1999) which characterised the global politics. As a result of one amendment¹⁴, the criteria foreseen for the issuing of a Foreigners' Permit of Stay to an

¹² As a matter of fact, in order to clear an obviously huge debt, he appropriated a large amount of cocaine to sell, thinking of not being discovered. When the legitimate owners became aware of the trafficking, they chased him down the district streets, threatening him with knives and axes. He took refuge in the mosque, looking for protection from the Imam who, also in Turin, still plays the role of conflict mediator. The boy was not injured, but he had to leave town and stay away for months (notes, July 2007)

¹³ Foreseen since 1998 with the T.U. (Art 12), they were initially called CPT (Temporary Stay Centres). They are structures meant for all those foreigners "subject to measures of expulsion or of a turn-back with coerced accompaniment to the border, not immediately executable." (Alice Rossi, Specialistic Graduation Thesis, 2008, p. 82)

¹⁴ Amendment No. 18.22 to the Bill A.S. 733.

unaccompanied foreign minor at eighteen years of age have sanctioned the exclusion of over-fourteen-year-old minors without requisites from the legalization process; those minors usually devoid of parental references securing their well-being and maintenance. Only during the course of 2011 following the L. 129/11, did the application of the normative reintroduce the possibility of predominantly inclusive, alternative criteria in line with the variable amendment outlined by me during the course of the last decade.

During this stretch of time in Italy a changeable development has been manifest in the legalization process of the migratory phenomenon characterised by that which is at stake; employment!

The case of the massive availability of low-cost work-force has always been evident. This is indeed appetising to the market particularly so in virtue of the 'flexibility' of the type of 'inclusion' legally foreseen and contemporarily also of the possibility of exclusion; this too a norm at the level of legislation. Under this perspective the Italian normative has contributed towards a recourse to clandestine economic forms on the part of minors; discouraging them from entering the legal market; the access to which is often preceded by years of underpaid work; as in the case of formative training.

Due to its characteristic of being extraneous to the migratory influx regulations, the phenomenon of minor, illegal immigration escapes the control at border entrances into Italy. Simultaneously, this practice is subject to multiple forms of *legislative guardianship* and cyclical, *emergency* states. This widens the margin of legitimately permitted action and fuels economic assortments around racist and security alarms of migrations. The lives of Porta Palazzo's unaccompanied minors evidence various forms of resistance, which vary in accordance with each individual's social networks, informal and institutional support within the new arrival context and, above all, parental guaranty and symbolic efficacy of the latter-mentioned responsibility.

'The term relative to sin, *haram*, is connected to *mahram*, incest and to *harem*. Moreover, in the familial ambience, the term is deducible to *hasciuma*, that is 'shame'; viewed in relation with parental-judicial power in retrospect of the warrant of the journey and its failure or success. In this case, shame/*hasciuma* is the sentiment the minor experiences with transgressions perpetrated by him from his distant home, Morocco. Particularly so, the mother can condition the life of her immigrated boy by means of a curse/*sakht*. On the contrary she can grant him a blessing/*rda*; the parental warrant the child has to try and obtain, fulfilling the parental mandate. Nonetheless, the paradox is that in order to get an *rda* numerous minors and youths enter the arena of *haram* with a consequent and frequent loss of self-respect. In that which seems a sort of *family economy*, not only in the material sense, the immigrant, in this case the minor, takes on the figure of the goat as if in synthesis the logic is that of if something should happen to let it happen the youngest¹⁵.'

In fact, in order to fulfill his desire of satisfying his parents, the son courts sin; breaking down barriers dividing that which is pure from the impure. Far from home, the two become addled with the legitimating of a new subject; he has to be productive, being an adult, responsible and male.

The fact of not having valid documents inundates personal and emotional space (Bloch, Zetter; 2008) with trans-objective resonances involving family and friend relationships in Turin as well. The impossibility of projecting the future anchors lots of clandestine minors and youths to the present; having to confront not only the stigma of illegality but also precarious conditions.

'You learn how to become invisible'¹⁶ to the eyes of the State and society. Some of them stay suspended between being without documents and being marginalized; a sort of double life, where the perception of frozen time prevails.

References

- Agamben G., (1995), *Homo sacer. Il potere sovrano e la nuda vita*, Torino, Einaudi.
 Appadurai A. (2005), *Sicuri da morire*, Roma, Meltemi.
 Beneduce R. (1998), *Frontiere dell'identità e della memoria*, Milano, Angeli.

¹⁵ This is Aallah Lahcen's analysis; Moroccan cultural mediator for the F. Fanon Association, involved in the project as supervisor (2007). It is about a debate on the origin of these unutterable conflicts with parents.

¹⁶ Fariq, June 2008.

- Beneduce R., Taliani S., (2001), *Un paradosso ordinato. Possessione, corpi, migrazioni*, in *Annuario di antropologia: la possessione*. Pp. 15 - 42, Meltemi, Roma.
- Bloch A., Zetter R. (2008) *No right to dream*, a report commissioned by Paul Hamlyn Foundation.
- Colombo, A., (1998), *Etnografia di un'economia clandestina. Immigrati algerini a Milano*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- De Genova N. (2004), *La produzione giuridica dell'illegalità. Il caso dei migranti messicani negli Stati Uniti*, in Mezzadra S. (a cura di), *I confini della libertà. Per un'analisi politica delle migrazioni contemporanee*, Roma, DeriveApprodi, pp. 181-215.
- Fanon F., (1956), *Razzismo e cultura*, Comunicazione al primo congresso degli scrittori e degli artisti neri. Sorbonne: Parigi, 12-19 Settembre. (ed. it. *Razzismo e cultura*. In *Fanon 1, opere scelte* a cura di Pirelli, G., Torino: Einaudi, 1976).
- Farmer P., (2006), *Un antropologia della violenza strutturale*. In *annuario antropologia: Sofferenza sociale*. n° 8 pp.17 – 50. Meltemi, Roma.
- Fassin D., (2009), *Les économies morales revisitées. Etude critique suivie de quelques propositions*, Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales, 64 (5), sous presse IOM Migration Research Series, n. 10.
- Kleinman A., (1980), *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture*, University of California Press, Berkeley Los Angeles London.
- Kleinman A., (2012, forthcoming), *Chapter 5 'Medical Anthropology and Mental Health: Five Questions for the Next Fifty Years*, in Marcia Inhorn, eds.
- Mauss M., (1934), *Le tecniche del corpo*, estratto dal *journal de psychologie XXXII*, nn. 3-4, 15 marzo – 15 aprile. Comunicazione presentata alla società di psicologia il 17 maggio 1934.
- Persichetti A. (2003), *Tra Marocco e Italia: solidarietà agnatica ed emigrazione*, Roma, CISU.
- Sayad A., (1999), *La double absence*, Paris, Seuil (ed. it. *La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato*, Milano, Cortina, 2002).
- Scott J., (1983), *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, Paperback
- Thompson E.P. (1971, Feb.), *The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century*, Past & Present, No. 50 , pp. 76-136, Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Past and Present Society
- Vacchiano F., (2007), *Bruciare di desiderio: realtà sociale e soggettività dei giovani harrâga marocchini*. Tesi di laurea per il dottorato di ricerca in scienze antropologiche. Università degli studi di Torino.
- Van Der Erf R. e Heering L. (2002), *Moroccan Migration Dynamics: Prospects for the Future*, IOM Migration Research Series, n. 10.
- Van Gennep A., (1909), *Les rites de passage*, Paris (ed. it. *I riti di passaggio*. Torino. Bollati Boringhieri, 2006).
- Wacquant L., (1999), *Les prisons de la misère*, , Paris, Raison d'Agir.
- Wacquant L., (2004), *Punir les pauvres. Le nouveau gouvernement de l'insécurité sociale*. Agone, Paris.