

Canadian Journal of African Studies / La Revue canadienne des études africaines

Coordinating Editor / Rédacteur coordonnateur: Chris Youé, Memorial University

Editors / Rédacteurs: Belinda Dodson, Western University; Abdoulaye Gueye, Université d'Ottawa; Cédric Jourde, Université d'Ottawa; Joey Power, Ryerson University; Alexie Tcheuyap, University of Toronto

Managing Editor / Rédacteur gérant: Roger Riendeau, University of Toronto

Editorial Advisory Board / Comité de rédaction consultatif: Bruce Berman, Queen's University; Jean-Godefroy Bidima, Tulane University; Odile Cazenave, Boston University; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Université de Paris; Dennis D. Cordell, Southern Methodist University; Mamadou Diouf, Columbia University; Allison Goebel, Queen's University; Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Wilfrid Laurier University; Alan Jeeves, Queen's University; Bogumil Jewsiewicki, Université Laval; Cilas Kemedjio, University of Rochester; Martin A. Klein, University of Toronto; Ambroise Kom, College of the Holy Cross; Deborah Potts, King's College London; Barry Riddell, Queen's University; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, University of Illinois at Chicago

Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS)

In 1970 the Canadian Committee on African Studies (established in 1962) was reconstituted as the Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS). The aims of CAAS are: to promote the study of Africa in Canada; to improve knowledge and awareness of Africa as well as the problems and aspirations of its people on the part of the Canadian public; to facilitate scholarly and scientific exchange; and to build linkages between the Canadian and African scholarly and scientific communities, particularly through the publication of the *Canadian Journal of African Studies (CJAS)*.

CAAS Secretariat
Institute of African Studies
228 Paterson Hall
1125 Colonel By Drive
Carleton University
Ottawa ON K1S 5B6 Canada
Email: caasacea@carleton.ca

The Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) gratefully acknowledges the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) in publishing the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*.

L'Association Canadienne des Etudes Africaines (ACEA)

En 1970 le Comité des études africaines (établi en 1962) est devenu L'Association canadienne des études africaines (ACEA). Les objectifs de l'ACEA sont de promouvoir les études africaines au Canada, et plus généralement, de développer une meilleure connaissance et compréhension de l'Afrique, de ses défis et des aspirations de ses habitants. En publiant à *la Revue canadienne des études africaines (RCEA)*, l'ACEA favorise aussi des échanges culturels et scientifiques, construit des liens plus assidus entre les élites culturelles et scientifiques du Canada et de l'Afrique

Secrétariat de l'ACEA
Institute of African Studies
228 Paterson Hall
1125 Colonel By Drive
Carleton University
Ottawa ON K1S 5B6 Canada
Email: caasacea@carleton.ca

L'Association canadienne des études africaines tient à exprimer sa gratitude au Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSHC) pour la généreuse contribution qui permet la publication de *la Revue canadienne des études africaines*.

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES/
LA REVUE CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES AFRICAINES
Volume 48 Number 1 April 2014
SPECIAL ISSUE: NOMADISM AND MOBILITY IN THE SAHARA-SAHEL



CONTENTS / SOMMAIRE

ARTICLES

Nomadism and mobility in the Sahara-Sahel: introduction <i>Elisabeth Boesen, Laurence Marfaing and Mirjam de Bruijn</i>	1
De l'espace nomade à l'espace mobile en passant par l'espace du contrat: une expérience théorique <i>Denis Retailé</i>	13
Mobility in pastoral societies of Northern Mali: Perspectives on social and political rationales <i>Charles Grémont</i>	29
Quelles mobilités pour quelles ressources? <i>Laurence Marfaing</i>	41
On west African roads: everyday mobility and exchanges between Mauritania, Senegal and Mali <i>Armelle Choplin and Jerome Lombard</i>	59
Tubali's trip: Rethinking informality in the study of West African labour migrations <i>Benedetta Rossi</i>	77
Mobility in the Hausa language <i>Joseph McIntyre</i>	101
De la constitution d'un territoire à sa division : l'adaptation des Ahl Bârikalla aux évolutions sociopolitiques de l'Ouest saharien (XVII ^e -XXI ^e siècles) <i>Benjamin Acloque</i>	119
COMMENTARY / COMMENTAIRE	
The Africa-China relationship: challenges and opportunities <i>Paul Tiyambe Zeleza</i>	145
BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS	
Danwood M. Chirwa and Lia Nijzink. <i>Accountable government in Africa: perspectives from public law and political studies</i> . Adetoun Ilumoka	171
Patricia de Santana Pinho. <i>Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia</i> . Helena Cantone	173
Eric Morier-Genoud, Leiden and Boston. <i>Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique</i> . Robert Nathan	175
Carl H. Nightingale. <i>Segregation: a global history of divided cities</i> . Timothy Scarnecchia	176
Adam Sneyd. <i>Governing cotton: globalization and poverty in Africa</i> . David J. Hornsby	179

Subscription Information

Canadian Journal of African Studies / La Revue canadienne des études africaines, Print ISSN 0008-3968, Online ISSN 1923-3051, Volume 48, 2014.

Canadian Journal of African Studies (www.tandfonline.com/RCAS) is a peer-reviewed journal published in April, August and December by Taylor & Francis, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN, UK.

Institutional Subscription Rate (print and online): £229/€303/\$379/CAD\$402

Institutional Subscription Rate (online-only): £200/€265/\$332/CAD\$352 (+ VAT where applicable)

Personal Subscription Rate (print and online): £97/€126/\$157/CAD\$168

Taylor & Francis has a flexible approach to subscriptions, enabling us to match individual libraries' requirements. This journal is available via a traditional institutional subscription (either print with online access, or online only at a discount) or as part of the Politics, International Relations & Area Studies Collection or Social Sciences & Humanities (SSH) Library. For more information on our sales packages please visit <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/librarians>.

All current institutional subscriptions include online access for any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the currently available backfile and articles posted online ahead of publication.

Subscriptions purchased at the personal rate are strictly for personal, non-commercial use only. The reselling of personal subscriptions is prohibited. Personal subscriptions must be purchased with a personal cheque or credit card. Proof of personal status may be requested.

Back issues: Taylor & Francis retains a three year back issue stock of journals. Older volumes are held by our official stockists to whom all orders and enquiries should be addressed: Periodicals Service Company, 351 Fairview Avenue, Suite 300, Hudson, NY 12534, USA. Tel: + 1 518 822 9300; fax: + 1 518 537 5899; email: psc@periodicals.com.

Taylor & Francis offers authors the opportunity to make articles free online for all users via our *iOpenAccess* option. For more details on the titles included and the one off fee, go to <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/OpenAccess.asp>.

Ordering information: Please contact your local Customer Service Department to take out a subscription to the Journal: **India:** Universal Subscription Agency Pvt. Ltd, 101-102 Community Centre, Malviya Nagar Extn, Post Bag No. 8, Saket, New Delhi 110017, USA, **Canada:** Taylor & Francis, Inc., 530 Walnut Street, Suite 850, Philadelphia, PA 19106, USA. Tel: + 1 800 354 1420; Fax: + 1 215 625 2940. **UK/Europe/Rest of World:** T&F Customer Services, T&F Informa UK Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester, Essex, CO3 3LP, United Kingdom. Tel: + 44 (0) 20 7017 5544; Fax: + 44 (0) 20 7017 5198; Email: subscriptions@tandf.co.uk.

Dollar rates apply to all subscribers outside Europe. Euro rates apply to all subscribers in Europe, except the UK where the pound sterling rate applies. If you are unsure which rate applies to you please contact Customer Services in the UK. All subscriptions are payable in advance and all rates include postage. Journals are sent by air to the USA, Canada, Mexico, India, Japan and Australasia. Subscriptions are entered on an annual basis, i.e. January to December. Payment may be made by sterling cheque, dollar cheque, euro cheque, international money order, National Giro or credit cards (Amex, Visa and Mastercard).

Copyright © 2014 Canadian Association of African Studies. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored, transmitted, or disseminated, in any form, or by any means, without prior written permission from Taylor & Francis, to whom all requests to reproduce copyright material should be directed, in writing.

Disclaimer: The Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) and Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in its publications. However, CAAS and Taylor & Francis and its agents and licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by the CAAS or Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. The CAAS and Taylor & Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Taylor & Francis grants authorization for individuals to photocopy copyright material for private research use, on the sole basis that requests for such use are referred directly to the requestor's local Reproduction Rights Organization (RRO). The copyright fee is £28/US\$46/€34 exclusive of any charge or fee levied. In order to contact your local RRO, please contact International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organizations (IFRRO), rue du Prince Royal, 87, B-1050 Brussels, Belgium; email: ifro@skynet.be; Copyright Clearance Center Inc., 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923, USA; email: info@copyright.com; or Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London, W1P 0LP, UK; email: cla@cla.co.uk. This authorization does not extend to any other kind of copying, by any means, in any form, for any purpose other than private research use.

Airfreight and mailing in the USA by Agent named Air Business, C/O Worldnet Shipping USA Inc., 156-15 146th Avenue, Jamaica, New York, NY 11434, USA. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica NY 11434, USA.

US Postmaster: Send address changes to *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Air Business Ltd, C/O Worldnet Shipping Inc., 156-15, 146th Avenue, 2nd Floor, Jamaica, NY 11434, USA.

Subscription records are maintained at Taylor & Francis Group, 4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, OX14 4RN, United Kingdom.

For more information on Taylor & Francis' journal publishing program, please visit our website: www.tandfonline.com.

Nomadism and mobility in the Sahara-Sahel: introduction

Elisabeth Boesen^a, Laurence Marfaing^{b*} and Mirjam de Bruijn^c

^a*Institut d'Histoire, Université du Luxembourg, Luxembourg;* ^b*German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg, Germany;* ^c*Institute for History, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands*

The articles compiled in this issue are based on contributions to the workshop "Nomades et migrants dans l'espace Sahara-Sahel: Mobilité, ressources et développement", held in Bamako, January 2011.¹ The aim of the workshop was to foster an interdisciplinary debate about systems of mobility and resource utilisation, and about their recent transformations in the Sahara-Sahel region. This region seems particularly well suited for considering these issues and the related questions of local development and regional integration. The present compilation of articles is informed by the question of what empirical studies of different types of "movement" in this particular geographical area can contribute to the on-going and lively discussion on "mobility" in various academic fields.²

Mobility issues

The "mobility turn" and a "new mobilities paradigm" are much discussed topics in the social sciences today (see, in particular, Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2007, 44 et seq.). Researchers are producing ever newer – and not necessarily compatible – definitions of "mobility", and seeking in different ways to make productive theoretical use of the concept. For some, mobility is understood as a "general principle of modernity ... similar to those of equality, globality, rationality and individuality" (Canzler, Kaufmann, and Kesselring 2008, 3). Elsewhere plural "mobilities" are seen as a key notion in a "broad project of establishing movement driven social science" (Büscher and Urry 2009, 100). Some define mobility as "spatial displacement" (see, for example, Adey 2010, 13), while others criticise the equation of "mobility" with "displacement", and seek to establish a new term – "motility" – in order to counteract the confusion (Kaufmann 2005; see also Canzler, Kaufmann, and Kesselring 2008, 2 et seq.). The variety of what are defined as "mobility issues" seems to be almost unlimited: "From SARS to train crashes, from airport expansion controversies to SMS (short message service) texting on the move, from congestion charging to global terrorism, from obesity caused by 'fast food' to oil wars in the Middle East" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 208).³

The notion of mobility has thus experienced something of an over-extension and now covers issues wherein mobility represents no more than a marginal feature.⁴ Therefore it seems justified to continue research on those phenomena and facts from which the conceptual extension originated, because mobility is their essential characteristic.

The Sahara-Sahel region which this special issue addresses offers a broad variety of these phenomena. They consist not only of the seasonal migrations of the main livestock

*Corresponding author. Email: marfaing@giga-hamburg.de

herding groups – Tuareg, Wodaabe, Toubou and others – but also in the behaviour of the nominally sedentary rural and urban regional population. From the early days of research, observers of this region could hardly ignore the fact that a strict dichotomy of nomads and sedentary people cannot be empirically sustained, and consequently they had to modify their descriptions and models. This suggests that an examination of the Sahara-Sahel may be well suited to acting as a corrective by confronting the sprawling conceptual extensions and metaphorisations of “mobility” with the concept’s original content thus allowing us, as it were, to learn from the nomads in the process of theory building (see Rétaillé 1995, 1998) – while avoiding the overly narrow framework of nomadism research.

In his study “Pasteurs et paysans du Gourma” (Burkina Faso/Mali), the French geographer Jean Gallais formed the notion of a “*condition sahélienne*”, referring to the fact that the ecological and economic conditions of the Sahel area promoted the ability and disposition to develop the high degree of spatial mobility that characterises all groups in this region, and not only the mobile livestock herders (Gallais 1975). More recently, the French geographer Denis Rétaillé, a contributor to this issue, has adopted a similar approach. Based on his studies in the neighbouring country of Niger, he spoke of an “*économie circulatoire*” reaching beyond the actual Sahel area, that is to say, of a nexus of productive and circulatory economies, and he derived a new spatial concept from his observations, that of the “*espace mobile*” (Rétaillé 2011).⁵

In the 1990s, in the context of our ethnographic and historical fieldwork, we became familiar with this *condition sahélienne*. Our research on merchants and Mourides in Senegal (Marfaing 1991; Marfaing and Sow 1999), and on “semi-sedentary” pastoral Fulbe groups in Mali and Benin (de Bruijn and van Dijk 1995; Boesen 1998), revealed that the concepts which were our starting points, and for which the dichotomy nomad–sedentary is essential, did not enable us to provide an adequate description of the social reality, or were indeed irrelevant.⁶ Gallais had already described how the economic systems and ways of life of the Sahel populations were strongly shaped by the aspect of circulation; as a result of the droughts occurring during the 1970s and 1980s, this feature became even more prominent. On the one hand, mobile livestock herders became partly sedentary and, on the other, both rural and urban populations, who were considered to be “sedentary”, displayed manifold migration practices. This challenged not only the categorial difference between nomad and sedentary, but also the distinction between rural and urban areas. Moreover, the observed nexus of rural and urban ways of life proved that ideas which had for many years seemed to be self-evident in migration research – the equation of urbanisation with modernisation, and the resulting idea of development – had become obsolete.

Migration research

One form of mobility that has been extensively studied is migration. Migration studies, however, have not totally integrated the mobility paradigm. They often draw on theories stemming from development studies and giving prominence to economic factors, which implies that migration is often considered to be a problem – or part of a problem – and an anomaly instead of a “normal” social pattern. Migration research and, more particularly, research in the area under consideration are, however, also changing.

Following the escalation in the repression of migrants in 2005 in Ceuta and Melilla, research on migration in the Sahara-Sahel – and in West Africa as a whole – became suddenly focused on the political and legal dimensions of migration. In the so-called

transit cities and countries of the Maghreb and northern West Africa (Mali, Mauritania and Senegal), European immigration policies⁷ influenced the growing complexity of migratory and mobile population movements, in the sense that sub-Saharan Africans moving to these areas were now immediately perceived as “immigrants” suspected of being illegally in transit to Europe (Lahlou 2003; 2005, 4; Bensaâd 2009). Apart from these more recent preoccupations, research efforts were focused mainly on the socio-economic causes and consequences of migration. Here, poverty has long been considered one of the key parameters.⁸ But is poverty a root cause of migration or, conversely, created by it? (Skeldon, 2002, 79). In addition to efforts on defining parameters of poverty which are measurable in absolute terms (\$1 per day per person⁹), other criteria that are more relative and more dynamic have also been introduced: fear of being unable to survive, and the social and psychological burden of being incapable of playing one’s role with respect to the responsibility of the younger generations vis-a-vis their elders (cf. Destremau and Deboulet 2004).¹⁰

In these studies, migration is often viewed as a survival strategy adopted by families or social groups, in which one member is selected for his prospects of success as a migrant. The “migration project” is aimed at ensuring family or group survival through diversifying its economic activities.¹¹ The basic idea is that the individual or group has been confronted with the necessity of deciding what is acceptable or unacceptable in terms of poverty.¹² But, as more recent studies show, poverty cannot be regarded as an unproblematic criterion, because the very poorest in social and financial terms are unable to afford the cost of this poverty-avoidance strategy (see, among others, Wihtol de Wenden 2009; UNPD, 2009).

Studies on the causes of migration in the Sahara-Sahel region have been complemented by research on the impact of migration in migrants’ places of origin.¹³ Here too, the research findings are highly controversial. Some authors have concluded that migration is a stage in the development process (Pliez 2002, 16; Baldwin-Edwards 2006, 314; de Haas 2005, 1269), whereas others emphasise the creation of dependency in the local population, which is demotivated by the fact that remittances bring in more than local production.¹⁴

However, we must note that it is difficult to obtain reliable data in this domain, and that there are no definitive methods for evaluating the effects of migration on local and regional development processes. While there are numerous studies of financial flows resulting from South–North migration,¹⁵ regional migration has been relatively little researched (see, among others, Eversole 2005; Abdelkah and Bayart, 2007; Marfaing, 2011). With today’s economic crisis in Europe having a severe effect on migrants resident there and on the amounts of money transferred by them to their countries of origin, regional mobility is being recognised as equally effective in reducing poverty gaps and in fostering development. Unlike migrants to Europe, regional migrants can often manage their investments themselves and, because they are more frequent visitors to their home areas, the social consequences of the departure and absence of these migrants may be less traumatic (Konseiga 2005; Marfaing 2010).

This insight into the economic and social importance of regional migration is accompanied by a growing comprehension of the fact that these movements should not be viewed in isolation. Scholars increasingly emphasise the need to study migration in all its complexity and multiplicity of forms (see Trager 2005; Cohen 2004). The Bamako workshop was an explicit attempt to contribute to such a global view of the different forms of mobility and of the mobile men and women – migrants, nomads, businessmen, pilgrims – who traverse the Sahara-Sahel space and its margins.

Cultures of mobility

As suggested before, the idea of a "*condition sahélienne*" resonates in recent ethnological works concerned with the cultural aspects of mobility phenomena. De Bruijn, van Dijk, and van Dijk (2001) for instance, use the examples of two very different mobile groups, namely, cattle herding Fulbe from Mali, and Ghanaian Pentecostals, in order to show how,

mobility has acquired a momentum in itself, in which something has emerged that may be labelled a culture of travel. A field of practices, institutions, and ideas and reflections related to mobility and travelling, which has acquired a specific dynamism of its own (de Bruijn, van Dijk, and van Dijk 2001, 65)¹⁶

By contrast, Hahn and Klute (2007) address "migration movements" more specifically, and regard them as "complexes of cultural representations", which they dub "cultures of migration".¹⁷

It is evident that these notions arise essentially from a critical impetus. Arguing for the existence of "cultures of travel" or "cultures of migration" must be understood as a criticism of a sedentary notion of culture, and of the equation between a cultural and a spatial or territorial entity; and, more generally, as a criticism of the idea that sedentarism represents normality while mobility represents deviance and therefore a problem – an idea that for a long time characterised not only the perception of migration but also research on nomadism (see de Bruijn, van Dijk, and van Dijk 2001, 2; Trager 2005; see also Retaillé, this issue).

However, these ethnological works are not only inspired by the specific mobility phenomena of the Sahara-Sahel. At the same time, they reflect a more general development of the discipline in the course of the "spatial turn", a development that can briefly be described as a turn "from place to space". We may refer here to Gupta and Ferguson's (1992; 1997) conceptual work and their questioning of the ethnographic object when they examine the relation between culture, locality and fieldwork.¹⁸ This fundamental debate, however, is primarily based on reflections inspired by work on new mobility phenomena, namely urban (and cosmopolitan) ways of life. This becomes evident, for instance, in James Clifford's call to dedicate oneself to "travelling cultures" – cultures whose chronotope is no longer the village, but the hotel lobby, the airport departure hall and similar places (Clifford 1997). The author himself comments on the fact that he did not really manage to overcome the bourgeois or cosmopolitan notion of "traveller" as it was shaped by the figure of the British nineteenth-century "explorer" (Clifford 1997, 31 et seq.).¹⁹

In a similar way, the general conceptual developments of recent years, which were inspired by sociological and geographical spatial theories, have addressed almost exclusively phenomena emerging in the modern Western world. Moreover, they explicitly frame mobility as a feature of the (post-)modern human being; mobility has virtually become a synonym of freedom, personal fulfilment and social fluidity (see Canzler, Kaufmann, and Kesselring 2008; Cresswell 2006; see also Baumann 1998). Wherever mobility cannot be perceived in this way, that is, as a "general principle of modernity" (Canzler, Kaufmann, and Kesselring 2008, 3) – such as in the case of refugees and migrant workers, but also of traditional Sahel nomads – sedentarism is still perceived as "normal", while movement and instability are primarily considered to be a necessary evil or a potential danger. Hence conceptual attempts to overcome the sedentary perspective have thus far been only partially successful. The old dichotomy between nomad and sedentary survives in a reverse way: modernity identifies its Other in all those who are prohibited from participating in such mobilities, and who are still bound to – seemingly – local conditions.²⁰

Mobility has become a key issue in cultural studies and social science, and the nomads of the Sahara-Sahel with whom we are concerned have turned into key cultural figures who provide inspiration to social theory,²¹ in as much as they symbolise pleasure and individual fulfilment in the world of consumerism (e.g. the Touareg). Nevertheless, it is still necessary to call for an overcoming of the sedentary perspective, and this means that there are strong reasons to continue to address specifically these other, as it were, "original" forms of mobility.

Reprise: *La condition sahélienne*

As mentioned above, the Sahara-Sahel region is not only characterised by pastoral mobility, but also by the seasonal complementarity of very different economic activities – pastoral and agricultural, as well as urban undertakings such as commerce and services (Cordell, Gregor, and Piché 1996; Pelissier 1966; Manchuelle 1997). Here, the circulation of people has for centuries been facilitated by the fact that families and ethnic groups often represented translocal social entities (Rodet 2009), which were reinforced by religious and/or commercial networks (Meillassoux 1971; Amselle 1977; Lovejoy 1980; Grégoire 1991; Barry and Harding 1992; Grégoire and Schmitz 2000). This mobility, or rather the disposition and aptitude to move in order to make the best of the resources available – this high degree of motility, as some would term it – can be considered a characteristic of the entire population of this region.

The contributions which follow are concerned with nomads, labour migrants and travellers, and with individuals and groups who combine these characteristics in different ways. In the opening article, the human geographer Denis Retaillé traces the evolution of his conceptual work through his research biography, and in this way provides insight into the intersection between empirical work and theoretical reflection. The development of his concept of "*espace mobile*" was inspired by his research in Eastern Niger, where he had gone in the late 1970s in order to "unlearn" academic geography, as he puts it. The recognition of this "*espace nomade*" enabled Retaillé to overcome the evolutionist notion of space that is based on a categorical distinction between nomadic and sedentary, and to develop a theoretical approach that assumes a simultaneity of different, intersecting modalities of spatial organisation and representation.

Retaillé's research biography draws attention to two developments that had a considerable impact on spatial movement in the area that we are examining. Ecological change and the growing influence of globalisation have led to socio-economic situations in which mobility has become even more of a necessity and, at the same time, have improved the practical conditions of mobility in a number of ways. Although the last few decades have seen an increase in migration both demographically and geographically, processes of sedentarisation and territorialisation can nevertheless also be observed. Climatic change has disturbed nomadic systems of resource use, forcing many pastoralists to turn to urban activities in order to survive; these periods of urban sedentariness are becoming an integral part of a way of life that continues to be essentially mobile.

The new forms of migration are similar in many ways to the traditional ones, or have been developed out of them. Contemporary migrants in the Sahara-Sahel, including those originating further south, act within a complex system of movement that is basically circular. These circular systems also integrate linear movements, namely, the trajectories of those migrants whose goal is illegal immigration into Europe; and the original inhabitants of the Sahara-Sahel, often nomads without herds, have developed new forms of territorial control, overseeing these linear movements, i.e. the illegal transit of people and goods, and thus exploiting new resources.

Charles Grémont's article examines these territorial practices. He chooses a historical perspective from which to investigate different developments among Malian nomads, particularly Tuareg, which seem at first glance to be incompatible. While numerous members of these groups have continuously extended their mobile activities in terms of distance and intensity over the course of recent decades, they have also become sedentary at the same time. Grémont concludes that the newly developed types of sedentarism also follow a "rationale of mobility". Mobility, he claims, should not be considered as movement in space, but as resource appropriation or, in other words, as "a way of relating to others and being in the world".

The contribution by the historian Laurence Marfaing does not deal with a specific socio-cultural group. Based on investigations in Bamako and Nouakchott, she describes the establishment of a mobility linked to the strategies adopted by people seeking complementary activities in a socio-economic context whereby one single occupation cannot support a family over the course of the entire year. These strategies are developed within "migration networks". These eminently adaptable networks play an important role in the survival strategies of individuals and households, and contribute to the economic development of their regions of origin. When disrupted by political restrictions or conflicts (as, for example, during the conflict between Senegal and Mauritania in 1989 or when Ivory Coast expelled the Burkinabe in 2002), such networks rearrange themselves spatially.²² Among nomadic populations, these arrangements allowing for mobility within networks are also reflected in the logic of the making and breaking of alliances (see Grémont 2011; see also Acloque, this issue).

As Marfaing points out, migration rarely consists of a movement from place A to place B. Rather, it occurs as circulation within a territory that is changing and continuously re-engendered by means of a mobility that must be understood as a search for resources. Debates concerned with the question of whether migration research should examine the migrants' places of origin or their points of arrival (see Hahn 2004) will hardly do justice to the processual character of the phenomenon. Other researchers have argued for the need to analyse movement as such (see Boyer 2007), or the "travelling cultures" as defined by Clifford. However, the appropriate chronotope in the African context is the bus station, or the long-distance bus, rather than hotels and airport departure halls. The contribution by Armelle Choplin and Jérôme Lombard takes us to these places and to African "travellers", and rounds out Marfaing's perspective in that these two human geographers accompany the migrants to the borders. They too do not focus on one specific socio-economic group, but instead emphasise the variety of persons "on the move", and the multiplicity of reasons for mobility. In their analysis, they examine the administrative obstacles faced by these individuals, paradoxically, in a political space that is open to the mobility of goods and people.

The historian Benedetta Rossi looks at the journey of one individual migrant. In her analysis of the travelogue of a male Hausa from Niger, she shows that migration networks are highly flexible, and that relationships are activated on the basis of individual circumstances and occurring opportunities. Migrants have recourse to different identification strategies, and in order to gain access to social resources they can refer to different criteria such as their local or regional origin, their religious affiliation or even such comprehensive and encompassing geographical identifications as "ouest africain". Rossi emphasises that these identifications are each linked to complex rules of behaviour, which means that the ensuing relationships are by no means "informal", but rather are highly structured.

The next contribution is again devoted to mobility among Hausa. The linguist Joe McIntyre, who works with data gathered both in northern Nigeria and in Hamburg, asks how mobility is conceptualised in Hausa, and presents insights into several dimensions of

the analysis of the related cognitive field. The author first examines how metaphors of mobility are used, and asks whether they can help us understand the social and cultural meaning of mobility. After a brief historical-linguistic analysis of verbs of movement, he dedicates himself to the lexicon and presents individual terms that express mobility in different ways.

The issue concludes with a historical contribution by Benjamin Acloque. The author takes us back to the notion of "culture of mobility", and to the geographic, economic and political circumstances that engender such a culture. His analysis shows how, from the seventeenth century until today, the Ahl Barikalla, a nomadic group in Western Sahara, adjust to political and climatic risks. Their example – like the one presented by Grémont – shows that the binary opposition between nomads and sedentary people is in part a result of a colonial administration that developed different administrative policies for the groups thus created – in both cases, of course, with the goal of transforming these groups into territorially constituted and controllable entities. However, Acloque consolidates in his work the two dimensions of mobility – the mobility of persons, and the mobility of space. He thus illustrates Retaillé's notion of the "*espace mobile*", and rounds out Grémont's argument by showing that the members of this group, even if they are forced to become sedentary and to adopt an urban way of life, continue to cultivate their nomadic identity and preserve their affiliation with a "nomadic space", the *badiyya* (the "bush").

Notes

1. The conference took place within the framework of the *Programme Point Sud* of the German Research Foundation (DFG). We wish to thank the DFG for the funding and the Point Sud Research Centre for Local Knowledge (Bamako) for its hospitality: http://www.pointsud.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=57&Itemid=65&lang=en
2. We would like to mention here two special issues that explore very different (theoretical) areas, namely, "*les suds*" (*espace populations sociétés*, 2010.2–3) and "*mobilité et modernité*" (*CIS* 2005.1)
3. In this context, we would like to point out another topic that recently became very popular in the humanities and social sciences, and which may, in part, be interpreted as a reaction to the comprehensive "mobilisation" that characterises modernity and late modernity (see Radstone and Schwarz 2010). We are referring, here, to "memory". While memory research was initially very focused on the content and processes of national memory (see Nora 1997), it was now, as it were, belatedly, seized by the "spatial turn". Hence, some researchers call for a "travelling" and "transcultural" conceptualisation of memory or remembrance (see, for instance, Erll 2011; Assmann and Conrad 2010; for a critical view, see also Radstone 2011).
4. See, for instance, Bourdin (2005) on the newly emerged "*automobilité*" research field.
5. See also Painter's concept of "action space" (or of "mobile livelihood", respectively), which was developed in the Sahel area (Painter 1996).
6. See Boesen (2004). On the issue of definition problems in the context of research on nomadism, see, for instance, Streck (2002) and Bourgeot (2011).
7. See Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Regional Protection Programmes: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0388:FIN:EN:PDF> (1.2012) and the Conférence euro-africaine sur les migrations et le développement à Rabat les 10.-11 Juillet 2006 sous l'égide de l'Union Européenne, de l'Union Africaine, de la CEDEAO et de la CEMAC: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/IMG/pdf/Orabat.pdf> (1.2012)
8. On migration in Africa, see also Adepoju (1995, 2006, 2007), Maharaj (2010) and Gallistel Colvin et al. (1981). A good review of current literature on the subject is also provided by Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler (2003).
9. This definition refers to the fact that a person in poverty is unable to obtain sufficient resources to meet their basic economic and social needs (OECD: DCD/DAC/STAT 2002, 1: 6).

10. Finally criteria such as health, knowledge or access to employment and security have also been taken into account (UNHCR 2005, 39–83; Sawadogo 2007; Adepoju 2007).
11. See, among others, Stark and Lucas (1988) and Chant and Radcliffe (1992); cf. also in this context the “sustainable livelihoods approach” as presented by de Haan, Brock, and Coulibaly (2002), Boyer (2005) and Breuer (2011). See also Francis (2002), whose studies of migration and gender in East and Southern Africa demonstrate the limitations of this model.
12. In this context, see Tourn (2003, 6) on the situation of people in exile; cf. Hahn and Klute (2007) for a fundamental critique of what they describe as an etiological approach to migration phenomena.
13. See, among others, Coquery-Vidrovitch, Goerg, and Mandé (2003) – infra Mandé et Gary, Marfaing (2004), Boesen and Marfaing (2007), Choplin and Lombard (2007) and Willems (2007).
14. Behind this idea lies the theme of “moral hazard”: the assurance that assistance is coming or will come from outside changes the behaviour of those receiving it; cf. particularly, Azam and Gubert (2005) and Gubert (2008).
15. Especially de Haas (2007), Tall (2001) and Fall (2003). See also Tandian (2012) and Fall and Garreta Bochaca (2012).
16. See also Boesen (2007).
17. Hahn and Klute (2007) are adopting a concept that had been proposed by Jeffrey Cohen in the context of his work on migration in Mexico (Cohen 2004). See also Lambert (2002) on the “culture of migration” among the Senegalese Jalo. Compare Salazar’s (2010) attempt to develop an “anthropology of cultural mobilities” envisioned to examine the nexus of cultural representations of mobility and real physical movement. See however Fliche (2006), who, in his study on migrants from a central Anatolian village, cannot find proof for the “culture of migration” hypothesis.
18. Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 1997); see also the contributions in Olwig and Hastrup (1997), and Gille and Ó Ríán (2002). On methodological issues and the call for multi-sited ethnography see Marcus (1995), Hage (2005), Falzon (2007), and D’Andrea, Cioffi and Gray (2011).
19. The “researcher”, e.g. the “ethnographer”, is a particularly striking exemplar of “traveller”.
20. In this context, see Tsing’s criticism of approaches based on anthropological globalisation theory; she perceives a danger of new orientalisms, since these approaches define “who is in and who is out of circulation”, and produce dichotomies that “resurrect that very anthropology that has been criticized and reworked for the last 25 years: the anthropology that fixed and segregated cultures” (Tsing 2000, 346).
21. See Deleuze and Guattari (1980), Cresswell (1997) and D’Andrea (2006).
22. In this context, see the notion of “centralité mobile” in Walther and Retaillé (2008).

Notes on contributors

Elisabeth Boesen is a cultural anthropologist and historian who is working as a researcher at the University of Luxembourg. She has carried out extensive fieldwork among the Wodaabe and other Fulani groups in Niger and Northern Benin. Her current research focuses on migration and other forms of spatial movement in West Africa and Western Europe. Recent publications in this field include *Migration et mémoire. Concepts et méthodes de recherche* (co-edited with Fabienne Lentz, 2010) and *Mobilités dans l’espace ouest-africain. Ressources, développement local et intégration régionale* (co-edited with Laurence Marfaing, 2014).

Laurence Marfaing est historienne-chercheuse au German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) à Hambourg. Ses travaux ont porté sur le commerce et les commerçants africains pendant la période coloniale, puis sur le secteur informel au Sénégal jusqu’à la période actuelle. Elle se concentre ensuite sur la mobilité des Subsahariens dans l’espace Sahara-Sahel comme pèlerins, commerçants mais aussi comme migrants. Depuis 2010 elle travaille sur la rencontre des petits entrepreneurs chinois et africains et les changements sociaux qu’elle induit.

Mirjam de Bruijn holds the chair for History and Anthropology of Africa at Leiden University. She has been working on various nomadic groups, inter alia on Fulani and Tuareg in Mali. Her current research is very much focused on the interrelationship between information and communication technologies and mobility patterns in Central and West Africa. Among her publications are *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond* (co-edited

with Rijk A. van Dijk and Dick W.J. Foeken, 2001) and *Side@Ways, Mobile Margins and the Dynamics of Communication in Africa* (co-edited with Inge Brinkman and Francis Nyamnjoh, 2013).

Bibliography

- Abdelkah, Fariba, and Jean-Francois Bayart. 2007. *Voyages du développement. Emigration, commerce, exil*. Paris: Karthala.
- Adepoju, Aderanti. 1995. “Migration in Africa. An Overview.” In *The Migration Experience in Africa*, edited by Jonathan Baker and Akin Aina Tade, 87–107. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Adepoju, Aderanti. 2006. *Recent Trends in International Migration in and from Africa*. Lagos: Human Resources Development Centre. <http://www.foresightfordevelopment.org/sobi2/Resoures/Recent-trends-in-international-migration-in-and-from-Africa>
- Adepoju, Aderanti. 2007. “Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa.” A background paper commissioned by the Nordic Africa Institute for the Swedish Government, White Paper on Africa.
- Adey, Peter. 2010. *Mobility*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Amselle, Jean Loup. 1977. *Les négociants de la savane. Histoire et organisation sociale des Kooroko (Mali)*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Assmann, Aleida, and Sebastian Conrad. 2010. “Introduction.” In *Memory in a Global Age. Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, edited by Assmann Aleida and Sebastian Conrad, 1–16. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Azam, Jean-Paul, and Flore Gubert. 2005. “Those in Kayes: The Impact of Remittances on Their Recipients.” *Revue économique* 56 (6): 1331–1358.
- Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. 2006. “‘Between a Rock & a Hard Place’: North Africa as a Region of Migration, Immigration & Transit Migration.” *Review of African Political Economy* 108: 311–324.
- Barry, Boubacar, and Leonhard Harding, eds. 1992. *Commerce et commerçants en Afrique de l’ouest. Le Sénégal*. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Baumann, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bensaâd, Ali. 2009. *Le Maghreb à l’épreuve des migrations subsahariennes. Immigration sur émigration*. Paris: Karthala.
- Boesen, Elisabeth. 1998. “Identité culturelle et espace culturel. Les Fulbe entre brousse et village.” In *Regards sur le Borgou. Pouvoir et altérité dans une région ouest-africaine*, edited by Elisabeth Boesen, Christine Hardung, and Richard Kuba, 221–242. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Boesen, Elisabeth. 2004. “Identität und Pluralität. Die Fulbe in Zentralniger.” *Paideuma* 59: 102–126.
- Boesen, Elisabeth. 2007. “Pastoral nomadism and urban migration. Mobility among the Fulbe Wodaabe of Central Niger.” In *Cultures of Migration. African Perspectives*, edited by Hahn Hans Peter and Georg Klute. Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung, 31–60. Münster: Lit-Verlag.
- Boesen, Elisabeth, and Laurence Marfaing, eds. 2007. “Les nouveaux urbains dans l’espace Sahara-Sahel. Un cosmopolitisme par le bas.” Paris: Karthala.
- Bourdin, Alain. 2005. “Les mobilités et le programme de la sociologie.” *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 118 (1): 5–21.
- Bourgeot, André. 2011. “Sociétés nomades et pastorales: quelques réflexions conceptuelles.” (Unpublished conference paper, Bamako, January 2011).
- Boyer, Florence. 2005. “Le projet migratoire des migrants touaregs de la zone de Bankilaré. La pauvreté désavouée. Special issue on African Migration. Stichproben.” *Vienna Journal of African Studies* 8: 47–67.
- Boyer, Florence. 2007. “Echelle locale et mouvement: de la porosité spatiale et sociale dans les migrations circulaires.” In *Les nouveaux urbains dans l’espace Sahara-Sahel. Un cosmopolitisme par le bas*, edited by Elisabeth Boesen and Laurence Marfaing, 25–60. Paris: Karthala.
- Breuer, Ingo. 2011. “Espaces mobiles et moyens d’existence à la « périphérie mondialisée » du maroc.” *L’information géographique* 75 (1): 53–70.
- Büscher, Monika, and John Urry. 2009. “Mobile Methods and the Empirical.” *European Journal of Social Theory* 12 (1): 99–116.

- Canzler, Weert, Vincent Kaufmann, and Sven Kesselring. 2008. "Tracing Mobilities – An Introduction." In *Tracing Mobilities. Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective*, edited by Weert Canzler, Vincent Kaufmann, and Sven Kesselring, 1–10. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Chant, Sylvia, and Sarah A. Radcliffe. 1992. "Migration and Development: The Importance of Gender." In *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, edited by Chant Sylvia, 1–29. London: Belhaven.
- Choplin, Armelle, and Jérôme Lombard. 2007. "Nouadhibou: destination Canaries pour les migrants africains." *Mappemonde* 88. Accessed. <http://mappemonde.mgm.fr/num16/lieux/lieux07401.html> (janvier 2012).
- Clifford, James. 1997. "Travelling Cultures." In *Routes. Travel and Translation in Late Twentieth Century*, edited by James Clifford, 17–46. Cambridge: Harvard University press.
- Cohen, Jeffrey H. 2004. *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine, Odile Goerg, Issiaka Mandé, and Faranirina Rajaonah (dir.). 2003. *Politiques migratoires et construction des identités, Être étranger et migrant en Afrique au XXe siècle*. Paris: Harmattan.
- Cordell, Dennis D., Joel W. Gregory, and Victor Piché. 1996. *Hoe and Wage: A Social History of a Circular Migration System in West Africa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cresswell, Tim. 1997. "Imagining the Nomad: Mobility and the Postmodern Primitive." In *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, edited by Benko Georges and Ulf Strohmayer, 360–379. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cresswell, Tim. 2006. *On the Move. Mobility in the Modern Western World*. Oxford: Routledge.
- D'Andrea, Anthony. 2006. "Neo-Nomadism: A Theory of Post-Identitarian Mobility in the Global Age." *Mobilities* 1 (1): 95–119.
- D'Andrea, Anthony, Luigina Ciolfi, and Breda Gray. 2011. "Methodological Challenges and Innovations in Mobilities Research." *Mobilities* 6 (2): 149–160.
- de Bruijn, Mirjam, Henk van Dijk, and Rijk van Dijk, eds. 2001. *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill.
- de Bruijn, Mirjam, and Han van Dijk. 1995. *Arid Ways. Cultural Understandings of Insecurity in Fulbe Society, Central Mali*. Amsterdam: Thela Publishers.
- de Haan, Arjan, Karen Brock, and Ngolo Coulibaly. 2002. "Migration, Livelihoods and Institutions: Contrasting Patterns of Migration in Mali." *Development Studies in Mali* 38 (5): 37–58.
- de Haas, Hein. 2005. "International Migration, Remittances and Development: Myths and Facts." *Third World Quarterly* 26 (8): 1269–1284.
- de Haas, Hein. 2007. Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective, COMCAD Arbeitspapiere – Working Paper, Nr. 29.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. 1980. *Milles plateaux: capitalisme et schizophrénie (12.1227 - traité de nomadologie: la machine de guerre)*. Paris: Éditions de minuit.
- Destremau, Blandine, and Agnès Deboulet. 2004. *Dynamiques de la pauvreté en Afrique du Nord et Moyen Orient*. Paris: Karthala.
- Erl, Astrid. 2011. "Travelling Memory." *Parallax* 17 (4): 4–18.
- Eversole, Robyn. 2005. "'Direct to the Poor' Revisited. Migrant Remittances and Development Assistance." In *Migration and Economy. Global and Local Dynamics*, edited by Lillian Trager, 289–322. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Fall, Abdou Salam. 2003. *Enjeu et défis de la migration internationale de travail ouest – africaine*. Cahiers de migrations internationales 62. BIT, Genève.
- Fall, Papa Demba, and Jordi Garreta Bochaca, eds. 2012. *Les migrations africaines vers l'Europe. Entre mutations et adaptation des acteurs sénégalais*. Dakar: Remigraf-Ifan/Gr-Ase Lleida.
- Falzon, Marc-Anthony, ed. 2007. *Multi-sited Ethnography. Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Fliche, Benoît. 2006. "Le nomade, le saisonnier et le migrant: Une culture de la mobilité en Anatolie centrale." *Études rurales* 177 (1): 109–120.
- Francis, Elizabeth. 2002. "Gender, Migration, and Multiple Livelihoods: Cases from Eastern and Southern Africa." *Journal of Development Studies* 38 (5): 167–190.
- Gallais, Jean. 1975. *Pasteurs et paysans du Gourma. La condition sahélienne*. Paris: CNRS.
- Gallistel Colvin, Lucie, Cheikh Ba, Boubacar Barry, Jacques Faye, Alice Hamer, Moussa Soumah, and Fatou Sow. 1981. *The Uprooted of the Western Sahel. Migrants Quest for Cash in the Senegambia*. New York, NY: Praeger.

- Gille, Zsuzsa, and Séan Ó Rian. 2002. "Global Ethnography." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (1): 271–295.
- Grégoire, Emmanuel. 1991. *Les Alhazai de Maradi, Niger: Histoire d'un groupe de riches marchands sahéliens*. Paris: Karthala.
- Grégoire, Emmanuel, and Jean Schmitz. 2000. "Monde arabe et Afrique noire: permanences et nouveaux liens." *Autrepart* 16: 5–20.
- Grémont, Charles. 2011. "Ancrage au sol et (nouvelles) mobilités dans l'espace saharo-sahélien: Des expériences similaires et compatibles." *L'année du Maghreb XII*. Accessed. <http://anneemaghreb.revues.org/1203>
- Gubert, Flore. 2008. "(In)cohérence des politiques migratoires et de codéveloppement françaises. Illustrations maliennes." *Politique Africaine* 109 (1): 42–55.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. 1992. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1): 6–23.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. 1997. "Discipline and Practice. The 'Field' as Site, Method and Location in Anthropology." In *Anthropological Locations. Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*, edited by Gupta Akhil and James Ferguson, 1–46. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hage, Ghassan. 2005. "A Not so Multi-sited Ethnography of a Not So Imagined Community." *Anthropological Theory* 5 (4): 463–475.
- Hahn, Hans Peter. 2004. "Zirkuläre Arbeitsmigration in Westafrika und die 'Kultur der Migration.'" *Afrika Spectrum* 39 (3): 381–404.
- Hahn, Hans Peter, and Georg Klute, eds. 2007. *Cultures of Migration. African Perspectives*, Beiträge zur Afrika-Forschung. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Kaufmann, Vincent. 2005. "Mobilités et réversibilités: vers des sociétés plus fluides?" *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie* 118 (1): 119–135.
- Konseiga, Adama. 2005. "New Patterns of Migration in West Africa." *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* Nr. 8: 23–46.
- Lahlou, Mehdi. 2003. "Plan d'action pour gérer les migrations irrégulières à partir de l'Afrique." In *Programme des migrations internationales*, 8–33. Genève: BIT.
- Lahlou, Mehdi. 2005. "Migrations irrégulières trans méditerranéennes et relations Maroc- Union Européenne." XXVe congrès international de la population: Migrations irrégulières: mesures, déterminants, conséquences et implications politiques, Tours 18–23 juillet. Accessed. <http://iussp2005.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=51339> (janvier 2012).
- Lambert, Michael C. 2002. *Longing for exile. Migration and the making of a translocal community in Senegal, West Africa*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Lovejoy, Paul. 1980. *A history of salt production and trade in the central Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maharaj, Brij. 2010. "The African Brain Drain. Causes, Costs, Consequences." *Africa Insight* 40 (1): 97–107.
- Manchuelle, François. 1997. *Willing Migrants: Soninke Labor Diaspora, 1848–1960*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1): 95–117.
- Marfaing, Laurence. 1991. *L'évolution du commerce au Sénégal, 1820–1930*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Marfaing, Laurence. 2004. *Les Sénégalais en Allemagne*. Paris: Karthala.
- Marfaing, Laurence. 2010. "De la migration comme potentiel de développement local. Étrangers et migrants en Mauritanie." *Migrations Société* 22 (127): 9–25.
- Marfaing, Laurence. 2011. "Wechselwirkungen zwischen der Migrationspolitik der Europäischen Union und Migrationsstrategien in Westafrika." In *Potenziale der Migration zwischen Afrika und Deutschland, Beiträge zu Migration und Integration*, edited by Baraulina, Tajana, Krienbrink, Axel, and Andrea Rießer, Band 2, 63–89. Bonn: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, GIZ.
- Marfaing, Laurence, and Mariam Sow. 1999. *Les opérateurs économiques au Sénégal, entre le formel et l'informel (1930–1996)*. Paris: Karthala.
- Meillassoux, Claude, ed. 1971. *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nora, Pierre, ed. 1997 (1984–92). *Les lieux de mémoire*. T. I – III Paris: Gallimard.

- Olwig, Karen Fog, and Kirsten Hastrup. 1997. *Siting Culture. The Shifting Anthropological Object*. London: Routledge.
- Painter, Thomas M. 1996. "Space, Time, and Rural-Urban Linkages in Africa: Notes for a Geography of Livelihoods." *African Rural and Urban Studies* 3 (1): 79–98.
- Pelissier, Paul. 1966. *Paysans du Sénégal: Les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Saint-Yriex: Fabrègue.
- Pliez, Olivier. 2002. Les migrations sud-sud révélatrices de la pauvreté et de l'instabilité? In *Les migrations internationales*, edited by Chappaz, Séverine, 16–21. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Radstone, Susannah. 2011. "What Place is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies." *Parallax* 17 (4): 109–123.
- Radstone, Susannah, and Bill Schwarz, eds. 2010. *Memory. Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Rétaillé, Denis. 1995. "Structures territoriales sahéliennes. Le modèle de Zinder." *Revue de géographie alpine* 2: 127–148.
- Rétaillé, Denis. 1998. "L'espace Nomade / Nomadic Space." *Revue de géographie de Lyon* 73 (1): 71–82.
- Rétaillé, Denis. 2011. "Du paradigme sahélien du lieu à l'espace (mondial) mobile." *L'Information géographique* 75 (1): mars 2011 71–85.
- Rodet, Marie. 2009. *Les migrantes ignorées du Haut Sénégal (1900–1946)*. Paris: Karthala.
- Salazar, Noel B. 2010. "Towards an Anthropology of Cultural Mobilities." *Crossings: Journal of Migration and Culture* 1 (1): 53–68.
- Sawadogo, Ram Christophe. 2007. "Migrations internationales et développement: Etats des lieux et perspectives pour la région ouest-africaine." OIM, Atelier de Formation et Haut niveau sur le droit et la Migration en Afrique de l'Ouest. Dakar, Senegal, 5–9 mars. Accessed. <http://www.iomdakar.org/droit-migrations-ao/page.php?pg=3&c=48&lib=Module+7%3A+Migrations+internationales+et+d%E9veloppement>
- Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning A* 38 (2): 207–226.
- Skeldon, Ronald. 2002. "Migration and Poverty." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 17 (4): 67–82.
- Stark, Oded, and Robert E. B. Lucas. 1988. "Migration, Remittances, and the Family." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 36 (3): 465–481.
- Streck, Bernhard. 2002. "Systematisierungsansätze aus dem Bereich der ethnologischen Forschung." *Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte* 3: 1–9.
- Tall, Serigne Mansour. 2001. *Investir dans la ville africaine. Les émigrés et l'habitat à Dakar*. Paris: Karthala.
- Tandian, Aly. 2012. "Migrations internationales des Sénégalaises: nouveaux profils des migrantes et insertion professionnelle en Espagne." In *Les migrations africaines vers l'Europe. Entre mutations et adaptation des acteurs sénégalais*, edited by Fall, Papa Demba and Jordi Garreta Bochaca, 209–240. Dakar: Remigraf-Ifan/Gr-Ase Lleida.
- Tourn, Lya. 2003. *Chemin de l'exil. Vers une identité ouverte*. Paris: Ed. Première.
- Trager, Lillian. 2005. "Introduction. The Dynamics of Migration." In *Migration and Economy. Global and Local Dynamics*, edited by Trager Lillian, 1–45. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Tsing, Anna. 2000. "The Global Situation." *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (3): 327–360.
- UNPD. 2009. *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development*. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/269/hdr_2009_en_complete.pdf (accessed June 2014).
- UNHCR. 2005. *Demain le monde: les migrations. Dossier*. Hommes & Libertés 129. jan-févr.-mars: 39–83 (www.UNHCR.org).
- Urry, James. 2007. *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Waddington, Hugh, and Rachel Sabates-Wheeler. 2003. "How Does Poverty Affect Migration Choice? A Review of Literature." Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty. Working Paper T3. Sussex.
- Walther, Olivier, and Denis Rétaillé. 2008. "Le modèle sahélien de la circulation, de la mobilité et de l'incertitude spatiale." *Autrepart* 47 (3): 109–124.
- Wihl de Wenden, Catherine. 2009. *La globalisation humaine*. Paris: Puf.
- Willems, Ross. 2007. "Barcelona or the Hereafter: Senegalese Struggling with Perilous Journeys and Perilous Livelihoods." *Kolor: Journal of Moving Communities* VII (1): 23–47.

De l'espace nomade à l'espace mobile en passant par l'espace du contrat: une expérience théorique

Denis Rétaillé*

ADES-CNRS-Université de Bordeaux Montaigne, Pessac, France

Résumé

Le texte retrace à la fois un itinéraire scientifique et ce qui pourrait constituer une stratification et une histoire des formes dominantes de structuration de l'espace des sociétés: nomadisme, sédentarité, mobilité. En ne suivant pas la pente évolutionniste que le schéma pourrait porter, mais en privilégiant l'observation synchronique de la variété des formes spatiales croisées dans ce qui est la vérité du lieu (l'étape du croisement), la proposition théorique de l'espace mobile est schématisée par opposition au paradigme du fixe qui prévaut dans les analyses spatiales classiques ou modernes. Le rapprochement entre l'espace nomade (source de la réflexion) et l'espace mobile (résultat) est exposé sous la forme d'un espace "méthodologique" en évitant les dérapages métaphoriques.

Abstract

The paper retraces both a scientific itinerary and what might be described as a stratification and a history of the dominant social forms of structuring space: nomadism, sedentariness, mobility. It argues against a possible evolutionist interpretation of this scheme by privileging a synchronic observation of the various intersecting spatial forms in what might be called the truth of the place (which is the stage of intersection). The theoretical idea of a mobile space is thus schematized by opposing it to the paradigm of fixedness which dominates classical as well as modern spatial analysis. The rapprochement of nomadic space (being the source of reflection) and mobile space (being the result of reflection) is presented as a "methodological" space avoiding metaphorical vagueness.

Keywords: nomadism; mobility; contractual space; mobile space; geographical space theory

Mots-clé: Nomadisme; mobilité; espace du contrat; espace mobile; théorie de l'espace géographique

Les nomades envahissent le Monde mais ce ne sont plus ceux d'Ibn Khaldoun pas plus que ceux de Hegel. Les deux philosophies de l'histoire, cyclique du premier, linéaire du second prenaient les termes au sens propre. Or les nomades d'aujourd'hui ne sont que métaphoriques le plus souvent, et Jean Loup Amselle, dans un article récent du *Monde* (le journal), dénonçait cette manie post-moderne et post-soixante-huitarde de rendre jolie et libre la vie par "révolution" (Amselle 2010, 2011). Pourtant, il s'impose que la mobilité actuelle transforme les représentations de l'espace. Je propose alors qu'il est nécessaire d'aller plus loin que cette apparence sur laquelle s'appuie la métaphore pour en chercher les fondements qui ne sont pas nouveaux quant à eux.

Sans revenir sur un texte déjà ancien (Rétaillé 1998), je voudrais aborder, ici, quelques leçons du nomadisme, utiles à la compréhension du monde contemporain dont l'espace

*Email: denis.retaille@cnrs.fr