



HAL
open science

Mediating exiles: Saharan and Sahelian Diasporas in Europe

Silvia Almenara Niebla, Pierre Peraldi-Mittelette

► **To cite this version:**

Silvia Almenara Niebla, Pierre Peraldi-Mittelette. Mediating exiles: Saharan and Sahelian Diasporas in Europe. *L'Ouest Saharien : Cahiers d'Etudes Pluridisciplinaires*, 2023, 18, pp.13-28. <hal-04166166>

HAL Id: hal-04166166

<https://hal.univ-lorraine.fr/hal-04166166v1>

Submitted on 9 Sep 2025

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



HAL Authorization

MEDIATING EXILES: SAHARAN AND SAHELIAN DIASPORAS IN EUROPE

AN INTRODUCTION

SILVIA ALMENARA-NIEBLA
Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB)

PIERRE PERALDI-MITTELETTE
Institut Convergences Migrations (2021-2025) et Université de Lorraine

In recent decades, the transnational approach to the study of human mobility processes has nurtured different fields of social science with perspectives and approaches that have challenged so-called methodological nationalism, emphasizing practices and social relations across borders (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). New theoretical and empirical insights have questioned the assumption of nation-state borders as a natural part of the study of social processes and the need to analyze flows and connections between places and people. Consequently, research has highlighted the role of non-governmental actors while emphasizing the necessity of transcending nation-states, borders, and localities to understand migrants' ties, relations, and processes to and of migration flows. In a more interconnected world, contemporary migration processes cannot be understood without examining global communication and the impact of digital technologies in everyday life. In that sense, scholarship has also enriched empirical studies which aim to understand diaspora experiences through a more globalized lenses (Georgiou 2013; Leurs and Smets 2018). Electronic media -radio, television and digital technologies- have covered multiple territories, reduced distances and renegotiated co-presence, i.e. that meaningful experience of feeling close to distant beloved ones through immediate caring practices and circular technological communication, allowing the construction of a sense of togetherness (Baldassar *et al.* 2016). Such opportunities have redefined belonging and collectivity for diasporic populations all over the world. Following this approach, this special issue of *L'Ouest saharien* highlights recent research in the field of diaspora studies with a particular focus on Saharan and Sahelian diasporas settled in Europe and elsewhere. The aim of this special issue is to investigate how and with what implications Saharan and Sahelian populations communicate their perceptions of exile.

Recent developments in this field have drawn attention to the emotional implications of the notion of exile and its current media expressions (Vermot 2017; Freedman 2017; Alinejad and Ponzanesi 2020). The intersection of emotional dynamics linked to the migratory process and to the diasporic condition itself allows us to understand the interconnectedness of places and groups that directly experience deterritorialisation and differentiated social relations. In the following paragraphs we will examine the link between diaspora and media communication practices. We argue that this intersection is primarily based on social recognition and identifiable status that bring about rights and forms of belonging. Diasporic populations strive for recognition and participation in public spaces, allowing them to sustain a sense of community through various modes of communication and contact with their peers in relation to their common sense of exile from a distant homeland. These observations have inspired the articles included in this special issue of *L'Ouest saharien* highlights recent diaspora research in both the humanities and social sciences. Following authors such as Stéphane Dufoix (2011) in sociology, or Martine Hovanessian (2005) in anthropology, the aim is to expand on diasporic media as a concept to understand the ways the production and consumption of images, sounds, and information are linked to exile as an emotional process.

The issue of migration and the cosmopolitan condition (Agier 2013) has been a focus of scholarship and media attention in Europe in the last decades. The displacement of populations following the Arab Springs as well as civil wars (Libya, Mali, Sudan, Syria, etc.) represent an intensification and diversification of a movement of people. Sahrawi and Sahelian populations have been affected by the intensification of migration waves in recent years: the countries of the region have also experienced disruptions since their independence from colonial rule and the arrival and fall of different political regimes. These developments have been linked to political and social instability, but also broader phenomena such as economic fluctuation and the consequences of climate change. Moreover, the Arab Spring(s) of 2011 demonstrated the relevance of digital technologies in the region not only for organizing political mobilization, but also for the contribution and active participation of diasporic communities through social media platforms.

We consider that a special issue focusing on this broad context allows us to better understand the impact of the digital technologies in mediating diasporic everyday life. To this end, different analytical approaches of exile will be examined, both from within and outside diasporic communities. Following Dan Sperber (2000), communication is successful when at least one idea of what one wants to communicate has been transmitted. This process of communication is more complex in the context of migration and intercultural relations (Ladmiral and Lipiansky 2015), which accentuate issues relating to the sense of belonging, self-awareness, and community. Thus, this issue will explore the different

perceptions of exile within Saharan and Sahelian diasporas through what their members communicate to each other or to others outside the community.

Diasporic exile(s)

The concept of diaspora has been the subject of numerous debates related to ethnicity and nationhood (Hall 1990; Safran 1991; Cohen and Vertovec 1999; Brah 2011), most significantly those addressing migration and the multiple senses of belonging and loyalties to certain groups. The conceptual development of such debates goes beyond a delineated community to encompass alternative processes of belonging, self-identification and consciousness. In this sense, according to Cohen and Vertovec (1999), the concept of diaspora is now used for virtually any population that is considered deterritorialized or transnational. However, not all migrants consider themselves part of a diaspora. As "exemplary communities of the transnational moment" (Tölöyan 1991: 5), members of diasporas have become relevant actors of globalization because of their capacity to evoke solidarities and maintain symbolic ties between equals. The main point is the conceptualization of diaspora as a "dispersed group of people from an existing or imaginary homeland, maintaining a sense of collectivity over an extend period of time" (Kleist 2008: 1129). Collective memories of displacement and home narratives are constituted, and potentially contested, by groups who experience a displacement and dispossession. Such memories are then relayed to new generations.

Thus, the intersection between the collective and the individual merges in the notion of exile. Derived from the Latin class. *ex(s)ilium* "banishment, place of exile", diaspora can also take on the meaning of "distress, misfortune, torment" if we refer to the use of this term in the *Song of Roland* (Roland, ed. J. Bédier: verse 2935). Currently, the notion of exile has been also addressed by scholarship as a collective process. This situation is also connected to transmission of memories associated to a traumatic event related to displacement or dispossession of a group. Thus, the sense of exile accentuates an intimate experience, which to collective pains and traumas that require sensitive approaches and adapted protocols (Saglio-Yatzimirsky 2020) to the various populations encountered. Exile implies as much suffering as hope (Nouss 2015), but also nostalgia for what is left behind (Angé and Berliner 2015), or recognition of the migratory condition as a form of attachment to the country of origin through continued political involvement (Galitzine-Loumpet and Saglio-Yatzimirsk 2018). As mentioned before, diasporas develop a sense of identification that links "here" and "there" as an interconnected and dialectical belonging from the homeland to the host countries, and from

experiences and memories to affects connected to the collective meaning of exile.

Appealing to emotions or pathos in rhetoric allows us to capture how people living in exile create their own narratives, especially when they talk about and share their experience related to “living in-between different nations, of and not of each place, feeling neither here nor there” (McLeod, 2010: 247). Thus, common narratives are differentiated based on sharing feelings, evoking forms of nostalgia and affective expressions (Peraldi-Mittelette 2019) which can also be read as degrees of analysis in diasporic communication studies. Hence, considering digital affordances, i.e., the practices and forms that people use when interacting with technology, digital communication in exile generates significant emotivescapes that involve different scales of sociality such as the intimate group, the known-community level and the national level (Almenara-Niebla 2022).

Locating the Sahel-Sahara diaspora

According to Ki-Zerbo (2011) and Nugent and Asiwaju (1998), African borders are conceptualised as places of contact and as channels of communication that go beyond the notion of borders as barriers obstructing contact between people. In this sense, Mbembe (2010) has questioned the relevance of perceiving African borders as itinerant territorialities beyond an understanding of them as mere products of colonialism. Sahelian and Saharan borders are relevant for the demarcation of imaginary territories characterized by the very mobility of their populations. In the same way, this mobility has been shaped by European colonialism, both in terms of the change in the sedentary dynamics of the mobile populations of the area (Zunes and Mundy 2010), and the neo-colonialism inherent in the economic and political links with the former metropolises.

According to Amselle (2022), the Sahel has often been portrayed in media as frozen in an archaic and stereotyped colonialist representation. In this context of denied historicity, it is necessary to broaden this perspective, leaving behind this limited representation of the area and understanding of not only the social, political and economic relations existing in these countries, but also the significant role of broader social processes that concern the region, such as its diasporic populations, whether on the African or European continent. In the case of the Tuareg of the Sahara, their displacement to neighboring countries (Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Mali and Niger) is documented following the rebellions of the 1990s (Boilley 2012, Boyer 2019, Claudot-Hawad 2017, Klute 2011). These series of migrations since the 1960s has been analyzed in terms of population displacement due to droughts, famines or loss of livestock (Bellil

and Dida 1995, Spittler 1997). Since 2012, the situation has changed with the declaration of independence of Azawad- a territory in northern Mali claimed by the Tuareg. Azawad seceded from Mali in April 2012, but without international recognition, and although partly motivated by previous armed movements in the 1960s and 1990s, this period of independence ended quickly for various reasons. (Grémont 2019). This declaration of Azawad as an independent state was partly a consequence of the fall of Libyan president 'Umar al-Gaddafi. Once the Libyan state crumbled, Tuareg who had served in al-Gaddafi's army returned to Mali with weapons and military equipment procured during their service. They joined the rebel troops of Azawad and contributed to the victory against a disorganised Malian army plagued by tensions between different high-ranking officers and various army factions. (Grégoire and Bourgeot 2011, Poupart 2017) and left Tuareg communities with hope that a territory of their own would emerge. This hope was quickly dashed by the French intervention in Mali in 2013. From the point of view of members of the diaspora, who live in neighboring countries (Mauritania, Morocco or Senegal) or in Europe (France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland), the situation is still worrying because there are many departures and the hope of return is diminishing. This is partly due to the unresolved conflict in the north between the Tuareg and the Malian state, not to mention the ever-present threat of AQIM. Increasing numbers of young people are leaving the Sahara and venturing into exile. The Tuareg community in Europe has risen from 350 individuals in 2011 to more than 6000 in 2021 (Peraldi-Mittelette in this issue). This wave of migration has been formed mainly by students who settle for a longer period, and by people without training and whose irregular situation has impacted their migratory condition. In exile, Tuaregs have opted for diasporic organizations to be able to meet with each other, but also to be able to organize their struggle from abroad. This struggle has taken several forms, such as the promotion of their own culture, and the spreading of their situation to get recognition of their suffering and requirements (Peraldi-Mittelette 2019).

Several papers in this special issue address the Western Sahara conflict and the Saharawi diaspora in particular. One of the longest postcolonial conflicts in the contemporary world, the struggle over the independence of Western Sahara is defined by the international community's labeling the state as a non-self-governing territory (Zunes 1998) defined by Morocco's continued occupation of the region, leading to what have some labeled "the unfinished process of decolonization" (Zunes and Mundy 2010). The conflict over the Western Sahara began at the end of Spanish colonial rule in 1975 when the POLISARIO Front, the nationalist movement of the region, Morocco and Mauritania went to war to claim the territory. Despite a ceasefire in 1991, the conflict remains unresolved, and the population of the Western Sahara is still divided between those who continue to live in the territory and those who reside in the Saharawi refugee camps in the southwest part of Algeria. However, there is now a third category

of those who live further afield that constitute the wider diasporic population beyond the camps, especially in Spain and Mauritania. This wider diaspora has been politically active, playing critical roles in lobbying for a resolution of the conflict (as we will see in the following papers of this issue). In particular, Sahrawi women have played a significant role in the promotion of the cause, but also in the reconfiguration of gender roles through the affordances promoted by digital technologies. These are topics connected to the emotional experience of exile and the maintenance of strong links with their communities of origin and their new individual project.

Researching diasporic exiles through media practices

Focusing on the particular experiences and associated practices of exile of Sahelian and Saharan diasporas allows for a better understanding of the ways in which they communicate the meanings of their localities, homelands and communities. Electronic media have opened up the emotional dynamics of diasporic roots and routes (Gilroy 1995). In recent years, ethnographers have begun to develop extensive analyses related to the study of mediated social interactions. In particular, digital ethnography (Pink *et al.* 2016) has inspired numerous enquiries that reconsider a non-media centered approach to the analysis of communication processes. A focus not on the media, but on the practices, processes and experiences that are socially generated around them, has enriched and benefited diaspora studies because of the ability to understand spatial, emotional and communicative interactions at different levels. In terms of media practices, digital technologies have emerged as an indispensable means to understand diasporic practices. In recent decades, media anthropologists have focused on affordances, as well as dynamics and implications of digital communication, in ongoing social processes linked to migration (Costa 2018; Leurs 2017) to understand broader aspects such as belonging, nostalgia and the diversity implicit in diasporic experiences. This perspective has allowed us to understand agency and practices to affirm and strengthen processes of belonging in transnational communities. Music could be seen as a playful medium to inform diasporic experience. By music we also mean musical social moments, in which songs are listened to, as a means of listening through rhythm and exploring lyrics. These musical elements resonate with a scenography that is as much a part of musical practice as the set, costumes, gestures and words (Bakis 2007; Goffman 1973; Peraldi-Mittelette 2022; Georges 2008; Greathouse Amador & Penagos Corzo 2009).

Considering these contextual approaches, but also theoretical, methodological principles mentioned before, the reflections of this special issue are articulated around three fundamental topics that are embodied through the members of the Sahrawi and Sahelian diasporas. According to Bateson and Ruesch, "communication is the matrix in which all human activities are embedded" (1988). We have, therefore, organized the articles in this special

issue into different thematic sections. The first section concerns the meanings that this communication practices represents for the diasporic community itself and vis-à-vis the foreigner (Stavo-Debaugé 2017). The second section articulates the forms that communication processes might take through proxemics, kinaesthesia or haptic interactions. Finally, the third section seeks to address digital agency and its possibilities in social media interactions within the community.

Mediated meanings

The aim of this special issue is to address the relationship between the diasporic experience and the media practices that are shaped and consolidated through migratory processes. In this section, this relationship will be described and analyzed in order to identify the different socio-political realities that make up the communication process. To this end, it will be important to interrogate scales of self- and community-perception when living abroad (Stavo-Debaugé 2017), which can be deployed between the Saharan and Sahelian diasporas. By building diasporic communities that are sometimes geographically fragmented, these groups nevertheless establish links between their members. The establishment of relationships is achieved through various encounters and exchanges, such as interpersonal relationships, the creation of associations and collective events, among others. However, depending on the diasporic group in question, the meanings communicated through digital technologies may not have the same social and political implications for each member or collective. In this vein, Ana María Pernás, Keina Espiñeira, and Carlos Diz address these questions of meaning in this special issue. Through the case of the Sahrawi diaspora in Galicia, and specifically women, the authors analyze the links and bridges that are generated between the group by transmitting their cause. From a feminist and decolonial perspective, the authors seek to understand the role of women in the transmission of knowledge about the Western Sahara conflict. Similarly, in her paper Judith Tavakoli analyses how young Sahrawis connect their personal aspirations with the metanarratives they were socialized with, e.g., the over-riding and unifying wish of all Sahrawis to return to an independent Western Sahara, and how they reflect on the politicization of their person.

Communicating the diasporic condition

This second section of research addresses the different forms of communication processes of self-representation in exile. The continuity of a sense of belonging can be seen in the preservation and transmission of heritage, as in the case of migrant languages (Ammouden 2012; Bornand and Leguy 2016; Deprez 2006; Donabedian-Demopoulos 2001; Matthey 2010; Sadi 2009). Moreover, the marketing of objects imbued with imagination, claimed

authenticity and nostalgia for the country (Bordes-Benayoun 2012), may make it possible to question affective links with diaspora homes (Alexandre-Garner and Galitzine-Loumpet 2020; Almenara-Niebla 2020). In this context, the place of the communicating body is interrogated through an analysis of sensory communication (Gélar 2010: 176) to question the senses and emotions of diasporic people (Galitzine-Loumpet and Saglio Yatzimirsky 2018; Pénicaut 2017). The process of embodiment or disembodiment is played out, in particular, in festive events that bring together members of the diaspora, during which images and bodily expressions mediate and stage discourses, claims and representations of the self in exile. Syntia Hasenöhrl analyses the example of two Malian women and how affective experiences of digital connectivity shape their experiences and perceptions of exile. Likewise, Pierre Peraldi-Mittelette reflects on the ways in which members of the Tuareg diaspora settled in Europe communicate their sense of exile. Using situations of interaction and a game of discursive and sensorial representation, Peraldi-Mittelette questions how the Tuaregs express and present themselves to people who do not belong to their group.

Social media affordances

We also afford a special place to the analysis of relations between diasporas, in particular through intra-African or globalized diasporas (Boyer, 2005; Daum and Dougnon 2009; Dia 2014; Mary 2014; Rasmussen 2003). The exploration of kinship links between here and there, as well as their representations and consequences, focuses the debate about gender roles and other social interactions. Recently, studies have focused on the relationship between migration and digital technologies (Georgiou 2010; Kiyindou and Miéré Pélage 2012; Rigoni 2010) to take into account the scope of diasporic networks through different media practices across cultural, national, ethnic or transnational imaginaries (Belalimat 2019; Fogel 2007; Kane and Mazauric 2013; Mattelart 2007). These everyday media practices are relevant both in the analysis of transnational advocacy networks and in the way diasporic groups communicate their cause. In her paper, Ana Arribas Sebastián analyses the impact of social media in the configuration of a diasporic public sphere for Sahrawi women, especially in terms of the reconfiguration of gender roles. Similarly, Silvia Almenara-Niebla focuses on blogs written by Sahrawi women to understand diasporic agency and a sense of in-betweenness due to their diasporic condition. In their article, Horacio Espinosa Zepeda and Marta Contijoch Torres present the results of two research studies on street vendors of Senegalese origin in Barcelona, Spain, commonly known as "manteros". They study how vendors collectives were formed from networks close to Sufi circles as well as how political movements and the media took advantage of their undocumented situation to lump the manteros in with rioters during different events.



This special issue accounts for the diversity of experiences in diaspora as Saharan and Sahelian populations communicate their perceptions of exile. This issue is conceived as a whole that focuses on a major geographical area of departure, the Sahara-Sahel zone. It is not intended to circumscribe the regions of arrival or transit, but to include a wide international view on the diasporic condition. In that sense, the populations discussed in this issue are diasporas that are not only attached to their nations, but also to their ethnicities. As the papers of this special issue demonstrate, diasporic communities organize themselves in formal or institutional ways through political groups, local associations, but also through informal links of relations based on social media ecology. Therefore, the following articles emphasize the ways in which diasporic groups organize and communicate their exile. These processes allow for the study of diaspora communities not only as organized entities, but also as connected social and political structures. These Saharan and Sahelian diasporic communities are socially and symbolically attached to both their homelands and host countries, and currently constitute a complex map of social and emotional structures within digital localities.

References

- AGIER M.,
2013, *La condition cosmopolite. L'anthropologie à l'épreuve du piège identitaire*, Paris, La Découverte.
- ALEXANDRE-GARNER C. ET GALITZINE-LOUMPET A. (dir.),
2020, *L'objet de la migration, le sujet en exil*, Nanterre, Presses universitaires de Nanterre.
- ALINEJAD D. et PONZANESI S.,
2020, Migrancy and digital mediations of emotion, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 23 (5), pp. 621-638.
- ALMENARA-NIEBLA S.,
2020, «Making digital 'home-camps': Mediating emotions among the Sahrawi refugee diaspora», *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 23 (5), pp. 728-744.
- 2022, «Digital emotivescapes: Everyday media practices of Sahrawi refugee diasporic women in Spain and Mauritania», *Migration Studies*, 10 (4), pp. 563-581.
- AMSELLE J.-L.,
2022, *L'invention du Sahel*, Vulaines-sur-Seine, Éditions du Croquant.

- AMMOUDEN A.,
2012, « L'exil dans la chanson de l'immigration », *Études et Documents Berbères*, 31, pp. 63-72.
- ANGÉ O. et BERLINER D. (dirs.),
2015, *Anthropology and Nostalgia*, Brooklyn, Berghahn Books.
- BAKIS H.,
2007, « Les nouveaux territoires de l'identité. Minorités et Internet », *Netcom*, 21, 3-4, pp. 381-384.
- BALDASSAR L., NEDELCO M., MERLA L. et WILDING R.,
2016, « ICT-based co-presence in transnational families and communities: Challenging the premise of face-to-face proximity in sustaining relationships », *Global Networks*, 16 (2), pp. 133-144.
- BATESON G. et RUESH J.,
1988, *Communication et société*, Paris, Le Seuil.
- BELALIMAT N.,
2019, « Réseaux sociaux, nouveaux médias et territoires au Sahara », in BOULAY S. et FANCHETTE S. (dir.), *La question des échelles en sciences humaines et sociales, Versailles et Montpellier*, Éditions Quae et IRD Éditions, pp. 123-140.
- BELLIL R. et BADI D.,
1995, « Les migrations actuelles des Touaregs du Mali vers le sud de l'Algérie (1963-1990) », *Études et Documents Berbères*, 13, pp. 79-98.
- BOILLEY P.,
2012, *Les Touaregs Kel Adagh. Dépendances et révoltes : du Soudan français au Mali contemporain*, Paris, Karthala.
- BORDES-BENAYOUN C.,
2012, « La diaspora ou l'ethnique en mouvement », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, (28-1), pp. 13-31.
- BORNAND S. and LEGUY C.,
2016, « Des "paroles d'Afrique" dans un musée : de la valorisation à la transmission », *Journal des Africanistes* 85 (1-2), pp. 44-78.
- BOYER F.,
2005, « Le projet migratoire des migrants touaregs de la zone de Bankilaré : la pauvreté désavouée », *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für Kritische Afrikastudien*, pp. 47-67.
- 2019, « Sécurité, développement, protection. Le triptyque de l'externalisation des politiques migratoires au Niger », *Hérodote*, 172, pp. 171-191.
- BRAH A.,
2011, *Cartografías de la diáspora*, Madrid, Traficantes de Sueños.
- CANUT C. et MAZAURIC C. (dir.),
2014, *La migration prise aux mots, Mises en récits et en images des migrations transafricaines*, Paris, Le Cavalier Bleu.

- CLAUDOT-HAWAD H.,
2017, « "Libérer l'Azawad". La reformulation des luttes politiques touarègues », *Studi Magrebini*, pp. 155-178.
- COHEN R. and VERTOVEC S.,
1999, « Introduction », in VERTOVEC S. and COHEN R. (Eds.), *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism* (pp. xxviii), Cheltenham, Elgar.
- COSTA E.,
2018, « Affordances-in-practice: An ethnographic critique of social media logic and context collapse », *New Media & Society*, 20 (10), pp. 3641-3656.
- DAUM C. and DOUGNON I.,
2009, « Les migrations internes au continent africain », *Hommes & Migrations*, 1279, pp. 6-11.
- DEPREZ C.,
2006, « Nouveaux regards sur les migrations, nouvelles approches des questions langagières », *Langage et Société*, (2-116), pp. 119-126.
- DIA H.,
2014, « Globalisation et mobilité pour étude », *Hommes & migrations*, 1307, pp. 6-7.
- DONABEDIAN-DEMOPOULOS A.,
2001, « Langues et diasporas : enjeux linguistiques et enjeux identitaires. Réflexion à partir du cas de l'arménien occidental », in BRUNEAU M., HASSIOTIS I., HOVANESSIAN M. et MOURADIAN C., « Arméniens et Grecs en diaspora : approches comparatives », *Actes de colloque de l'École d'Athènes*, Grèce, pp. 523-538.
- DUFOIX S.,
2011, *La Dispersion. Une histoire des usages du mot « diaspora »*, Paris, Éditions Amsterdam.
- FOGEL F.,
2007, « Mémoires mortes ou vives. Transmission de la parenté chez les migrants », *Ethnologie française*, 37-3, pp. 509-516.
- FREEDMAN J.,
2017, « Peur, honte, humiliation ? Les émotions complexes des demandeurs d'asile et des réfugiés en Europe », *Migrations Société*, 168, pp. 23-34.
<https://doi.org/10.3917/migra.168.0023>
- GALITZINE-LOUMPET A. et SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY M.-C.,
2018, « Face à l'exil au risque des subjectivités », *Journal des anthropologues*, [Hors-Série], pp. 7-17.
- GÉLARD M.-L.,
2010, « De la perception sensorielle d'autrui dans le Sud marocain », *Communications*, 86, pp. 175-193.
- GEORGES F.,
2008, « Les composantes de l'identité dans le web 2.0, une étude sémiotique et statistique. Hypostase de l'immédiateté », *Communication au 76ème Congrès de l'ACFAS : Web participatif : mutation de la communication ?*, 6 et 7 mai 2008, Centre des Congrès, Québec, pp. 1-12.

- GEORGIU M.,
2010, «Identity, Space and the Media: Thinking through Diaspora», *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 26-1, pp. 17-35.
- 2013, «Diaspora in the Digital Era: Minorities and Media Representation», *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europ*, JEMIE, 12 (4), pp. 80-99.
- GILROY P.,
1995, «Roots and Routes: Black Identity as an Outernational Project.» in HARRIS H., BLUE H., GRIFFITH E. (Eds.), *Racial and Ethnic Identity: Psychological Development and Creative Expression*, pp. 15-30, London, Routledge.
- GOFFMAN E.,
1973, *La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne. I. La Présentation de soi*, Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit.
- GREATHOUSE A.L. et PENAGOS CORZO J.C.,
2009, « Internet, image et discours : la construction hypermédia de l'identité indigène », in CHARAUDEAU P. (dir.), *Identités sociales et discursives du sujet parlant*, Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 219-231.
- GRÉGOIRE E. et BOURGEOT A.,
2011, « Désordre, pouvoirs et recompositions territoriales au Sahara », *Hérodote*, 142, pp. 3-11.
- GRÉMONT C.,
2019, « Dans le piège des offres de violence. Concurrences, protections et représailles dans la région de Ménaka (Nord-Mali, 2000-2018) », *Hérodote*, 172, pp. 43-62.
- HALL S.,
1990, «Cultural identity and diaspora», in RUTHERFORD J. (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, pp. 222-237, London, Lawrence and Wishart.
- HOVANESSIAN M.,
2005, « La notion de diaspora : les évolutions d'une conscience de la dispersion à travers l'exemple arménien », in ANTEBY-YEMINI L., BERTHOMIÈRE W., SHEFFER G. (dir.), *Les diasporas. 2000 ans d'histoire*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, pp. 65-78.
- KANE MOMAR D. et MAZAURIC C.,
2013, « L'Afrique en mouvement, imaginaires migratoires et dynamiques sociales au sud de la Méditerranée », *Horizons maghrébins*, 68, pp. 9-14 et 100-102.
- KIYINDOU A. et MIÉRÉ PÉLAGE T.,
2012, « Réseaux virtuels, reconstruction du lien social et de l'identité dans la diaspora noire », *Études de communication*, 38, pp. 189-201.
- KI-ZERBO J.,
2011, *Historia del África Negra. De los orígenes a las independencias*, Barcelona, Bellaterra.
- KLEIST N.,
2008, «In the Name of Diaspora: Between Struggles for Recognition and Political Aspirations», *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34 (7), pp. 1127-1143.

- KLUTE G.,
2011, «From Friends to Enemies: Negotiating nationalism, tribal identities, and kinship in the fratricidal war of the Malian Tuareg», *L'Année du Maghreb*, pp. 163-175.
- LADMIRAL J.-R. et LIPIANSKY E.-M.,
2015, *La communication interculturelle*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- LECLERC-OLIVE M.,
2018, « Transmettre l'expérience : une priorité ? De la subjectivité du migrant à celle du chercheur », *Journal des Anthropologues*, pp. 31-57.
- LE COURANT S. et AGIER M.,
2022, *Babels. Enquêtes sur la condition migrante*, Paris, Seuil.
- LEURS K. et SMETS K.,
2018, «Five Questions for Digital Migration Studies: Learning from Digital Connectivity and Forced Migration in(to) Europe», *Social Media+Society*, 4 (1), pp. 1-16.
- LEURS K.,
2017, «Communication rights from the margins: Politicising young refugees' smartphone pocket archives», *International Communication Gazette*, 79 (6-7), pp. 674-698.
- MCLEOD J.,
2010, *Begining Postcolonialism*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- MARY K.,
2014, « Le retour difficile des jeunes Maliens formés en Amérique du Nord », *Hommes & migrations*, 1307, pp. 39-46.
- MATTELART T.,
2007, *Médias, migrations et cultures transnationales*, Rosny-sous-Bois, De Boeck Supérieur.
- MATTHEY M.,
2010, « Transmission d'une langue minoritaire en situation de migration : aspects linguistiques et sociolinguistiques », *Bulletin suisse de linguistique appliquée*, 1, pp. 237-252.
- MBEMBE A.,
2010, *On the Postcolony*, Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press.
- NOUSS A.,
2015, *La condition d'exilé. Penser les migrations contemporaines*, Paris, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- NUGENT P. et ASIWAJU A.I.,
1998, «Introducción: la paradoja de las fronteras africanas», in NUGENT P. et ASIWAJU A.I. (Eds.), *Fronteras africanas. Barreras, canales y oportunidades*, pp. 31-54, Barcelona, Bellaterra.
- PÉNICAUD M.,
2017, « Expérience migratoire et exil social dans la migration congolaise : de l'enjeu d'un corpus littéraire en sciences sociales. Biyaoula, Mabanckou et N'Sonde », *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, (33-1), pp. 65-89.

- PERALDI-MITTELETTE P.,
2019, *Les Touaregs d'Europe et leurs « ami » : Diffusion et réception d'une cause saharienne mythifiée*, Thèse de doctorat soutenue à l'Université Paris Nanterre, Nanterre.
- 2022, « Le sens en mots, les sens par les mots », in CALAPI S., KORZYBSKA H., MAZZELLA DI BOSCO M. et PERALDI-MITTELETTE P., *Sensibles ethnographies. Décalages sensoriels et attentionnels dans la recherche anthropologique*, Paris, Pétra, pp. 77-100.
- PINK S., HORST H., POSTILL J., HJORTH L., LEWIS T. et TACCHI J.,
2016, *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*, Washington DC, Sage.
- POUPART P.,
2017, « L'Azawad comme enjeu des négociations de paix au Mali : quel statut pour un territoire contesté ? », *Confluences Méditerranée*, 101, pp. 97-112.
- RASMUSSEN S.J.,
2003, «When the Field Space Comes to the Home Space: New Constructions of Ethnographic Knowledge in a New African Diaspora», *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76, 1, pp. 7-32.
- RAULIN A., CUCHE D. et KUCZYNSKI L. (dir.),
2009, Numéro « Anthropologie et migrations », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 25-3.
- RICOEUR P.,
2017, *Philosophie de la volonté*, Paris, Seuil.
- RIGONI I.,
2010, « Éditorial. Les médias des minorités ethniques. Représenter l'identité collective sur la scène publique », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 26-1, pp. 7-16.
- SADI H.,
2009, « Le Berbère : enseignement à distance et formation à distance », *Études et Documents Berbères*, 28, pp. 155-165.
- SAFRAN W.,
1991, «Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return», *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1 (1), pp. 83-99.
- SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY M.-C. (dir.),
2020, *Violence et récits. Dire, traduire, transmettre le génocide et l'exil*, Paris, Hermann.
- SAYAD A.,
1999, *La double absence. Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré*, Paris, Le Seuil.
- SPERBER D.,
2000, « La communication et le sens », in MICHAUD Y. (éd.), *Qu'est-ce que l'humain ?* Université de tous les savoirs, 2, Paris, Odile Jacob, pp. 119-128.
- SPITTLER G.,
1997, *Les Touaregs face aux sécheresses et aux famines*, Paris, Karthala.

- STAVO-DEBAUGE J.,
2017, *Qu'est-ce que l'hospitalité ? Recevoir l'étranger à la communauté*, Montréal, Faber.
- TÖLÖLYAN K.,
1991, «The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface», *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1 (1), pp. 3-7.
2006, «A General Introduction to Exile», in BERTHOMIÈRE W. et CHIVALLON C. (dir.), *Les diasporas dans le monde contemporain*, Paris, Karthala, pp. 195-209.
- VERMOT C. (Coord.),
2017, « Les émotions des migrants. Une approche sociologique », *Migrations Société*, 29 (168).
- WIMMER A. et GLICK SCHILLER N.,
2003, «Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology», *The International Migration Review*, 37 (3), pp. 576-610.
- ZUNES S.,
1998, *New Hope for Western Sahara*, *Peace Review*, 10 (2), pp. 241-247.
- ZUNES S. et MUNDY J.,
2010, *Western Sahara : War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolutio.*, New York, Syracuse University Press.