

Migrant Routes and the Global South Novel

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One of the most complex dynamics structuring the contemporary world is the contradiction between the free movement of capital and the ever more restricted movement of people from the Global South¹. Even as global connectedness and mobility continually increase in certain areas (information, technology, trade), national borders remain highly securitized and policed. The present essay focuses on migrant precariat at one such border site, Melilla, as seen primarily through the lens of two African novels: Juan Tomás Ávila Laurel's *The Gurgu Pledge* (2017) and Marie NDiaye's *Three Strong Women* (2009). In these gripping narratives Ávila Laurel and

NDiaye remind the readers of imperial past by looking at the present in which migration and Spain's relationship with the European Union and Morocco are key issues. A vestige of the long and complicated history of colonialism in this region, which also closely implicates the French empire and Portuguese interventions, the cities of Ceuta and Melilla are Spanish outposts, "the nearest bit of Europe to all of them" (Ávila Laurel 2017, 163).

In Melilla, the eleven kilometers long border wall separates Spain from Morocco, Europe from Africa². The border wall figures prominently, in the title (to which the 'pledge' in Ávila Laurel's *The Gurugu Pledge* refers to), and at the very end of both novels. They focus on precarious life at the informal migrant camp that is positioned on a Moroccan mountain overlooking Melilla and the Spanish/European border. In the present essay, my aim is to open up a space for critical reflection on questions surrounding precarity and marginalization within the neoliberalism and surveillance capitalism on the Melilla borderscape. I examine primarily *The Gurugu Pledge* and the third part of *Three Strong Women* while also focusing on certain scenes from the documentary films *The Land Between* (2014) and *Les Sauteurs* (Those Who Jump, 2016) as visual examples that recount a strikingly similar migrant experience³. By putting these narrative and visual texts into dialogue, I am interested in not only the transnational and postcolonial nature of their writing, but also, and more importantly, how they open lines of

interconnectivity through the channels of South-South dialogue, global solidarity, and resistance to post 9/11 neoliberal policies of surveillance.

The two Global South novels under analysis uncover the problem of (neo)colonialism, eliciting what Walter Dignolo identifies as the “subalternization of knowledge” (2012, 153) and what Debjani Ganguly describes as “the global state of war” and “maximalism of a human rights culture” (2016, 14). I use the term Global South in relation to the “novel” and to globalizing processes, to highlight its parallels but also to emphasize its “southern” difference and critical potential. While the term “global” (and ensuing “globalization”) often refer to the flattening out of difference, the “Global South” does so by departing precisely from the fissures in the globalizing folds, its main thrust being the “de-linking” from globalization. In other words, it has been pointed out that not all “global” modalities (including the novel form), are preoccupied with colonialism and critique of (uneven) modernity from the position of (neo)coloniality, while, I would argue, “Global South novels” are intrinsically inseparable from histories of colonial domination, war, and continuous exploitation of indigenous resources. It is important in this regard to consider that the term “Global South” has been used in the post-Cold War era to replace the term “Third World” (and related terms such as “developing world” or “non-Western world”), to refer to a transnational and de/territorial way of con-

ceptualizing (post)colonial spaces that were negatively impacted first by colonial exploitation and later by neo-liberal globalization.

A dissident writer and a long-standing critic of the regime in Equatorial Guinea, Ávila Laurel lives between Malabo and Barcelona. He wrote *The Gurugu Pledge* in Spanish, under the original title of *El juramento de Gurugú*. However, the novel first appeared in English translation in 2017 and it was subsequently translated into French under the title *Sur Le Mont Gourougou*. In a striking parallel to its subject matter of migration, Ávila Laurel's novel has turned into a 'migrant text', one that is yet to find its 'home' in Spain, and one that has yet to be published in Spanish. Put differently, a parallelism may be discerned between the containment of the irregular migrant body and the tortuous route on which Avila Laurel's novel embarked in order to reach publication. My aim is to explore those precarious routes and the effects of dislocation and fragmentation, in both the narrative form of the novel and in its editorial trajectory.

Marie Ndiaye left France in 2007 in protest against the anti-immigrant policies of Nicholas Sarkozy's government and has since lived in Berlin. NDiaye's novel first appeared in French in 2009, under the title *Trois Femmes Puissantes*, and was subsequently translated into English in 2012 under the title *Three Strong Women*. While NDiaye's novel followed a more 'formal' publication

route, *The Gurugu Pledge* has turned into a migrant textual artifact out of necessity. Its publication, first in the UK, in English, where it won the PEN Translation Prize, makes us wonder about the conditions surrounding the indifference shown by the Spanish publishing houses, while it also unsettles the term “Global Hispanophone” (Campoy-Cubillo and Vizcaya 2019) to which it has been ascribed. By suggesting this, a question arises whether the ‘global’ in this newly coined term refers to works in translation and dissemination from the Hispanophone world? Or is the ‘global’, when paired with “South” and “novel”, as I will show using the methodology of the “Global South”, also aimed towards global readership interested in south-to-south solidarity politics?

In order to address these questions, first, I will examine *The Gurugu Pledge* while focusing on bridging discussions of migration through the lens of the Global South. Second, I will address solidarity politics with migration located at the intersection of the Global South, Global Hispanophone, and Global Francophone. Overall, I will focus on convergences and divergences between these terms, but my primary focus, though, is on the question of Mediterranean and European borders, both as physical and symbolic constructs traversed by migration. I will inevitably engage with disciplinary borders as well, because the potential for this kind of academic shift ultimately challenges the enclosed and stagnant approaches to literary study, by calling into question reified, estab-

lished, and entrenched national literary fields while making us rethink the diasporic and wider political implications of these categories.

Pheng Cheah points out that the aim of Walter Dignolo's 'decolonial' thinking, and, I would add, the purpose of the Global South novel as a critical paradigm, is to contest a homogenous universalistic modernity by showing its structural connections to colonial violence. "The Reworlding of the World", Cheah argues, "remains a continuing project in light of the inequalities created by capitalist globalization and their tragic consequences for peoples and social groups in postcolonial space" (2011, 194). Global South is a term that in my reading of visual and literary discourse on migration suggests both a location/space from where practices are seen, interpreted and recognized, but also, and more importantly, a discursive position from which theories of globalization are exposed or denounced. I agree in this regard with Anne Garland Mahler's position that identifies the "Global South Atlantic" as "a conceptual apparatus that not only inherently recognizes the Black Atlantic foundations of the Global South but also calls contemporary solidarity politics into accountability to these intellectual roots" (2017, 100).

I argue that by following the Black Atlantic foundations of the Global South and by engaging the themes of migration, memory and transnational belonging, Global Hispanophone authors such as Juan Tomás Ávila Lau-

rel, Donato Ndongo Bidyogo, Trifonia Melibea Obono, and other Equatoguinean writers contribute to emerging channels of political and aesthetic solidarity across the globe and to what Nicholas Jones has termed the “Hispanic Black Atlantic”⁴ (Jones 2018, 265). If, geographically and geopolitically, the term Global Hispanophone refers to works in Spanish produced in the former Spanish colonies beyond Latin America and the Caribbean (and the Melillan setting of the novel will fall within this categorization), the term Global South implies an entangled web of overlapping colonial histories and decolonial movements that inform the migrants’ lives. In addition to other parts of the world (including Sub-Saharan Africa which is the area migrants are fleeing in *The Guru-gu Pledge*), the term Global South also encompasses the following Global Hispanophone geographic areas: Hispanophone Africa (Equatorial Guinea, parts of Northern Morocco, Western Sahara), and Hispanophone Asia (The Philippines and the Mariana Islands).

The migrant narratives under discussion resort to fragmentation as they focus on a large group of Sub-Saharan migrants and refugees, of various nationalities, at a specific geopolitical location on the migrant route: the Spanish Moroccan border at Melilla. I argue that all authors under discussion here use interconnected African migrant stories not only to signal a distancing from the Western textual and visual archive but also to show the shared experiences of dehumanization and precar-

iousness at the gates of Europe. I read their narratives through the lens of fragment and rupture, and in doing so underline a poetic of dislocation that defines the migrant text and what T. J. Demos has called “the migrant image” (Demos 2013).

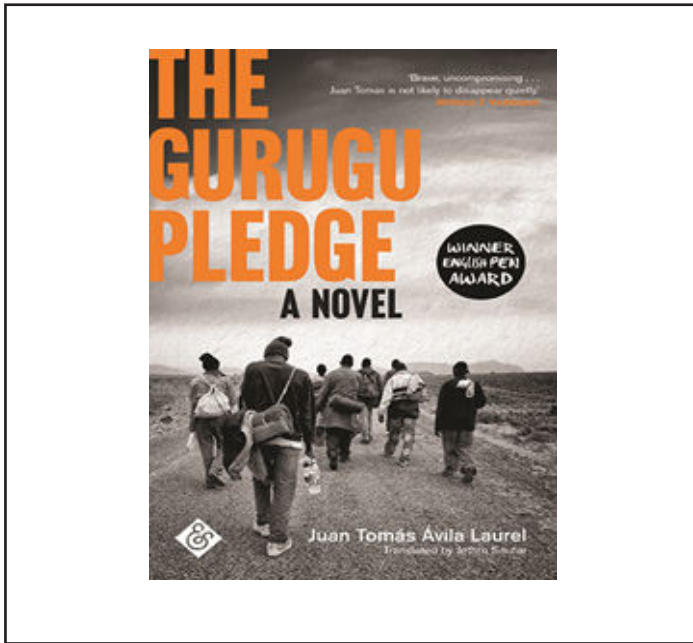


Figure 1, The Gurugu Pledge cover design by Edward Bettison, photo by Samuel Aranda.

The cover of Ávila Laurel's novel embodies the resistant imaginary of a migrant as a transnational political subject whose agency and mass mobilization shows not an anonymous victim but "traces of political subjects on the move" (Sanyal 2017, 28). Chosen by the publishing house And Other Stories, the book cover was designed by Edward Bettison. It contains a photograph by the Spanish photojournalist Samuel Aranda shot from the back, depicting a group of migrants walking. With only a bundle of personal possessions and carrying gallons of water, the migrants convey an urgency of displacement, while the photograph suggests a critical attitude towards image making and image consumption. Indeed, the cover of *The Gurugu Pledge* is purposefully dynamic: it shows an ongoing process and invites the reader to stand in and follow in the migrants' footsteps.

With regard to the question of transnational construction of the migrant text and heightened by the urgency of the theme of migration in contemporary world, it is particularly important to note that Ávila Laurel and Marie NDiaye write from the perspective of African migrants. *The Gurugu Pledge* is told entirely through their voices. I argue that Ávila Laurel and NDiaye offer a more historically and socially specific approach to migration that challenges the transnational neoliberal capital flows which presently condition migrant mobility as seen in the media. *The Gurugu Pledge* encompasses multiple fragmented stories at the Gurugu camp that were brought by

subjects affected by neoliberal globalization in Sub-Saharan Africa. While challenging the media accounts of migration, the novel presents the migrants' stories told by the campfire and describes their precarious life in the camp while they are waiting for an opportunity to scale the Melilla border fence.

The Gurugu Pledge begins with a clear reference to a place that dehumanizes: "We lived in the forest and cooked enough to still be standing. We gathered firewood and went down to Farkhana to buy fish, or to pretend to buy fish in the hope that some charitable soul would give us some" (Ávila Laurel 2017, 9). The narrative continues with an oral account by one of the migrant subjects, Peter Ngambo: "He had a beard from never shaving and he told us that in his village he'd been known as Ngambo. He said he'd once been a porter...Ngambo told us he never intended to leave his country, he'd only done so because his father had been discriminated against" (Ávila Laurel, 2017, 10).

The novel depicts different groups being allocated different caves in which to spend the night. Those proficient in multiple languages are placed on the top, in the upper part of this multilingual, Babelic mountain. They sleep on cardboard boxes or on dry leaves; if they are lucky, they sleep on blankets that were donated by the Spanish Red Cross. "That they had blankets at all was only thanks to the efficient efforts of a charity based in

a village in the foothills of the mountain, a village that was in fact more of a town, and which flew the Spanish flag, although it was in Morocco” (Ávila Laurel 2017, 45). The reference to the presence of the Spanish flag in this complex borderscape brings to mind not only the visual symbols of power but also the post/neo/ colonial framework.

A story told by a fellow migrant, Alex Babangida, is intercalated inside Peter Ngambo’s narrative. Ávila Laurel said he drew inspiration for this particular storytelling style from the oral traditions of his native Equatorial Guinea⁵. For generations, storytelling has been a communal experience focused around audience participation. Indeed, in *The Gurugu Pledge*, Ávila Laurel uses storytelling and oral history as an attempt to challenge official accounts of migration. His novel is a poignant counternarrative that gives voice to those that are presented as voiceless. In other words, *The Gurugu Pledge* disrupts the message of ‘who should be valued’ in accounts of migration and encourages the reader to re-examine the assumptions made by the official state media when reporting a migrant story.

De-humanized and taken out of the historical context that propels migration, migrant narratives are usually discussed in the media in relation to debates about borders and citizenship. In *The Gurugu Pledge*, however, Ávila Laurel gives migrants an entirely different perspective

through a re-humanized voice that allows for their stories to be heard and for their community to be seen. In fact, the novel's narration is almost solely focused on the stories that migrants have brought with them, as their only luggage. Alex Babangida's story in *The Gurugu Pledge* is particularly poignant, because it centers around corruption and describes his experience while working on cleaning skins from illegal hunts in his native country.

Following the circular model of intercalated stories, into Alex Babangida's story is then inserted that of life in Uganda under Idi Amin, who "ushered in an era in which African civilians were obliged to leave their homeland and go and live elsewhere" (Ávila Laurel 2017, 46). In referencing a relatively recent dictatorship, and by examining news chronicles out of which these migrant narratives emerge, the reader is asked to think more deeply about the ways in which the imperatives of state violence and war subsume neo-colonial violence. To make legible the forcible encounters, removals and entanglements omitted in liberal accounts of migration, *The Gurugu Pledge* - as an example of Global South novel - invites to understand the processes through which the forgetting of violent encounters is naturalized or aestheticized in the media. The questions asked are not only "Why are they here?", as seen in the media, but also "How did they(we) get here and what are the (hi)stories that need to be heard and reflected upon"?

Everyone on the mountain came from a different part of Africa, “had a past like Peter Ngambo and a brilliant future that awaited them in Europe” (Ávila Laurel 2017, 25). The first time “Europe” is mentioned in the book, it is done with no small dose of irony because those gathered on the mountain, the reader soon finds out, have only the present and a meager chance of crossing over into the desired future. In Ávila Laurel’s novel, irony functions as a critical tool: migrants are ironically called “the residents” (2017, 10). They are only temporarily gathered in the Gurugu Mountain camp, on the Moroccan side of the Mediterranean shore, in a liminal space. Indeed, the word “gurugu” is closely associated with the word “lilkhuruj”, which means “to exit” in Arabic. However, “exit”, in this context, entails another perilous crossing: going northward towards Europe means having to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. According to Mariangella Palladino, this puts migrants and their stories in dire straits: “As Europe is increasingly preoccupied with maintaining, patrolling, policing, militarizing, externalizing and re-drawing a border in the Mediterranean, this waterway is a divisive space” (2018, 75).

Empire and colonialism have left the divisive legacies of civil war, dictatorship, repression, and unrest throughout Africa. Aisha, the migrant featured in *The Land Between*, is a case in point. She arrived in Morocco with her four children fleeing the 2011 civil war in Ivory Coast. While describing how she lost her husband in the war, she re-

iterates “je n'ai pas le choix” (“I don't have a choice”), and recounts how she saw more than 300 Moroccan police officers and soldiers burning the migrants' camp. *Les Sauteurs* shows migrants returning to the camp following the fires caused by the police, and then cuts away to images taken by the official surveillance cameras while juxtaposing those with scenes filmed by the Malian migrant Abou. In *The Land Between* the Malian migrant Yacou reports: “Once you have entered Morocco, it's like you have entered a jail”. (2014, min 14.37) The migrants are also aggressively pursued by the military who burn the camp, but they keep coming back and repeatedly attempt to scale the border fence *en massé*. By using police recorded video surveillance footage, both films subsequently depict a group of migrants scaling the Melilla border fence. The footage from one of migrant's cell phones in *The Land Between* showed one person dying following the attempt.

Marie NDiaye's novel has a strikingly similar ending, also set on the Melilla border fence. Her *Three Strong Women* (2009) is the first novel written by a black woman to win the prestigious Prix Goncourt in France. The novel is written in three distinct parts that subtly interact and intersect. “The mobility theme is present in all three stories”, Anna-Leena Toivanen notes, “and it is conceived in multidirectional terms between France and Senegal” (Toivanen 2015, 10). The Senegalese Khady Demba is the protagonist of the third part of the novel: this is

the part of the novel which most closely focuses on the migrant and precarious condition. What strikes the reader from the outset is Khady's struggle to preserve the memory of her dead husband and grandmother, the only two people who were kind to her prior to her journey. She embarks on the migrant route, and continuously struggles for the preservation of memory and identity. Forced by smugglers to change her name and get a fake passport, for example, Khady again relies on memory. As she travels by truck on the treacherous migrant route across the Sahara desert, she performs a remembrance of an ever-present past in order to sustain her strength and cultural identity.

Khady, in fact, was initially supposed to migrate by boat along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, following a plan imposed on her by her relatives. However, she ends up travelling by truck and is forced into prostitution in the desert town. Khady finally reaches coastal North Africa, "weeks later, in a forest the name of which she'd forgotten, among trees that were unfamiliar to her... the makeshift tent of plastic and foliage in which she was laying... The tent was part of a vast encampment of shacks or tarpaulins lofted on poles... Khady' noticed she had nothing anymore: no bundle, passport, or money" (NDiaye 2012, 287-289). She observed everyone in the camp making ladders. She, too, went in search of branches and started her work on building a ladder, "dredging up from memory a story she'd been told...

about a wire fence separating Africa from Europe” (NDiaye 2012, 289).

She went looking for food in a nearby town which closely resembles the one Avila Laurel describes in *The Gurugu Pledge*. Back on the mountain, Khady watched in terror as Moroccan soldiers were raiding the camp and pulling down the shacks. The assault of the border fence was finally announced, and Khady decided to join the group. She ran with others, climbed the fence with the help of the ladder she had built, and reached the top: “She kept telling herself never to stop climbing, never, repeating the words over and over again while no longer understanding them, then giving up, letting go, falling slowly backward, and thinking that the person of Khady Demba – less than a breath, scarcely a puff of air - was surely never to touch the ground, but would float eternal, priceless, too evanescent ever to be smashed in the cold, blinding glare of the floodlights” (NDiaye 2012, 292). As Toivanen points out, Khady “stands for an abject cosmopolitan in the eyes of “forteresse Europe” fighting to keep the unwanted African outside its borders (2015, 13).

The novel’s postcolonial dynamic results in a necropolitical ending, underscoring the continuity, and problematic contiguity, of these spaces: the European EU border, on Africa’s soil, and the Gurugu migrant camp, controlled by the Moroccan forestry police. Isabella Al-

exander has argued in this regard that “Morocco, in an attempt to capitalize on its strategic placement at the apex of trans-continental African migrations, and Spain, in an attempt to lessen the burden of more migrants and asylum seekers weighing on an already failing refugee and asylum system, are working in tandem to create a new class of migrants trapped on the periphery to the European Union” (2019, 153). According to Alexander, by forming such political agreements states manage control over migrant bodies before migrant bodies ever reach the confines of the state. This external border regime is a growing global trend, with EU and USA deferring their border control to neighboring countries such as Morocco and Mexico.

The Land Between and *Les Sauteurs* also deal with the immediate effects of the migrant reality of dislocation and fracture. Following Nora M. Alter, I approach each as an ‘essay film’ that presents the viewer the precarious daily life of migrants at the Gurugu. In fact, Ávila Laurel and the filmmakers do not portray coercive migration in terms of a “migrant flow”, of a human mass that has been reduced to anonymity and indifference (as in the main-stream media), but rather, they highlight the individual and his/her migrant story. Indeed, Abou, the protagonist of *Les Sauteurs*, became an active subject of the film he was making. With regard to the political dimensions of their engagement with the postcolonial histories and contemporary realities of the Glob-

al South, Ávila Laurel's and NDiaye's novels, as well as the two 'essay films' set at the Gurugu Mountain camp, can therefore be placed alongside Warscapes magazine, whose literary retrospective, loosely titled "Visas", is an attempt to provide an understanding of the experience of migration through the lens of documentation and oppressive bureaucracy affecting human beings under involuntary mobility.

One day, the four-nations soccer tournament in *The Gurugu Pledge* is suspended, because an incident has occurred in one of the caves on the top. Two women were not well, one having suffered a miscarriage, the other having been assaulted. They were taken down to the village, in search of a doctor, on two men's backs. A captivating scene describing collective frustration is followed by another one depicting a group storming the barbed wire border fence into Melilla. As advanced in the novel's title, hundreds of Gurugu migrants collectively pledged to climb the fence and set out to do so. The next morning, the two sick women were found on the top of the border fence where migrants had brought them in the hope that they would have been rescued and given medical help. Debarati Sanyal suggests, "that we currently witness a convergence between biopolitical theory and humanitarian reason", both of which "pivot upon figuring the refugee as 'bare life' – as an apolitical, speechless victim" (2017, 5). Both humanitarian and securitarian approaches, however opposed in intention according

to Sanyal's incisive reading, "envision the irregular migrant as a body to be saved, contained, policed, moved around, encamped, kept out, or expelled; in short, as a body to be managed" (2017, 5).

While the scene on top of the border fence illustrates this important point, a question posed at the beginning of Ávila Laurel's novel is equally vexing: "Why do African stories always have to have unhappy endings?" (2017, 39). In a manner of an epilogue that subverts this long history "of unhappy endings", *The Gurugu Pledge* ends with a first-person account of a narrator who doesn't jump the fence, but rather walks away from the camp, and abandons his quest to reach Europe. He goes instead to Gurugu Mountain's southern face, "to the side where the lights of nearby Europe do not reach" (Ávila Laurel, 2017, 182). The novel closes with the narrator's gaze turned towards the south of the African continent and the River Zambezi. It is rather significant that he identifies as "African", thus indicating that the novel's closing point is about wider alliances and solidarity networks being forged, not with the legacies of Europe but with Africa. This makes us realize that Ávila Laurel also seeks to establish an African literary identity, as he implies a move from the Global Hispanophone towards Africa and the larger Global South.

The subversive ending of *The Gurugu Pledge* (the character has his gaze on Africa, not Europe) points to the

limits of representation of migration while denouncing dictatorship and war as the globalizing enterprises in which migrants are forced to flee. Ávila Laurel also expressed in a recent interview for *Words Without Borders* that he has long been interested in the Equatoguinean reliance on Africa, and that he has written a novel (which remains unpublished) that focuses on a prosperous city built by migrants in the African desert. All of the African countries mentioned in *The Gurugu Pledge* (Mali, Benin, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Gambia) share a relatively recent European colonial past. Roger Bromley draws in this regard on Achille Mbembe's reflections on "the postcolony" and aptly asserts, in regard to Ávila Laurel's *The Gurugu Pledge*, that, "the novel opens up spaces for their stories as ways of countering the epistemic violence of Empire" (2018, n.p.). Empire has left the legacy of not only continued economic exploitation, albeit through new means propelled by neoliberal extractivism, "which devastated the African continent and produced journeys which have culminated in the Gurugu" (Bromley 2018, n.p.).

Following Hakim Abderrezak's *Ex-Centric Migrations*, I take the "burning the sea" metaphor (which in Arabic refers to clandestine crossings of the Mediterranean Sea, i.e. the "Mediterranean passage") as a metaphor representing the interlinking between empire and migration, in order to interrogate multiple nodal points within the current global poetics/politics of confinement, repa-

triation and (un)belonging. In sum, the post-migrant ending echoes Mbembe's conception of a borderless Africa, one that would subvert the carving of African boundaries along colonial lines, and of a borderless world. Mbembe has argued that "borderlessness" has been central to various utopian traditions⁷. He claims that "contemporary borders are in danger of becoming sites of reinforcement, reproduction and intensification of vulnerability for ... the most racially marked, the ever more disposable, those that in the era of neoliberal abandonment have been paying the heaviest price for the most expansive period of prison construction in human history" (2018, n.p.). The post-migrant ending of *The Gurugu Pledge* points at the alternative futures and a centrifugal force that may potentially disentangle Africa from Europe while denouncing its history of empire and continuities reflected in current border regimes. The deeply disconcerting fragments through which migrant narratives are told require new critical insight into whose lives and which objects are transformed by profiting from global mobilities, militarized borders, the resource-centered and war-fueled global economy.

NOTES:

1. “The Global South refers both to a post-Cold War cartographic conception that embraces Africa, Latin America, Asia, including parts of the Middle East and the Pacific Islands; and politico-cultural spaces shaped by global histories of capitalism, empire, race and diaspora. In this regard, the American South, the Caribbean, the border zones of Latino/Latina Study and immigrant communities of European nations and cities are as much part of the Global South as are Nigeria and Argentina”. <http://as.virginia.edu/global-south>

2. “Located on the Northern Coast of Morocco, Melilla is an autonomous Spanish City, a European enclave on the Continent of Africa. The two continents are separated by a barrier built and funded by Spain and European Union, who also pay Morocco to control the border areas and regulate migration” (*The Land Between*, min 1).

3. In 2014, Australian filmmaker David Fedele produced *The Land Between*. In 2016, Moritz Siberth and Estephan Wagner made another Melilla-focused documentary film, also from the perspective of migrants. They handed a camera to Abou Bakar Sidibé, a Malian migrant at the Gurugu camp, who is credited as a co-director, co-author of the voice-over, and director of photography in *Les Sauteurs*.

4. See Michelle Murray's "The African Dreams of Migration" in Symposium. Nicholas R. Jones devised the term "Hispanic Black Atlantic" "as a critical tool and a discursive geographical space to rethink and revisit Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic model" (Jones, 2018, 265).

5. Ávila Laurel mentions this in an interview filmed during the Madrid Book Fair, "Tomás Ávila Laurel firma en la Feria del Libro de Madrid, en el Retiro" (2009): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9g5etVuSpV0>

6. In *The Land Between*, Yacou makes the distinction that "not all the Moroccans make us suffer. It's the authorities" (2014, min 29.52).

7. See Achille Mbembe's "The Idea of a Borderless World" in *Africa is a Country*.

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