Cohabitation and *Convivencia*.

Comparing Conviviality in Casamance and Catalonia

Tilmann Heil

Linacre College

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This thesis explores conviviality, a set of processes surrounding everyday living with difference. Based on 18 months of fieldwork (2007-2010) equally split between Casamance, Senegal, and Catalonia, Spain, the comparison takes the transnational lives of Casamançais and their embeddedness in both local fields into account. Locally, Casamançais often spoke of *cohabitation* (French) and *convivencia* (Castilian). Exploring discourses as well as practices related to encounters with difference and everyday socialising, this thesis addresses three questions: (1) How do migrants who come from a context of religious and ethnic diversity manage to make their way within new social contexts of cultural diversity? (2) How do their pre-migration experiences of diversity affect the ways in which they deal with the changing configurations of diversity that they encounter in Europe? (3) How do ways of living together with difference change over time in both sending and receiving contexts due to migration and other concurrent societal transformations?

In four ethnographic chapters, I firstly explore everyday neighbourhood encounters and the centrality of multilingual greeting and temporary gatherings in open spaces for conviviality. A second chapter focuses on cultural and religious festivities and argues that, apart from the political recognition of diversity, the local residents' sensuous experiences of difference are a crucial dimension of conviviality. Addressing challenges to conviviality, the third chapter engages with the processes of social closure, isolation and homogenisation which reveal alternative ways of living with difference. The fourth ethnographic chapter puts migration-related inequalities centre-stage, showing how conviviality also involves subtle forms of inequality.

Analytically, this thesis suggests that conviviality is not a static conception of sociality, but one that is in-process. I find that socio-cultural differences are permanently negotiated, that ways of dealing with difference are translated between the old and new contexts of diversity, and that discourses and practices of living with difference are continuously (re)produced in everyday interactions. Casamançais perspectives reveal ways of maintaining minimal sociality among local residents who remain different.

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[1] All maps were produced by Norbert Winnige and myself.

Transliteration and orthography

Accents are placed in Wolof, Mandinka, Catalan, French and Castilian. Some Catalan words can only be differentiated from Castilian by the accents placed, e.g. *convivencia* (Castilian) and *convivència* (Catalan).

Ethnic and religious groups are spelled in one of the common English transliterations neither representing French spellings or transliterated local languages. Thus it is Jola instead of Diola (French) or Joola, Mandinka instead of Mandingue (French), Tukulor for Toucouleur (French) or Tukulëër, Fula for Fulani, Peul (French), Haalpulaar, Mancanya for Mancagne (French) or Mancaŋ, Sarahole for Sarahoulé or Saraxolé, Bainuk for Bainouk or Bainun, etc. Also, I write Murid instead of Mouride or Ibadu instead of Ibadou.

Place names are the exception since I write them in consistence with the latest 1:200,000 map (2005-2008) of the Direction des Travaux Géographiques et Cartographiques, Dakar. The spelling follows essentially French transliteration.

In the transcripts of Jola and Mandinka read:

i	like ee in see
j	like j in jazz
y	like y in yard
u	like ou in you
ñ	like kne in knew
ŋ	like ng in ring or sing.

Vowels following one another are pronounced separately; single vowels are pronounced short and double vowels long.

Terminology in a multilingual context

Apart from standard foreign expressions in English like *lingua franca* and *sine qua non*, I will also italicise foreign terms and expressions from the field. Translations will be in the text and in the glossary. Furthermore, I use inverted commas throughout this thesis to show that I am using English translations of terminology common among the Casamançais I worked with. For example, Casamançais perceive migration to Europe as an *aventure*, as an 'adventure'.

Glossary

~kunda, e.g. Samboukunda	House and yard of ~, e.g. house of Sambou
acollida (Cat.) *acojida* (Cast.)	reception, Catalan and Spanish policy term.
ambiance (Fr.)	a lively, good, festive atmosphere
aventure (Fr.)	adventure, a way of speaking about migration to Europe among Casamançais, sometimes relating to the adventures of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, the religious leader of the → Murids
Baye Fall	a sub-group of the Murids following Ibrahima Fall, a first and close disciple of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, founder of Muridism
bukut (Jola)	Jola male circumcision ceremonies
causerie, -s (Fr.)	chat, social gathering to chat extensively
chiringuito (Cast.)	beach bar
civisme (Fr.)	sense of civic responsibility
cohabitation (Fr.) *convivència* (Cat.) *convivencia* (Cast.)	emic notions of living together in a shared locality
cortado (Cast.) *tallat* (Cat.)	strong Espresso with a little bit of milk
cousinage (Fr.)	joking relationship
dahira, -s (Wolof)	circle, a form of religious association of the Murid brotherhood, sometimes providing housing and organising economic activities
dialogue islamo-chrétien (Fr.)	Muslim-Christian dialogue, a political practice in Senegal
el Dorado (Cast.)	dreamland, ideal migrants aspire to

empadronament (Cat.) *empadronamiento* (Cast.)	Registration with the town hall independent of legal status which grants rights to education, health services, and serves as a condition for continuous regularisation
gris-gris	talisman made of small ritual objects and possibly some Qur'an verses placed in goats' horns or small leather purses, which could provide protection against injury or misfortune (cf. Baum 1999: 150)
Kankurang	Mandinka whole body mask made from multiple pieces of bark covering the whole body, it carries cutlasses in both hands (cf. de Jong 2007: 129-31)
kaw-kaw (Wolof)	Senegalese from the countryside, (uneducated) villager (fig., pej.)
Kumpo	a whole-body mask made of the leaves of palm trees and with a long projecting upward from the head (for a detailed description, cf. Girard 1965: 68-9)
kuyandingo (Mandinka)	minor initiation, from *kuyango* (initiation in the bush) and *dingo* (small)
Ibadu, -s	Follower of a Senegalese reformist movement seeking orthodox Islam, deriving their name from the Qur'anic term Ibadu ar-Rahman, Slaves of the Merciful, and organising in the Jamaatou Ibadou Rahmane movement
locutorí (Cat.) *locutorio* (Cast.)	cyber-café with phone cabins offering cheap international calls
Màggal	pilgrimage of Murids to Touba, their holy city
mandinguisé (Fr.)	people who assumed aspects of Mandinka social, cultural or religious practices, linked to the process of Mandingisation
Matinal de Saetas (Cast.)	Opening ceremony of Holy Week
mbalax	popular music offshoot of the Sabar genre, refers also to the associated dancing practices
moro, -s (Cast.)	North African, Arabs, Moroccans, (pej., coll.)

moodu-moodu (Wolof)	Wolof, often Murid traders, successful in commerce but often without much formal schooling
Murids	Senegal based Muslim brotherhood
navetanes (plural)	from *naweet*, Wolof for wet season, migrant workers in the groundnut fields during the wet season
ngalax (Wolof)	sweet Easter dish
niak (Wolof)	Pejorative term for other Africans, especially Central and West Africans, the people of the bush/forest, those who possess sorcery
nordiste, -s (Fr.)	Senegalese from north of Gambia
patera (Cast.)	fishing boats used to arrive at the Canaries from West Africa
pisos patera (Cast., pl.)	overcrowded flats of migrants with individual beds being rented out, exploitative conditions are implied
Semana Santa (Cast.)	Holy Week
soirée (Fr.)	evening dance party
sudiste, -s (Fr.)	Senegalese from South of Gambia, i.e. Casamançais
teranga (Wolof)	from *teral*, to receive, the reception of a stranger, sometimes referred to as a more complex version of hospitality
tubab (Wolof)	white person, Westerner, often European
tuteur, -s (Fr.)	tutor, patron, instructor, someone advising in everyday matters
tabaski (Wolof)	Id al-Adha, Feast of the Sacrifice
voisinage (Fr.)	neighbourliness
Ziguinchorois (Fr.)	inhabitants of Ziguinchor

Acronyms and abbreviations

ANSD	Agence Nationale de la Statistique (National Statistics Agency), Senegal
ASC	Association Sportive et Culturelle (Cultural and Sport Association), Senegal
Cast.	Castilian
Cat.	Catalan
CGOT	Compagnie Génerale des Oléagineux Tropicaux
Fr.	French
HLM	Habitations à Loyer Modéré (subsidised housing)
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratique de la Casamance

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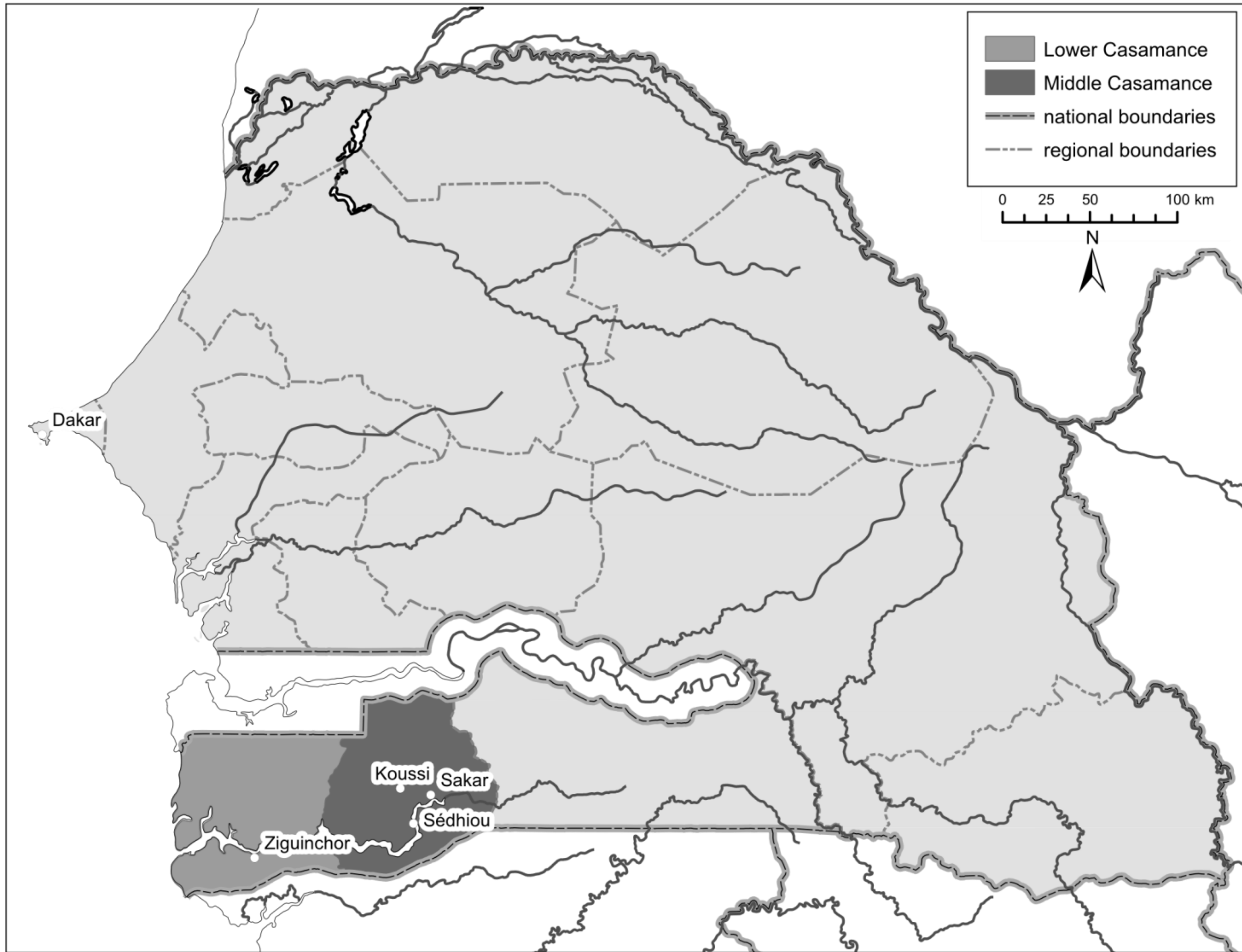
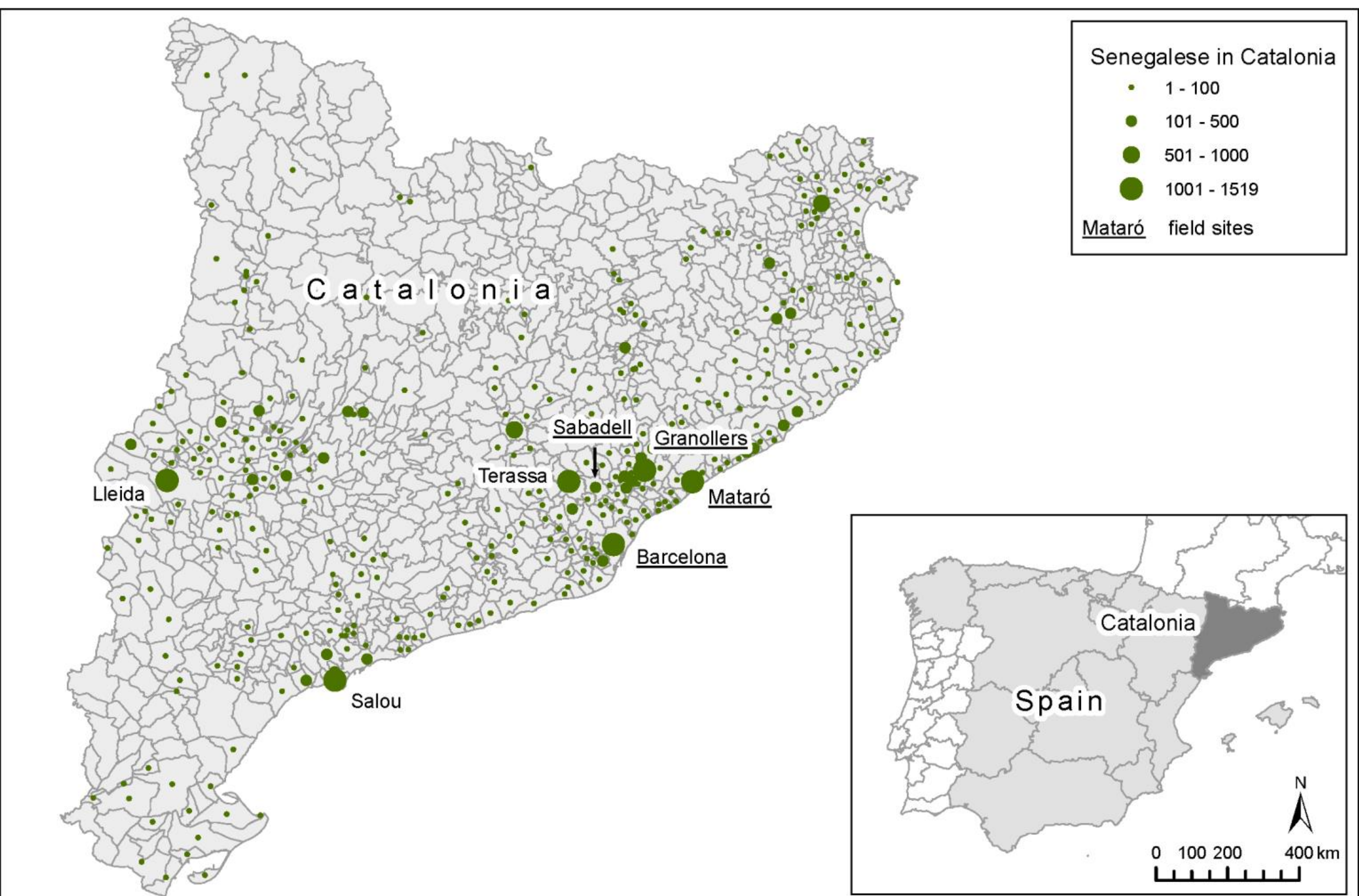
PART ONE.

SETTING THE STAGE FOR CONVIVIALITY

Map 1 Field sites in Casamance



Map 2 Field sites and Senegalese in Catalonia, 2011



Chapter 1.

Living *with* difference and *in* diversity

1.1 Introduction. Changing perspectives on living with difference

> Anthropologists have learned to be more sensitive to the formidable difficulties involved in making sense of cultural diversity without losing sight of shared humanity. (Stolcke 1995: 1)

Nearly two decades ago, Stuart Hall (1993: 361) announced that '[t]he capacity *to live with difference* is, in my view, the coming question of the twenty-first century'. The following account of living *with* difference deals with the maintaining of cultural diversity – as I will call ethnic, national, regional, religious, linguistic and other diverse identifications and practices – while sharing an everyday neighbourhood life. It engages with a comparative case study of practices of living with difference locally, which in Casamance, Senegal and Catalonia, Spain were often phrased in terms of *cohabitation* in French and *convivencia* in Castilian. Both are discursive cornerstones of a process which I call conviviality: living with difference among local residents on the basis of interacting, negotiating and translating. Conviviality encompasses both cooperative and conflictual situations keeping it fragile and permanently in-flux. In this process a social space can emerge which I will call convivial and which is mutually constitutive with practices of conviviality.

In Casamance and Catalonia *cohabitation* and *convivencia* themselves were flexible notions mirroring some of the contestations around living with difference. What people understood by it varied in terms of the intensity and scope of contact. They

first and foremost addressed the ordinary and unspectacular everyday life interactions of local residents such as greeting, being co-present in open spaces[2], and mutual consideration and respect. However, what exactly they meant depended on the context, the situation and thus on the outcome of local negotiations. Indeed, *convivència* (in Catalan) was also a strong policy discourse which promoted an official version of mutual respect, civility and peaceful sharing of everyday life.[3] Senegalese politics accommodating religious and cultural diversity equally aimed at appeasing difference. However, the focus of the ethnography at hand is on the local everyday practices of living with difference in which both *cohabitation* and *convivencia* featured alongside other notions such as hospitality, neighbourliness, integration, consideration or respect. Narratives of mutual avoidance, exclusion, discrimination and conflict were inextricably intertwined with these notions.

Yet this is not a study of conflict or social breakdown. Rather it focuses on the large proportion of people's lives which is banal and thus tends to be taken for granted by both participants and researchers. Indeed, the economic struggle of migrants in Catalonia and people in Casamance, as well as the burdens placed on them in the forms of the Casamançais conflict, migration control and irregularity – to name but a few – were very real everyday experiences as well. While acknowledging their importance, here I am interested in everyday living with difference on the basis of the accounts and practices of Casamançais local residents which constituted locally defined, historically grown, but changing minimal consensuses. As locally shared understandings, consensuses emerge from 'a complex genealogy of tensions' (Sarró 2009: 16) which I conceive of as the processes of negotiation and translation. Arriving at shared, if changing, understandings can be understood as part of 'the shared

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[2] I chose the notion of 'open space(s)' to refer to spaces which in general are accessible to a large variety of people, generally all local residents. This is analogous to the wide-spread use in many fields, e.g. 'open access publications', 'open universities', etc.

[3] Throughout the thesis, I will use *convivencia* (Castilian) when I speak about the Casamançais' representations and practices, reflecting my language use during fieldwork, while the Catalan version *convivència* (with a diacritic) is reserved for Catalan policy and events that directly link to it.

humanity', in Stolcke's words quoted above, which interacts with cultural and social diversities that characterise both sites of the comparison.

Despite more pressing concerns, Casamançais both in Casamance and Catalonia taught me their views and shared their daily experiences with me during 18 months of fieldwork divided equally between Catalonia and Casamance. Their lives – and thus my comparison – span these two culturally diverse regions: Casamance, the south of Senegal, and Catalonia, the north-east of Spain. Although many Casamançais also spent time in other diverse contexts on the move, here, I restrict my analysis to Casamance and Catalonia.[4]

Crude proxies may suffice to exemplify the diversity of Casamance and Catalonia. The population of Catalonia has diversified immensely within the last three decades with a foreign-born population of 17.5 per cent (the national average is 14 per cent) in 2010 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011). Currently, this portion of the population comes from over 120 different countries of origin. In Casamance, centuries of population movement have shaped a situation of national, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity. No one group forms the majority, and over one in five is not Jola, Mandinka or Fula, which constitute the main three ethnic groups. However, in certain areas each of these groups feels itself to be and is regularly seen to be the dominant one, such as the Jola in Lower Casamance and Mandinka in Middle Casamance. Taking even smaller units of analysis such as villages and neighbourhoods into account significantly changes this picture.

People from Casamance have been arriving in Catalonia since the late 1960s, with an increase in the 2000s when Spain's foreign born population rose from less than a million to over six million. Among many factors, Spain's economic growth and favourable conditions for irregular migrants, including several rounds of regularisation, have attracted migrants from around the globe (cf. Aja and Arango 2006; King 2001b, 2000). Casamançais as well as other Senegalese came to a country

[4] The very interesting multi-sited comparison including transit spaces is beyond the scope of this thesis.

with no colonial ties and different linguistic repertoires, an example of the diversification of migration flows (cf. Vertovec 2007b; Jabardo Velasco 2006; Gozálvez Pérez 1995).

Given such configurations of diversity, how do Casamançais migrants manage to make their way within new social contexts of cultural complexity? Do their pre-migration experiences of ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity enable them to deal effectively with the changing configurations of diversity that they encounter in Spain? How do ways of living together in diversity change in both Casamance and Catalonia due to migration as well as other concurrent societal transformations?

To answer these questions, I matched a sample (cf. Mazzucato 2009, 2008) of mainly men in Catalonia with their friends and relatives in predominantly urban contexts in Casamance. In this way I innovatively compare everyday sociality in two regions from the perspective of the people who also participate in a transnational social field (cf. Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) spanning Casamance and Catalonia.[5] This will foster an understanding of continuities and ruptures of social practices between the two sites and of the interlocking histories and cultures that Casamançais perform (cf. Hall 1993: 362).

This said, I do not primarily study the transnational social field, translocal activities and questions of transnational belonging of a migrant group. Also, I cannot represent the perspective of other local residents in Catalonia or people in Casamance who do not have relatives or friends abroad. Instead, I worked with Casamançais as local residents of Catalonia and Casamance.[6] Choosing one category of people sharing the same regional origin was the most meaningful way to limit the multi-sited scope of the comparison. Having chosen a regional origin and not an ethnic group or nationality is significant in avoiding the ethnic lens (cf. Glick Schiller et al. 2006;

[5] Having done fieldwork only in the time-span of four years, I rarely coincided with Casamançais informants from Catalonia in Casamance, and vice-versa. Questions of memory and nostalgia will therefore be kept in mind.

[6] I take for granted that transnational and local social lives are not mutually exclusive and that complex interactions exist (cf. Kivisto 2005: 310; Levitt 2003; Morawska 2003; Vertovec 2007a).

Brubaker 2002) since my informants identified as belonging to a number of different ethnic groups, nationalities and various religions. I therefore show awareness for various Casamançais perspectives, both implying a specificity to the regional origin and acknowledging the plurality of human practice (cf. de Certeau 1988; Napolitano and Pratten 2007). Only the analysis will show which factors, including cultural, social and economic ones, can help explain this plurality. Furthermore, I avoid methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) by following a comparative approach based on multi-sited fieldwork in two regions which are at the same time parts of nation-states and distinct from them (cf. Chapter Two).

I chose Casamançais perspectives to offer an innovative approach to the study of immigration societies in Europe by critically extending two fields. Firstly, for some time, academic and public discourse have struggled with and sought a new and more encompassing understanding of contemporary social processes of immigration, diversification, plural identification and overall 'glocalisation' (e.g. Vertovec 2012, 2007b; Appiah 2007; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Robertson 1995; Lamphere 1992). A strong focus in this work has been on how the receiving society reacts to immigration (in Catalonia, e.g. Solé Puig et al. 2011; Zapata-Barrero 2008, 2009b). Hall (1993: 361) pinpoints the problem succinctly as the 'ethnic absolutism' of '[n]ew national movements that […] reach for too closed, unitary, homogeneous and essentialist a reading of "culture" and "community"'. Gilroy (2005) observes that such exclusivist practices are a result of the postcolonial melancholia in which Europe is trapped using the vocabulary of 'new cultural racism'.[7] Manifestations of autochthony have been observed in Europe and beyond which stress the belonging to a place, to be from the soil, and which exclude the migrant, the omnipresent other (Geschiere 2009). In consequence, 'the twenty-first century has begun with narratives of common life based on reduced or reconciled differences and strengthened social and community ties' (Amin 2012: 3). Thus, policy discourses have re-framed the concepts of assimilation, integration, acculturation, accommodation or cohesion, which I argue

[7] See also Stolcke (1995), Geschiere (1998; 2009), Wimmer (2002), Fassin (2011), and Vertovec (2011).

essentially maintain the idea of a homogenous society continuously imagining a national community (Anderson 2006 [1983]) from which immigrants or strangers are excluded (Wimmer 2004: 2).

Rather than reifying an ideal of homogenous, territorially bounded identities, the perspectives of migrants themselves on everyday social relations, which is the unique focus here, promises to offer conceptually different ways of understanding European immigration societies; a perspective that is not caught in processes of ethnic or national 'closure' (cf. Hall 1993: 355). Casamançais perspectives are particularly productive, since they inspired my conceptualisation of conviviality by bringing emic notions of living with difference into the analysis. They recurrently referenced interaction, negotiation and translation which I came to conceptualise as some of the basic practices of conviviality. This approach is inspired by the need to recognise the plurality and creativity of human practice (e.g. de Certeau 1988; Napolitano and Pratten 2007), early work on social interaction and exchange (e.g. Goffman 1966, 2008 [1967]-a; Mauss 1954; Parkin 1974), and conceptions of conviviality, cosmopolitanism and civility (e.g. Boyd 2006; Gilroy 2005; Overing and Passes 2000; Lamont and Aksartova 2002).

Secondly, literature adopting the migrant perspective has often stressed the migrants' experience as victims of xenophobia, racism and exploitation (e.g. Constable 2009; Carling 2007; Yuval-Davis et al. 2005; Díez Nicolás 2002; Però 2011, 2007). Although such literature identifies important pitfalls of the structural situation of migrants, it often risks disempowering the migrants by not acknowledging that they can have their own perspective on overall societal processes. The literature on migrant communities in both ethnic and transnational studies grants such agency (e.g. Basch et al. 1994; Levitt 2001; Werbner 1999), however, in this body of work the focus is often on the migrant population itself, thus limiting their social lives to the sphere of a transnational community. Instead of limiting the migrants' competency to the transnational or the immigrant dimension (e.g. St. Jacques 2009; van Nieuwenhuyze 2007; Sow 2004), I acknowledge them as equally reflexive

participants of local social fields beyond the migrant community (Glick Schiller et al. 2006: 613).[8] I conceptualise them as local residents in both Catalonia and Casamance as well as transnational migrants rather than reducing them to merely the latter. For them, having migrated is a particular asset, since the experiences at home and along the migration route provide them with a wide repertoire of how to go about engaging cultural diversity locally (cf. Vertovec 2009b).

My fieldwork happened within a single, yet changing, transnational social field. A transnational approach comes with a number of key assumptions. Central is the idea that migration is an on-going process and that social relations are maintained between migrants and people staying put, in the sending, the transit and the receiving contexts (Basch et al. 1994).[9] These relations result from, and reinforce actual movement. They also facilitate the exchange of the social representations of their old and new social environments (Levitt 1998; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2010). Ideas and norms are exchanged, and practices and behaviours are talked about, not just about migration but also about local conviviality. This helps migrants and their families to mutually understand their situations and act upon them. Furthermore, pre-migration experiences and encounters during migration also travel and later influence how migrants understand their situation in the European immigration context. I argue that both the habitus and subjectivity of Casamançais displayed in the local social fields are shaped within and through transnational experiences. Thus, the recurrent themes of this thesis are threefold: (1) the shared experiences of migrants and their peers in both Catalonia and Casamance, (2) the impact of these experiences on everyday *local* social relations, and (3) the vision of Europe from West Africa and references to West Africa in Europe.

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[8] Although a local social field is most tangible on the neighbourhood scale, I also use this terminology in a broader sense to refer to the regional specificities of Casamance and Catalonia. Neighbourhood life and broader configurations and representations of diversity are mutually constitutive.

[9] On multi-sited fieldwork see also (Marcus 1995) and contributions in Coleman and Hellermann (2011), and Falzon (2009).

Having the above in mind, I address my main research question of how the representations and practices of social relations at home and abroad, which accompany and are transformed by the migration process, have an impact on ways of living with difference in configurations of diversity. The following set of sub-questions is of particular importance: I ask which social relations – e.g. neighbourliness and greetings – is *cohabitation* based upon in the complex context of Casamance. Also, how do migrants' families and friends as well as potential migrants imagine social relations in Europe? In Catalonia, I question to what extent Casamançais understand social relations of *convivencia* in the immigration context in a similar manner to the way in which they did at home. Following this, how do migrants live with difference in Europe and in Catalonia? This comparative study investigates an overlooked relationship between the sending and receiving spaces, focusing on living with difference in diverse neighbourhoods from the migrant's perspective as local residents.

After this short introduction of the main research questions and conceptual as well as methodological stance, I now give vignettes of two key field sites and the scope of everyday social relations, followed by the theoretical and conceptual implications and the methodology, before briefly outlining the four parts of the thesis.

1.2 Exploring everyday life. Ordinary social situations

Cerdanyola in Mataró, Catalonia

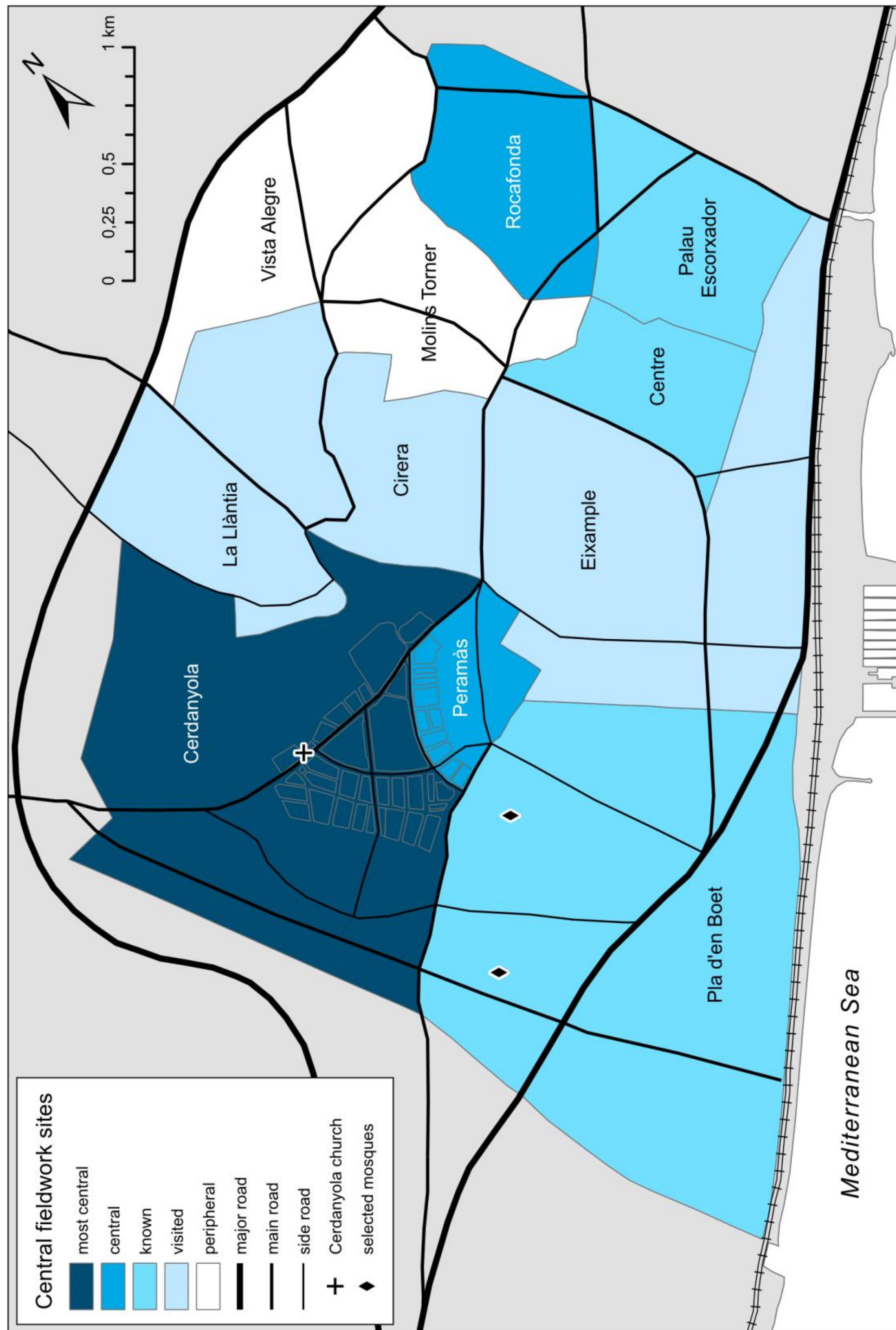
Arriving on a summer Sunday afternoon at the Parc de Cerdanyola by bus from Barcelona, I witnessed nothing but ordinary everyday life. In the area of the playground, groups of women from all parts of the world were gathering and chatting. I immediately noticed sub-Saharan and North Africans, Asians and Europeans. A visibly very diverse group of boys played football in mixed teams. Elsewhere in the park, elderly Southern European men shared the same space with

other male inhabitants of the neighbourhood, all engaging in similar activities: standing in groups, chatting and exchanging news and gossip. Some were dressed casually and some looked like they could not care less for their appearance wearing worn shoes and sweat suits. Others seemed to have spent time preparing for their public appearance either wearing suit jackets and branded street wear (men), or formal dress and high-street fashion (women). Most of them were residents of the neighbourhood. Coming to the park or leaving, people in passing would greet those they were able to identify as regulars as well as showing consideration for everyone else acknowledging their presence or giving way to their activities. It was such minimal interactions, fleeting encounters and people simultaneously inhabiting open neighbourhood spaces that formed the convivial space of this ordinary social situation. Such scenes were central in Casamançais readings of *convivencia* in Catalonia, yet alternative, negative readings existed as well, stressing social vigilance among neighbours and disapproved activities such as gossip-mongering, loitering and wasting time.

The Parc de Cerdanyola was at the heart of what became my main field site in Catalonia: Cerdanyola, a peripheral neighbourhood of Mataró, a medium sized, industrial town some 50 kilometres away from Barcelona. It was typical of neighbourhoods that grew with the arrival of Andalusian and other South-Spanish immigrants to Catalonia.[10] The Casamançais lived scattered and side by side with the other visitors of the park in the surrounding residential blocks and older two-storey row housing. The blocks were four to five storeys high with simple, functional facades of which some were refurbished, some bleached by the sun, and others had rusty stains from the balcony railings. Some of the terraced housing was in a more dire state than the blocks, while others had been refurbished. Finished and semi-finished modern apartments were scattered throughout the neighbourhood and

[10] Typical of the internal migration in Spain in the 1950s and 1960s, people came from Andalusia, Extremadura, Múrcia and to a lesser extent other Spanish provinces south of Catalonia (Ávila 1993; Barbancho 1975; Bentolila 2001; Bernabé and Albertos 1986; García Coll and Pujadas Rúbies 1995; Silvestre Rodríguez 2002).

Map 3 Mataró neighbourhoods



between 2007 and 2010 most of the community infrastructure such as parks and boulevards had been fully renewed. Apart from some main boulevards, most of the streets were one-way and narrow, and the more central ones were lined by retail stores. Carrer Rosselló was the only pedestrian zone lined with shops providing for the daily needs.

In Cerdanyola I witnessed a wide variety of social interactions, often depending on the time of the day. Frequently, many Casamançais were part of gatherings at the corner of a *locutorí*, a cyber café with several phone cabins for cheap international calls, in Carrer Rosselló. They chatted in several languages engaging with sub-Saharan and other acquaintances passing by.[11] At other times, they chatted with shop keepers, many of whom were Catalans, Spanish, Moroccans, and Chinese. Then again I witnessed the conversations of neighbours from a balcony to the window across, and from the balcony or window to the street. Many of the interactions were fleeting, involving just a couple of sentences or statements: at the counter of a *tabacs*, a kiosk, or the grocery store, it could be a short moment of teasing, in the streets a nodding of heads, or an 'Hola'. Oftentimes, everyone went about their own business without much obvious interaction at all. Like in the park, though, convivial space emerged at several instances from practices that were about living with difference: local residents translated between and negotiated differences in various forms of seemingly unremarkable interactions.

Talking with Casamançais about time spent in open spaces revealed various and contradicting interpretations. A frequent way of seeing neighbourly relations was the idea of following the 'European way' of 'Chacun pour soi, dieu pour tous'[12] – in one word: 'individualism'. Casamançais sensed they had to translate their practices to the new context they encountered in Catalonia. Others felt that greeting remained

[11] For reasons of simplification I continue to speak of 'languages' by which I more specifically mean linguistic registers attributed to particular social groups and situations (cf. Agha 2006). In migration related research, a particular focus is on nationally and ethnically named languages.

[12] 'Every man for himself, and God for us all.' (from French)

Figure 1 Neighbourhoods: Lindiane (left), Cerdanyola (right)

Sources: Lindiane © Google Earth and DigitalGlobe 2014, Cerdanyola © Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, Cnes/Spot Image 2014.

necessary as a way of respecting whoever came your way. Most of my informants claimed to make an effort of knowing the local *lingua franca*, either Catalan or Castilian. And stories about neighbourly relations were varied from surprising help to undue accusations and xenophobia. Importantly, streets and squares were felt to be in principle accessible to everyone, with or without legal residency, for men and women, children and elders, African and European, black and white, Muslim, Christian and non-believers. They were open spaces, a precondition to encounter difference and to perform practices which would shape convivial space. However, spending time outside was not always desired.

It is these interactions that cross cultural (ethnic, religious, linguistic, national) differences and narratives about them that are at the heart of my analysis. The sociality referred to often seemed minimal, ordinary and therefore unremarkable. Yet, I argue that in order to shed light on living with difference in continuously diverse societies it is crucial to understand the process of conviviality and the

discourses and practices which are involved. To further the thrust of my argument, I next turn to everyday social relations in Casamance among diverse residents.

Lindiane in Ziguinchor, Casamance

In November 2009, a development worker I had befriended dropped me off at Samboukunda, the house of Damé Sambou[13], in Lindiane, a peripheral neighbourhood of Ziguinchor which is the regional capital of the Lower Casamance. This is where I started my longest period of seven months of fieldwork in Casamance and returned to frequently.

Bintou Deme, Damé's young sister-in-law, came through the rusty door of the yard, welcomed me warmly and helped with my luggage. Apart from the household members, many people came to greet me throughout the first day: both Damé's Fula and Christian Jola lodgers as well as Mandinka and Jola neighbours from various houses in the neighbourhood. The diversity of people who came in greeting challenged the superficial homogeneity of local residents assumed by a new arrival like me. Damé's family were Jola Muslims, and Damé's brother-in-law was Ibadu[14]. The Jola lodger, Augustin Sambou, was a Bissau Guinean Catholic who had come with his family during the time of the Bissau Guinean independence wars in the 1970s. His cousin staying with him had not converted to Christianity. The Fula Muslim running a corner shop lived with his family and an apprentice in the back rooms of the shop which also opened to Damé's yard. Within the first weeks, I learned that members of many more ethnic groups lived in the neighbourhood, that people adhered to various religions, held different passports (Senegalese, Guinean,

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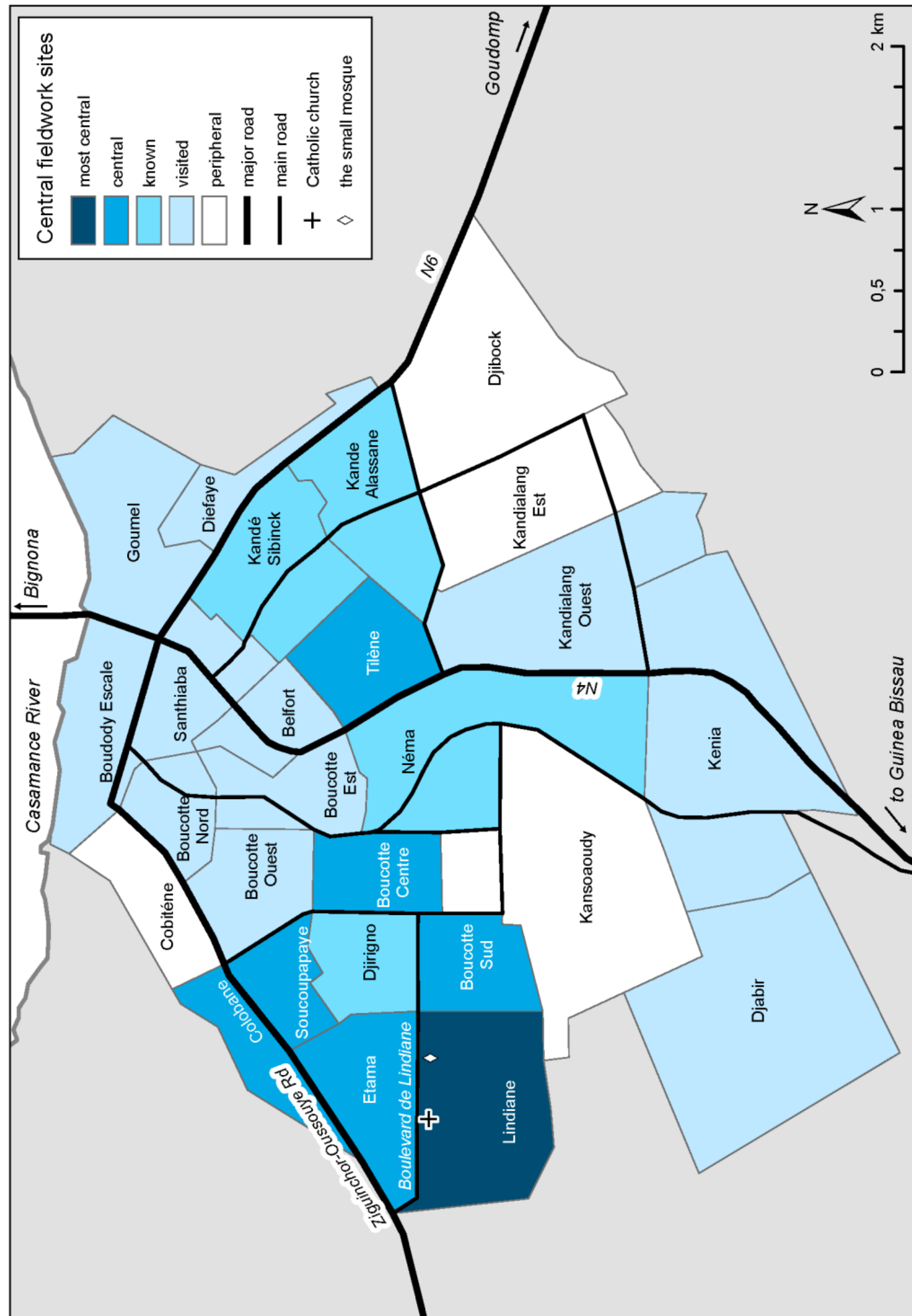
[13] All names are changed. First names show someone's Christian or Muslim faith, while last names indicate the ethnic origins of the person.

[14] A follower of a Senegalese reformist movement seeking orthodox Islam, deriving their name from the Qur'anic term Ibadu ar-Rahman, Slaves of the Merciful, and organising in the Jamaatou Ibadou Rahmane movement (cf. Cantone 2011; Loimeier 2000; Villalón 2004).

Map 4 Ziguinchor neighbourhoods



Gambian), had various migration trajectories, did innumerable things to earn a living, and could afford quite dissimilar housing; all of this was within walking distance.

In the front of Samboukunda, the home of the Sambou family, passed the Boulevard de Lindiane, one of the main streets of the neighbourhood. A block to the right was a small mosque, and to the left a Catholic school and church. On the way to the church, a *féticheur* sat in front of a closed shop selling *gris-gris*, talismans made of a small leather bag containing ritual objects and possibly Qur'an verses protecting against various ills. While to the east and south most of the area was plotted, to the north, west and parts of the south the street grid ended as did the electricity and water supply. While to the east some of the brick houses were quite luxurious often built by the families of migrants or civil servants, to the north and west housing was simpler, much like that in remote villages. A labyrinth of sandy paths and random gullies carved out in the rainy season alternated with semi-permanent streets, the tarred boulevard being nearly fully eroded. Scattered throughout were small vegetable gardens, mango trees, and smaller and larger open spaces often used to play football in the afternoon. For most of the day and during the dry season, pigs, sheep and goats roamed freely.

Residents of the neighbourhood inhabited open spaces like street corners, yards and squares for many different uses. While male adolescents and men often sat in groups and drank tea, women sold local produce. Festive canopies installed to grant protection from the sun regularly barred streets, thus temporarily appropriating the space. The same happened during the annual Tabaski (Id al-Adha) prayer and Easter Friday procession. On a normal day, Casamançais residents practised various languages on the streets interacting with whomever they encountered: elderly men who had migrated from the countryside in search of work greeted in Jola and Mandinka, the younger ones communicated in Wolof, while in Fula-run shops customers drew from their Fula repertoire. Oftentimes I observed how local inhabitants switched languages along the way and within conversations. At the nearby market people used Wolof, but also Portuguese Creole and other languages. Diverse language practices continued into the yards of houses, among groups sitting

together preparing tea and between family members. During encounters of local residents people translated between different languages and peacefully shared the same spaces. Short encounters as well as inhabiting open spaces shaped convivial spaces. Although such occurrences seemed to be taken for granted, I was interested in finding out about the process of conviviality and the shared practices of people who generally conceived of each other as 'different'.

Speaking to Casamançais about the relations among people who they perceived to be different, I learned, for example, about the relative equality among residents since the initial land owners, the Bainuk, did not act as hosts. While some stressed the importance of good neighbourly relations, saying that 'neighbours are the closest relatives in town,' others joked about the time wasted by the obligation to greet. Again others said that greeting was obsolete in neighbourhoods like Lindiane. I learned rumours about certain neighbours, admiration for others, and individual convictions and aspirations. This also entailed the stigmatisation of certain strangers as criminals or generally untrustworthy. Although practices of everyday life initially hardly conveyed rupture or change, conviviality was indeed fragile and malleable. While celebrations clearly created convivial space on the basis of sensuous experiences of difference and shared understandings of the staging of diversity, in other aspects conviviality had been contested. Some local residents tried to distinguish themselves by challenging the local consensus. Further attempts to change levels of interaction and local obligations showed that the consensus indeed remained minimal.

Within the social situation of Lindiane, I noticed a great deal of similar or identical practices of Casamançais in Catalonia, and learned about the transnational continuities which informed their expectations of Catalan everyday interactions. On the other hand, I also was compelled to witness the lapse between representations of everyday life in Casamance and actual everyday practice. In part this was explained by generational differences I encountered in both sites. More importantly, however, conviviality fundamentally remained a process influenced by the plurality of human practices and depended on the configurations of certain social situations and regions, which implied its re-negotiation in different and changing social fields. As a result,

conviviality could not be taken for granted even though at first glance it appeared ordinary and insignificant. To further explore continuities and frictions in the practices of everyday life in both Casamance and Catalonia, I develop a conceptual framework of conviviality in the next section.

1.3 Conceptualising everyday life research

The explorations engaged in at the two field sites motivate three related conceptual considerations. First, I reflect on practice theory as a way of researching und understanding everyday sociality. Second, I present a research framework incorporating configurations, representations and encounters to tackle the challenges of studying diversity and the complexity of contemporary society. I finally turn to my main interest, conviviality, and related conceptual fields.

Practices of local everyday life

Avoiding a top down perspective in which discourses from above structure processes on the ground – the often cited Foucaultian 'happy positivism' (Foucault 1991: 44; Wimmer 2004: 3) – I investigate people's practices in their complexity and plurality. To explore the tension between the power of structures and the plurality and creativity of human practice, I first introduce Bourdieu's (2007 [1977]) concept of habitus sketching its links to people's dispositions and social fields. Secondly, I explore approaches which conceptualise habitus as changing depending on the social fields and new positions in social situations (Goffman 1966, 1990 [1956]). Thirdly, I borrow from de Certeau's (1988) conceptualisation of practice, which directs the focus on the creativity of people and their tactics in everyday life.[15] The latter I combine with approaches to people's subjectivities, that is, structures of feeling (Ortner 2005). I intend to understand both continuities and changes in social

[15] Compare also similar approaches of James C. Scott (1985, 1990).

practices, the ways in which they shape and are shaped by structural contexts, and how they contradict and resist structuring forces.

To understand human practice, Bourdieu defines habitus as

> systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, … as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules … [and] collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (Bourdieu 2007 [1977]: 72, emphasis in the original)

Bourdieu offers a description of a perpetual process in which habitus is formed in a social situation or field which it structures in return. Dispositions thus are simultaneously the 'result of an organisation action', 'a way of being' and a 'predisposition' or 'inclination' (Bourdieu 2007 [1977]: 214, note 1, emphasis omitted). Put differently, habitus is mutually constitutive with a social field in which certain practices and representations prevail, namely, people's dispositions. Casamançais who had been socialised into the local social field in Casamance, thus, had acquired certain dispositions of how to live with difference locally.

On-going transnational social processes, as they happen within the transnational social field spanning Casamance and Catalonia, are the basis on which Casamançais can continue to act according to habitus which they developed in Casamance. However, local social fields vary and Casamançais migrants may spend considerable time in transit spaces such as Dakar, North Africa and Europe; furthermore, some have lived for many years in Catalonia. It is at the intersection of local and transnational social fields, that habitus and the dispositions it entails, is re-formed, re-negotiated and possibly changed.

Social change was not Bourdieu's main focus (Erickson 2011: 121). Goffman, however, grants attention to the learning, unlearning and modification of people's habitus (Goffman 1966, 1990 [1956]; cf. Willems 2008a: 82f). Working on various cases of social outcasts, Goffman analyses the practices of people who, put in a different social situation, are bound to re-learn their social position and related practices. In

the case of Casamançais, habitus is potentially re-formulated and changed in different local social fields while maintained in a transnational one. Being variously embedded in social situations and social fields, re-learning habitus while remaining linked to home, stresses the need to conceptualise everyday life as multiply embedded, changing and in flux.

Such a conceptualisation of everyday life, resonates with de Certeau's (1988) observation of the plurality and creativity of the practice of 'ordinary people'. Despite harsh critiques of his work (e.g. Mitchell 2007), de Certeau observes people's 'tactics' as their creative ways to engage with institutionally prescribed cultural productions (de Certeau 1988: xvii-xviii; Clark 1986: 707). His awareness for the multiple ways of being and relating to social situations critiques both Bourdieu's neo-structuralist stance (cf. Ortner 2005) and Foucault's panopticism (cf. Mitchell 2007; Napolitano and Pratten 2007). Taking people's creativity into account helps us understand situations in which Casamançais acted differently than expected and contradicted the prevailing habitus in either local or transnational social fields.

Awareness for people's subjectivities, or structures of feeling, further challenges a neo-structuralist reading of practice and substantiates my analytical focus on people's tactics and creativity (cf. Napolitano and Pratten 2007). On the basis of the work of Weber and Geertz, Ortner (2005: 37) defines subjectivities as 'complex structures of thought, feeling, reflection, and the like, that make social beings always more than the occupants of particular positions and the holders of particular identities'. An awareness of migrant subjectivities as reflections on new situations, choices between unequal options, and resulting feelings is conducive to further nuancing variations in Casamançais ways of relating to multiple social fields.

While Bourdieu's analysis is crucial in tracing both transnational and local reproductions of dealing with living with difference, the focus that is suggested by de Certeau grants legitimacy to variation, redefinition and opposition in everyday practice. The focus represented by de Certeau thus 'helps us to reflect on the encounter between the plurality of everyday practice, its irreducibility and un-intelligibility, and the narratives of and at the margins' (Napolitano and Pratten 2007:

10). Together with a responsiveness to migrant subjectivities, I have sketched a theoretical framework within which to situate complex and contradictory everyday practices of Casamançais in both Catalonia and Casamance. Starting from people's practices raises an awareness of their persistence and change as well as the dynamic process across various social fields. Looking into processes and practices is the conceptual foundation for a critique of structural analyses of migrants' lives.[16]

Studying diversity as configurations, representations and encounters

Having stressed the importance of continuities, ruptures and diversity in human practices at the intersection of transnational and local social fields, I seek inspiration from situational analysis to actually study the contemporary complexities and diversities of social fields (Mitchell 1987; Rogers and Vertovec 1995). Mitchell has suggested that the activities of people, the set of events chosen for study, should be analysed in reference to both '*the situation* or meanings actors attribute to activities, and *the setting* or structural context in which these things occur' (Vertovec 2009a: 10, emphasis in the original). Vertovec refines this into a conceptual triad of configurations, representations and encounters. Configurations are 'structural and demographic conditions' (Vertovec 2009a: 10), while representations are imaginations, symbols and meanings. Representations influence and mediate both configurations and encounters (ibid.: 14-25). Encounters focus on everyday experiences such as social boundary making, multilingual practices or material culture fusions (ibid.: 23f).

Baumann's (1996, 1997) distinction into dominant and demotic (lit. 'of the people') discourses offers a welcome qualification of the domain of representations. In his study, residents of Southall, London use both dominant political categories of differentiation and their own alternative ways of making sense of their everyday

[16] I prefer this rather open analytical framework to the work referred to by Vertovec (2009c: 66-9) which focuses on a dual orientations of transnational habitus (cf. Guarnizo 1997; Gardner 1993).

lives simultaneously. The latter, demotic discourses, avoid reifying boundaries, can be contradictory in themselves, and mark variable and creative processes of re-appropriation and re-contextualisation of dominant discourses. Concerning conviviality, living with difference in diversifying societies is increasingly defined politically, offering a range of dominant discourses (cf. Vertovec 2012). We shall see that Casamançais navigate them in multiple ways at times opposing their own notions of living with difference, at times making official discourses their own. Differentiation along ethnic, religious, linguistic and other cultural categories thus emerges from representations and encounters as both a matter of self-definition and the result of societies' labelling.

Incorporating Baumann's differentiation, Vertovec's conceptual triad provides an analytical framework to break down the complexity of both the local and transnational social fields in which Casamançais act in both Catalonia and Casamance. For the remainder of this thesis, I will understand both configurations and their dominant representations as the backdrop of the everyday lived experience and practice, which I will deal with in terms of demotic discourses and everyday encounters. Matching the general aim of practice theory outlined above, I see in Vertovec's triad a promising way to overcome the juxtaposition of structures and agency combining both into a differentiated framework of studying diversity. While accommodating the full complexity, it structures the field so as to achieve a thick description accommodating complexity and contradiction (cf. Geertz 1973; Gluckman 1958; Mitchell 1968). Keeping the above considerations as a backdrop, I now turn to conceptions of conviviality and related fields of conceptual thought.

Conviviality

The interest in the process of conviviality – *convivencia* and *cohabitation* – can be placed in a field of concepts that address living *with* difference. To embed conviviality, I first discuss the key focus of ordinary cosmopolitanisms and (in)civility. Secondly, I address conviviality itself to distinguish it from the commonplace English notion and define it as the process of living with difference of

which both conflictual and cooperative social situations are part. My reading resonates with Overing and Passes's (2000) notion of conviviality in Native Amazonia, Gilroy's (2005) plea for convivial practices of urban youths in postcolonial cities, or Amin's (2002: 959) local liveability, 'the micropolitics of everyday social contact and encounter'.[17] I will briefly introduce the basic practices of conviviality – interaction, negotiation, translation – as they emerge from my subsequent ethnography. Addressing encounters of cultural differences inevitably raises questions of power; therefore, I thirdly reflect on the role of power relations and (in)equality structures in social situations of diversity and migration. I finally move on to conceptualising how convivial practices and spaces are mutually constitutive and reinforcing.

Ordinary cosmopolitanisms and conviviality

During my first fieldwork in 2007, the way Casamançais made use of the Catalan policy term *convivència* pointed at phenomena different from ethnic absolutism, cultural racism and nationalism, and referenced a sociality that is characterised by engagement with diversity and difference. Such social situations had long been dealt with under the heading of cosmopolitanism, refined as working class or vernacular (Werbner 1999, 2006; Diouf 2000), everyday (Noble 2009; Ang et al. 2002), or in another way ordinary (Wessendorf 2010; Lamont and Aksartova 2002). These authors are interested in practices of ordinary people including migrants instead of a small elite. They describe everyday practices, attitudes and competencies that cope just fine with difference (cf. Vertovec 2009b). Many authors maintain that a certain openness to difference is key – a classical cosmopolitan value – while others argue that people act strategically to get something done (Noble 2009: 51), or mainly are pragmatic and unable to react to the multiple differences encountered in super-diverse situations (Wessendorf 2010: 20).

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[17] Alternative references to conviviality not included here are, e.g., Mbembé (2001: 104, 110), Polanyi (1958: 203-45) and Illich (1973).

Qualifying cosmopolitanism as either everyday-like, banal or ordinary, marks the implicit critique of the cosmopolitan concept as a Western elite project (Glick Schiller et al. 2011: 401). Indeed, the underlying philosophical idea of 'being a citizen of the world' and referring to a Kantian global humanism tends to stick with the concept, which Hannerz (1990) clearly extracts from his analysis opposing the local and the cosmopolitan (cf. Delanty 2006: 26).[18] Conviviality as derived from *convivencia* and *cohabitation* does not bear such a Western bias, nor is it an elite project. Rather, it emerges from the everyday life in neighbourhoods where local residents engage in practices and discourses of living with difference. Maybe more convincingly than cosmopolitanism, conviviality addresses a situation of cultural diversity throughout the social classes in the field.

I introduce the English term conviviality as the etic term I develop conceptually in this thesis based on practices of *convivencia* and *cohabitation*. In accordance with Overing and Passes (2000: xiii) conviviality conceptually 'eschews … [and] transcends the particular English sense of simply having a good (and, it is implicit, slightly inebriated) time in the company of others.' I shall show that tension, conflict and frustration form part of a conceptual notion of conviviality (ibid.: xiv) as well as situations of consensus, consideration and respect. Analysing cooperative and conflictual situations the process of conviviality emerges as fragile and changing.

Civility, fleeting encounters and basic practices of conviviality

Alternative cosmopolitanisms and conviviality share an interest in ordinary, pragmatic, and potentially partial and fleeting aspects of sociality, i.e. the entire field of social relations,[19] with the scholarship on (in)civility, which refers to interactions in public spaces and with strangers (Amin 2012, 2010; Boyd 2006; Fyfe et al. 2006;

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[18] Nevertheless, people from everywhere can practise cosmopolitanism, see van der Veer (2002), Gable (2010) and the contributions in Breckenridge et al. (2002).

[19] Glick Schiller et al. clarify in their paper that while sociality encompasses all social relations, sociability is just one of many practices (2011: 415, n.1; referring to Strathern 1996: 66).

Sennett 2005; Smith et al. 2010).[20] Emphasising the challenge of 'finding ways to knit the city together without homogenising it' (Sennett 2005: 2), civility, as 'the capacity of people who differ to live together' (ibid.: 1), directly addresses the process of conviviality. Concerning the quality of interactions, Vertovec (2007a: 32) sees civility in 'cordial but distant relations', and Boyd (2006: 867) defines being civil to strangers as 'treating them with an "easy spontaneity" that demonstrates both a willingness to look past differences and that communicates equal respect'. Civility implies that everyone is a respected equal (Fyfe et al. 2006). Civil relations thus neither refer to just living side-by-side described by pragmatism and indifference, nor do they imply ties relying on strong obligations, expectations and solidarity common to group specific sociability.[21] Contrary to the perceived risk of civil relations being overlooked as meaningless (Lofland 1989: 465), the interest in ordinary cosmopolitanisms and civility substantiates their relevance in diverse settings and as an integral part of conviviality.

Neither wanting to define relations per se as cosmopolitan or civil, my interest in conviviality aims at understanding the process of living with difference and the basic practices it depends on. In a similar vein, Amin (2002) observes local liveability in social contact and encounter and postulates that mere co-presence is not a sufficient condition for living with difference. Analysing the crisis of European postcolonial societies, Gilroy stresses the same and uses conviviality

> to refer to the processes of *cohabitation* and *interaction* that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere. (Gilroy 2005: xv, emphasis added)

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[20] Like ordinary cosmopolitanisms, civility is not a purely Western value of modernity. There are multiple non-Western ways to achieve the same respectful and participatory practices (Hann 1996).

[21] Lofland (1989: 465) alternatively suggests that '[c]ivility probably emerges more from indifference to diversity than from any appreciation of it.' I argue that this dichotomy falls short of considering other options that I explore here.

Although the stress of *interaction* in both accounts is shared, Gilroy's descriptions of metropolitan urban youths risks heralding an emergent culture or practices in which difference has become meaningless and the European 'cosmopolitan histories of hierarchy and inequality' (2005: 150) have been overcome. In convivial interactions, I will argue instead, cultural differences and degrees of social inequality are continuously maintained in stressing the relevance of *negotiation* and *translation*. Noble (2009: 51) notes that '*un*panic' in situations of diversity 'emerge[s] out of sustained practices of accommodation and negotiation'. However, rather than mainly heralding relatively stable relations, as Noble does, negotiation is on-going and the limits of negotiation need to be explored (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 7). This inevitably re-introduces the fragility of conviviality and its being in-process. The same holds true for *translation* between distinct, but concurring systems of meaning. Translation can be understood 'as a continuous process of re-articulation and re-contextualization, without any notion of a primary origin' (Hall and Chen 2005: 394). The practice of translation is part of cosmopolitan conviviality for Gilroy (2005: 8), which he juxtaposes to ethnocentrism as untranslatability. To translate references the acts of comparing, connecting and understanding processes and practices that at first seem irreconcilably different. The importance of the three basic practices of conviviality with which I engage hereafter has been frequently noted by scholars who studied living *with* difference. However, unlike much of the literature dealing with practices of conviviality in post-migration contexts only, my detailed comparison of Catalonia and Casamance will additionally reveal continuities and frictions concerning the practices of conviviality between both local social fields.

Rather than finding that the practices of conviviality contribute to a process of homogenisation, in Casamance – a region of longstanding diversity (Mark 2002: 88) – differences continuously matter in everyday life and have not been muted or rendered obsolete. Indeed, I argue that in Casamance diversity and difference are often integral parts of social practices and discourses about them. This resonates with recent descriptions of cities which are increasingly characterised by diversification (Vertovec 2009a), instead of increasing homogenisation. This is the case in Catalonia as well; for example, drawing from multilingual repertoires as well as engaging in

various forms of both linguistic and cultural translation, Casamançais engage in basic practices that encompass difference as well as mixing. Such living with difference is part and parcel of both my field sites in Catalonia and Casamance, despite variations between them.

Mutual avoidance and vigilance

Maintained differences, which can be embraced in interaction, however, can also foster mutual avoidance. Reviewing Furnivall (1948, 1945), Smith (1974: vii) reiterates that in plural societies 'groups of differing race and culture liv[e] side by side in economic symbiosis and mutual avoidance.' Smith's critique of consensual theory, blaming it for 'begin[ning] by assuming the normative consensual integration of all social systems' (ibid. xiii), is well taken. Stressing the need to seek a differentiated understanding of everyday life, it is an open question whether living with difference is founded on common values and willing submission to them, unwilling submission and coercion, or avoidance. This is of utter importance, since Goffman (2008 [1967]-b) leaves no doubt that in face-to-face interactions mutual avoidance is a key strategy of people fearing to lose face by acting inappropriately, a heightened risk if cultural differences complicate the communication process.

Leading on from this insight into micro-interactions, the balance of avoiding and seeking interaction needs to be closely evaluated in light of social control and vigilance which always bear the potential of negative social consequences. Choosing extreme examples, Vigh (2011) traces such negative potentiality in Guinea Bissau and Belfast from long-term conflict and uncertainty that has become ubiquitous.[22] People become hyper-vigilant, which

> is characterized by a constant awareness and preparedness toward the negative potentialities of social figures and forces … in environments where

[22] Global comparative studies on organised vigilante groups have dealt extensively with situations of uncertainty sometimes caused by the absence of the state monopoly of legitimate power and in which such groups exercise organised social control, frequently reverting to violence (cf. Pratten and Sen 2008; Kirsch and Grätz 2010).

> everyday life is constituted by flux and uncertainty rather than smooth chains of predictability. (Vigh 2011: 99)

In Casamance and Catalonia, the everyday life of Casamançais compares well to Vigh's description of flux and uncertainty. However, despite the Casamançais rebellion since 1982, violence does not penetrate the everyday life of local residents to the same extent. Nevertheless, people observe and enquire into the processes and people around them, trying to 'tell' from where risk will emanate. Rather than always keeping a distance, interaction and greetings are a preferred way of local residents to find out about new arrivals while at the same time establishing rapport (cf. Goffman 2008 [1967]-b: 41, note 30). In complex social situations, in which multiple differences overlap and intentions of those encountered can stem from various sources, being prudent and sometimes trying to avoid encounters are part of the everyday in both Casamance and Catalonia. It casts a doubt on people's commitment to conviviality, while at the same time offering a nuanced reading of minimal forms of sociality such as conviviality and civility.

Power, inequality and contestation

So far, we have seen basic practices of conviviality central in the conceptualisation of everyday living with difference. Interaction, negotiation and translation occupy a key role in processes which have been described as civil, cosmopolitan or, indeed, convivial. However, crucial caveats stem from two parallel developments: the possibility of everyday violence and avoidance relationships. Both have been identified as likely processes in view of having to live with difference. Another dimension closely linked to the above, is the question of (in)equality introduced by the difference between first-comers and late-comers, hosts or landlords and strangers, autochthons and allochthons.[23] As a consequence, I argue that, apart from negotiating cultural differences, conviviality is about contesting and accommodating power hierarchies and status differences.

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[23] Cf. Brooks (1993), Dorjahn and Fyfe (1962), Hilgers (2011: 35-41), Lentz (2006), Mouser (1975), Dorman (2007), and Sarró (2009). Another dimension in the Senegambia region emerged as stranger farmers, a form of seasonal labour migration (David 1980).

Discussing living with difference, the processes of a guest's reception and a stranger's social incorporation are clearly marked by the power differentials between patrons (hosts, landlords) and clients (strangers, guests, immigrants) (Gellner and Waterbury 1977; Scott 1977; Wolf 1966). *Teranga*, the Senegalese discourse on reception, is rather one-sided, stressing the obligations of the host and the legitimacy of expectations of guests (cf. Sylla 1980: 89-91). Throughout the subregion including Casamance, tensions and contradictions arise from granting strangers respect and thus social recognition, while potentially marginalising and excluding them from crucial forms of knowledge through secrecy.[24] Hierarchical, but reciprocal relations are commonplace. Yet they can change over time as Sarró's (2009) analysis of reversed power relations of the Baga initial hosts in Guinea and the Susu newcomers shows. While this can result in conflict, I argue that inequality can be sustained in situations in which actors continue to negotiate shared understandings. Such a process of conviviality reveals power contestations and may also contain degrees of social inequality. Even in urban settings where landlords and newcomers often cannot be clearly differentiated, power hierarchies and inequalities are part of the conviviality process.

So far, we have seen that living with cultural and social differences comes to the fore in various ways and at the intersection of a set of social practices. It raises the crucial question of how practices and representations of social relations mediate cultural differences as well as power relations and (in)equality structures in diverse societies. Setting conviviality in a field of related concepts, I discussed the basic practices of interaction, negotiation and translation taking both cooperative and conflictual situations into account. Despite challenges to the feasibility of interaction due to mutual avoidance and violent conflict, I uphold that these basic practices are part of the process from which minimal local consensuses emerge. Their *raison d'être* is the sharing of open spaces peacefully in diversity and with difference. Relying on

[24] Sarró (2009) argues this for Guinea. For parallel discussions of secrecy in Casamance, see de Jong (2002, 2007).

various processes and forms of interaction, consensuses are changing and conviviality remains malleable and alive.

Convivial space and neighbourhoods

Since I am concerned with social encounters including the most fleeting ones which happen between people who perceive one another as different, open spaces which in principle are accessible to all are the logical arena of conviviality. As with Goffman, open spaces like parks, streets and squares, generally referred to as public spaces, are those which 'tell us a great deal about [the] most diffuse forms of social organization' (Goffman 1966: 4). Yet more than the physical space, I am interested in the process in which space emerges from social practices, i.e. its social construction. For Low (2008: 128) this refers to 'the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space as mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict, and control.' Pushing it even further, Corsín Jiménez (2003: 140) speaks of space as a capacity, 'an instrument and dimension of people's sociality'. This is in contrast to seeing space as 'an *a priori* category of meaning' (ibid.) or as a given. Conceptualising space as a capacity of people's sociality and as constructed in social processes offers a way to understand how it becomes significant to people. Thus, open spaces become meaningful *convivial space* when it emerges from the process of living with difference that rests on the basic practices of interacting, negotiating and translating. Thus, the distinction of convivial space and open space parallels Appadurai's juxtaposition of locality 'as a dimension of value' and neighbourhood as the 'actually existing social form' (2005 [1995]: 178f). Subsuming locality under convivial space, I reserve it for more sustained encounters during which open space is temporarily appropriated.

When convivial space emerges from social practices in the situation of the neighbourhood park in Cerdanyola or the street scene in Casamance, the question arises of whether it also facilitates the reproduction of such practices. Once more the dynamic relationship between practices and their context is placed centre stage, this time in its spatial dimension. Writing of the Kabyle house, Bourdieu analyses 'how the sociospatial order is translated into bodily experience and practice' (Low 2008: 130; cf. Bourdieu 2007 [1977]) and habitus formed. As we have seen above, a new context can influence social practices and experiences. While this can be critiqued for

its structuralist stance, de Certeau's 'ways of operating' within the structures of context which are formed by the sociocultural practices of institutions, stress how people re-appropriate space by a multitude of tactical and creative practices of everyday life (de Certeau 1988: xiv-xv; cf. Low 2008: 129). This grants people agency to act differently in structured spaces, for example to Casamançais in Catalonia. Whether concerning conviviality in general or the social space that emerges from it, the ethnography will explore the processes that engage with the tensions between the plurality of human practice and the power of (different) contexts.

Apart from the various social fields, I primarily refer to neighbourhoods as the context of the encounters they contain. The differences of Casamance and Catalonia and the transnational migration in both their configuration and representations have an impact upon the make-up of neighbourhoods. On the neighbourhood scale (i.e. the space within walking distance) some level of familiarity with the local social field existed and most of the everyday encounters with difference took place there. The neighbourhood scale constitutes an interesting middle ground between the anonymity of cities and the familiarity of homes.

So far, I have presented my main research questions enquiring into the everyday practices of conviviality of Casamançais as local residents. Having introduced two of my main field sites in ethnographic vignettes, I initiated the reader into the diverse configurations, representations and practices of Casamançais lives. Afterwards, I have presented the main conceptual references of this thesis. Basing this analysis in practice theory and raising an awareness of three levels of analysis of diversity – configurations, representations, and encounters – I have introduced the bodies of literature informing my conceptualisation of conviviality and its space. Next, I introduce crucial methodological considerations.

1.4 Methodology

Talking about neighbourhood life, everyday fleeting encounters, everyday interactions, greeting and hanging out was not an interest I had in common with Casamançais. Often, they felt it was of secondary concern or self-evident. Still, it had been Casamançais migrants who had directed my attention to conviviality articulating their views on *convivencia* (Heil 2008) and remembering *cohabitation* in Casamance.

With the intention of comparing social practices and discourses of ways of living with difference in Casamance and Catalonia, I engaged with Casamançais in both field sites during 18 months of multi-sited fieldwork. Riccio (2011: 81f; cf. Hannerz 2003) points out that transnational fieldwork focuses on a chosen aspect of sociality and the dynamics related to it in the multiple field sites and the transnational social field. It follows that one cannot achieve a holistic understanding of all dimensions of locally lived lives. I constructed my field around practices and discourses of living with difference, which I had learned about in 2007 from my first informants. This led me to conceptualise conviviality as one important aspect of sociality involving a large variety of practices. Having chosen convivial practices as the basis for analysis, I consequently pay less attention to other aspects of the local and transnational social fields, such as remittances, work strategies and activities, or family and migrant community life.

I studied change over time and throughout the migration process by looking at both practices in, and representations of both locations. The aim was to see continuities and change between the different sites of my fieldwork, and to understand contradictions between representations and practices both locally and transnationally. Bearing the selectivity of every approach in mind, I now reflect on the following aspects: (1) ways of gaining access and constructing the field travelling between Casamance and Catalonia; (2) the actual field work and the different ways of gathering information; (3) the process of adjusting to the diversity of my

informants' backgrounds, statuses and trajectories, and them adjusting to me; and (4) memory, nostalgia and narration as potential factors in the comparison.

Gaining access

I designed the transnational fieldwork as a series of stays alternating between Catalonia and Casamance for two reasons: first, to increase the closeness and trust by returning to each field site; and second, to match my informants in both contexts by going to Casamance (and Dakar) with contact details of migrants' friends and family members and returning with details of migrant family members from Casamance (cf. Mazzucato 2008, 2009). In effect, both aspects importantly contributed to having access, and being tolerated and trusted. In Catalonia, I met many of my informants for the first time in 2007 while doing fieldwork on the social networks of Senegambian migrants for my M.Phil. thesis. Intermittent visits followed to Catalonia (summer 2008) to present the M.Phil. research, and to Senegal (January and February 2009) to prepare for doctoral fieldwork. Later in 2009, I returned to Catalonia (September-November 2009), before spending the main fieldwork period in Casamance (November 2009 - June 2010), and some weeks in Dakar (July). Afterwards I concluded the fieldwork in Catalonia with a longer stay in Catalonia (August-December 2010) and a short visit during Easter vacation in 2011.

Figure 2 Fieldwork timeline

In Catalonia, I gained access to the field in multiple ways. I relied on associations, encounters in open spaces, friends, cultural mediators in the local Mataró government and, at a later point, contacts from Casamance. I had organised my first

visit to Casamance through a key informant in Mataró, who introduced me to his brother in Dakar and his uncle in Ziguinchor. After these two visits I was welcomed back to both Catalonia and Casamance every time I returned. This created stronger bonds and a familiar and trusting atmosphere that I doubt I could have otherwise achieved in such a short amount of time. In particular, my return from Casamance to Catalonia in 2010 was special since I thereafter counted as a sort of semi-insider having acquired in their eyes a lot of knowledge about their places of origin.

In Casamance, I fully relied on the contacts I had been given in Catalonia. As a result, I encountered wide open doors receiving me as someone being sent by their family members, some of whom had been gone for a long time. Additionally, I brought back small presents from their family members and photographs of them. This at times was emotionally beautiful and at times challenging. Some of my informants had sent me on a mission either to tell family and friends a partially invented story of success, thereby reproducing the dream of a European life; or to tell them all about the hardship and misery of immigrants in crisis-ridden Spain to lower expectations, demands and social pressure on the migrants. Often, neither of the two was easily possible since I was perceived as a friend and therefore engaged in long and detailed inquiries going beyond my instructions.

In such situations of relative familiarity, following my ethical convictions and thus being upfront about my intentions of doing research had varying effects in both Catalonia and Casamance. For some, this spoilt the excitement and they initially reintroduced a distance, some most readily offered their help, and some did not care partially because 'doing research' and a 'doctorate' were of little significance to them. For the latter two, my endeavour was most often interpreted as a sort of apprenticeship which resembled the situation of a stranger arriving in a village who might decide to stay (cf. Chapter Five). I nevertheless kept reminding everyone of my role as a researcher and tried to explain the endeavour of a doctorate as best as I could.

Wanting to learn and soon afterwards knowing some of their mother tongues reinforced the friendly welcome, in both Catalonia and Casamance. I had started to

take lessons in Mandinka and Jola in Catalonia in 2009 and was able to engage in greetings and sustain the first rounds of questions inquiring into names, places of origin, family details and who I knew. In this way I was able to take part in and pick up on the diverse linguistic practices both in Casamance and Catalonia. Furthermore, I could get by in satisfying essential everyday needs of eating, drinking, bathing, sleeping, and going out somewhere or doing something. To do this in Mandinka and Jola and knowing some short phrases in Fula and Wolof was sufficient for me to gain sympathy for myself as a person and for my project.

Fieldwork in practice and different sources of information

In Catalonia, the 2009 'snowballing' from the Casamançais informants I knew in 2007 had increased the number of people from specific places of origin, i.e. Lower and Middle Casamance, in particular Ziguinchor and Sédhiou. Some relatives in Dakar became important contacts in transit. In Catalonia, most of my informants lived in Mataró, mainly in the Cerdanyola neighbourhood which gave me plenty of opportunity to develop a thick description of its open spaces. Additionally, I engaged often with Casamançais in a number of households in Sabadell and in Granollers that maintained links to the places of origin I studied in Casamance. In Casamance, I spent equal amounts of time in Ziguinchor and Sédhiou, the two regional capitals of Lower and Middle Casamance, respectively. Additionally, I visited some villages in their vicinity. In the Sédhiou region I learned much in Koussi and Sakar, two very dissimilar villages I will introduce in the ethnographic chapters. I stayed with migrants' families in all of these places apart from Ziguinchor, where I had a place to myself after an initial period with the Sambou family in Lindiane, the neighbourhood which remained centre stage for my fieldwork. It is around the places I stayed that I developed most familiarity with the complexity of urban configurations (see Maps 3-5).

In all of these locations, I mainly undertook participant observation, and conducted a total of 66 semi-structured, open-ended, recorded interviews focusing on the migration and life histories[25] of my key informants as well as ways of living together in Catalonia and Casamance. While those interviews with migrants (34) offered narratives and some comparative material, the interviews in Casamance with neighbourhood representatives, family members and friends provided me with two things: an orientation in the complex configuration of my Casamançais field sites and accounts of *cohabitation* in the region at large. However, the many more informal conversations during the time of participant observations of which I mostly took notes afterwards were an even more generous resource in trying to contextualise and understand the interactions I witnessed throughout the days I dwelled in the field. While much of the recorded information is a reproduction of official discourses, it is in the Casamançais' activities and informal discussions that the embodied practices, subjectivities, hopes and worries came to the fore.

I learned most about the actual production of conviviality from little conversations and longer discussions often involving several people, and by spending time with Casamançais. While I spent some time in open spaces on my own, observing the scenes that were going on, most of the time I accompanied my informants in whatever they were bound to do, apart from going to work.[26] As I reflect in Chapter Five, I also regularly touched base with Casamançais in their homes in Catalonia. Apart from the six households outside of Mataró that I visited regularly, I started most of my fieldwork days in one of the approximately ten households in Cerdanyola in Mataró sharing whichever activity everyone else was engaged in. Most of the contacts I followed up on in Casamance were from these households,

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[25] I am aware of the specific hermeneutical and phenomenological connotations of 'life history' as a method (e.g. Watson 1976). Also I am aware of critical reviews (e.g. Ortiz 1985). Ortiz, however, very clearly points out the advantages of 'life history' research which are all valid for participant observation.

[26] I acknowledge that the work place in itself would be interesting to study. Yet this was not the focus of my work and it additionally felt highly inappropriate in a time of crisis where work was rare and precarious, and with migrants without regular status who were thus without regular work.

many of which led me to peripheral neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor and Sédhiou and a number of households in the villages I visited. Furthermore, I followed up on a small number of households in Dakar. The migrant households were also the starting points of my explorations in Casamance.

Accompanying interlocutors in both Casamance and Catalonia, I went on numerous walks through the neighbourhoods, most of the time with a destination in mind, but not always. Sometimes we would also just sit somewhere outside to talk. Furthermore, celebrations of both private and public character (e.g. baptism as well as neighbourhood festivities) became regular events in which I took part mostly accompanied by Casamançais. All of this fed into the extensive ethnographic field notes I wrote every day.

Only late in the process of getting to know people – and with neighbourhood representatives in Casamance mainly upon a second encounter – did I record life or migration histories and directed our discussions to specific topics of concern to my research. I showed interest in their general sentiments towards the household, the block, the neighbourhood and the town; feelings about open spaces and instances of positive and negative interactions with others; attitudes towards linguistic, religious and cultural differences; most similar and dissimilar aspects of life between Casamance, (Dakar) and Catalonia, and changes in attitudes towards interacting in everyday life. As part of my ethical commitment, I stressed the informality, openness, equality and reciprocity between us throughout the research process. Much like everything else, the qualitative open interviews were intended to resemble everyday conversations (Rubin and Rubin 1995), and had a similar objective: getting to know each other, interacting in a friendly manner, and learning about the particularities of each-others' everyday lives with focus on their understanding and experience of everyday practices. Reactions to this approach were varied. Some remained at a rather superficial level of reflection while others went into meticulous detail. Many conversations continued during the full length of my fieldwork.

Finally, materials such as leaflets, websites, documents, songs, movies and photos I collected throughout my fieldwork or which were given to me, add the last

component to the multidimensional puzzle of sources of information that I draw on while engaging in this ethnography. These sources, too rich to be dealt with extensively in this thesis, thus serve to complement narratives and observations from the field, rather than to build a proper pillar in the analysis. All the data gathered in these various ways and locations form a solid basis to capture fleeting, ordinary and thus somewhat elusive practices of people in the everyday.

Adjusting to a diverse field as Casamançais adjusted to me

The members of the households where I spent time in Catalonia, as well as most other informants, had lived part of their life in Casamance. Although they shared regional origin, they ascribed to different ethnic groups, spoke several languages as mother tongues, and observed various religions. As an ensemble they quite nicely reproduced the diversity of the region itself (cf. Chapter Two). Apart from variation in ethnic, religious and linguistic background, I knew Casamançais of different educational backgrounds, professional experiences and ages. For example, while Fakeba Badji held a university degree from France, Mola Sambou had only attended primary school. While Fakeba had a professional job and lived with his family in a house, Mola was young, had recently arrived, was unmarried and shared a room with three others. Like these two migrants, most of my informants in Casamance were fluent in French, the main language of my conversations, thus comprising the better educated members of migrants' networks of families and friends. Economically, some households and families were rather at ease, while others struggled a lot. Also, some households socially seemed more settled than others; the latter showed more signs of being affected by recent or enduring transformations such as changing heads of households or the absence of male household members.

Among the migrants a second set of differentiations applied. Some had a close knit social network to rely on in Europe and Catalonia, while others did not. Some had migrated at a young age, while others were in their 40s and 50s and had to support their own families. They also differed in terms of time passed in Europe, legal status and the way they had made it to Europe. Some had taken a direct flight, others had

been smuggled quickly while another proportion had migrated stepwise having spent considerable time in transit spaces in sub-Sahara and North Africa, as well as in other European countries. Some of these differences matter for some of my informants and the analysis, and others can be discerned. Only when one of the above distinctions grows salient will I mention it in the ethnography that follows. Portraits of individual Casamançais interspersed in the text will provide a more complete picture of some key informants.

Legal status, economic insecurity and education background have methodological implications. Some recent work describes the West African migrants living with irregular status as hidden and/or vulnerable populations (van Nieuwenhuyze 2007: 76f). For example, the fact of having just arrived and being without socio-economic security or regular status may render interacting with a researcher rather unimportant and even uncomfortable for irregular migrants (cf. Cornelius 1982). While legal status was an issue for some, throughout my fieldwork I observed different levels of shyness and insecurity also among Casamançais struggling economically or finding it hard to comprehend the purpose of my presence. This, however, *never* limited the exhaustive hospitality I enjoyed wherever I went! Approaching the field through friends and acquaintances, dwelling with Casamançais in their homes, and spending time in unplanned ways provided the necessary flexibility to accommodate the needs of my informants, to establish confidentiality and trust, and for my presence to be consented.

A final obstacle in interacting with some Casamançais was language choice. While I eventually knew enough Mandinka and Jola to establish contact and open doors, in all other conversations I had to rely on French, Castilian and some English. Thus, the above mentioned bias towards those having received at least some formal education in French and those more apt in speaking languages or having spent more time in Spain was unavoidable.[27] Yet, while there was a language barrier and I preferred not

[27] The latter could be an illiterate migrant, who had picked up Castilian or French 'on the street', at work or in one of the classes run by the town hall.

to work with an omnipresent translator, spontaneous translation was sometimes incorporated in long afternoons spent together. In Catalonia, we struggled together to understand one-another with all of us being foreigners. And while I spent much time listening to conversations in foreign languages, my presence was often rewarded by having the main conversation in French, Castilian or English, so that I could follow. In addition, everybody in Casamance made a great effort to put someone speaking adequate French next to me, often a younger man. The language choice and not being used to long and self-reflexive discussions on the part of my Casamançais interlocutors, often put a natural pause to our discussions, leaving them to be continued another time.

Throughout my fieldwork, gender dynamics in the form of a relatively clear division into male and female spaces became salient at various instances. Wherever I spent time in groups watching TV, preparing tea or talking I was mainly able to join groups of men (with women occasionally joining in). Socialising with women turned out to be more difficult since apart from the gender divide, they more often felt a language barrier.[28] Finally, women were generally busier both in Casamance and Catalonia when at home completing the chores. Nevertheless, many women, mainly female relatives and wives of migrants who assumed quite a lot of autonomy in both locations were greatly informative partners offering a lot of valuable insights to my study.

Adjusting to all the different people I encountered during my fieldwork, I aimed at developing into a trustworthy companion in the everyday life of whoever became a part of this account. Nevertheless, as many anthropologists have stressed, I became aware of the effect of my subject position on the fieldwork situation, including the potential of reciprocity and constraints of asymmetry (cf. Okely 1992; Rabinow 1977). This did result in various levels of access with my informants adjusting a lot to my own questions and needs. Yet, it also occasionally caused challenges, mutual

[28] As Foucher points out, more men in Casamance enjoy formal schooling and thus are able to speak French while women receive less formal schooling and are more often fluent in Wolof than in French (cf. Foucher 2002a: 185; Juillard 1995; Dreyfus and Juillard 2005).

misunderstanding and disappointment. Receiving a stipend and thus obviously having the economic resources to hang around for a year studying social relations instead of aiming for economic success, and being a white unmarried male demanded a constant evaluation of closeness and distance. Similarly the mutual understanding of our possibilities and restrictions in terms of time and economic means was sometimes put off balance by strong hopes and expectations. Disappointments, sometimes quite openly expressed, became part of the fieldwork and complicated the research process. For example, I struggled to avoid being upset when even people I knew well skipped meetings or claimed to be too tired to answer my questions. In return, I could not become part of all the economic and building projects in Casamance that they suggested to me as their friend. Yet, these dynamics show that I had grown into the field being partially part of it as an acquaintance to some and a friend to others; in either case the differences between us remained. Although at the time of fieldwork I struggled with this, I only noticed afterwards that it actually reinforced my argument of living *with* difference.

Factoring time lag in

The question of comparison between Casamance and Catalonia I discussed with my informants and have to deal with myself is challenging since I did not move with the migrants themselves. Rather, I circulated between field sites in which Casamançais migrants then lived (their neighbourhoods in Catalonia), and field sites in which they used to live in the past where family and friends had stayed behind and which some of them used to visit on a more or less frequent basis (neighbourhoods and villages in Casamance). This disjuncture of people, place and time firstly demands my attention for processes of nostalgia, memory and narration, and secondly, of changes that have taken place in Casamance since the migrants left. Throughout my fieldwork I was aware of these contradictions and different qualities of my material at hand. Some of my informants were equally aware of differences between their accounts and actual social practices. Having done fieldwork in both Casamance and

Catalonia allows me to compare the discursive representations of my informants with actual practice both within and between the different field sites.

Furthermore, potentially nostalgic narratives about social and other relations at home and other places informed everyday practices. For example, remembering the ideal of anonymously providing food to people in need in Casamance greatly influenced the ways in which Casamançais evaluated neighbourly relations in Catalonia. The narrative of Casamançais solidarity, actual memories and past practices of solidarity equally informed the practices of Casamançais when I met them. In the following ethnography I show awareness for the different ways of explaining certain discrepancies by taking the time lag, memory and social transformations into account.

1.5 Thesis outline

In the foregone section, I introduced the comparative methodology accounting for ways of gaining access and ethical entry into the field, the different materials I collected, the ways I adjusted to the diversity of people I worked with and how they reacted to me, and finally questions of nostalgia, memory and narration. This lays the foundation for Chapter Two in which I will introduce the empirical background of Casamançais migration to Catalonia and the configurations and representations of diversity in both Catalonia and Casamance. Apart from describing the diverse configuration in both regions, the political discourses of living with difference which match Casamançais representations of *cohabitation* in French and *convivencia* in Castilian will take centre stage. The current Part One of the thesis thus conceptually, methodologically and empirically frames the ethnographic comparison which is to follow in Parts Two and Three.

Leading on from discourses on *cohabitation* and *convivencia*, Part Two – Observing conviviality – introduces the ethnography of living with difference, appreciating both cooperative and conflictual situations in open spaces. Analytically, I focus on the emergence of convivial space from interacting, translating and negotiating, three of

the basic practices of conviviality among local residents. Chapter Three focuses on the everyday experience at neighbourhood street corners and on squares, as well as in yards and hallways. My main attention is placed on fleeting encounters in transit, greeting and the inhabiting of open space; multilingual repertoires assume a central space in the analysis. In Chapter Four, I present how religious celebrations and festive events manifest and stage official conviviality while being spaces for the participants' sensuous ways of living with difference.

Part Three – Challenging conviviality – addresses selected alternative accounts of Casamançais' everyday lives in Catalonia and Casamance. Chapter Five explores time spent at home, aspirations to individualism and homogenising tendencies, aspects of Casamançais' everyday lives which initially suggest social closure, isolation or homogeneity, rather than living in and with diversity. It becomes apparent, though, that they all reveal aspects of (competing) ways of living *with* difference providing proof of the plurality of human practice between structural constraints and subjective choices. In Chapter Six I address migration and related social dynamics which influence the experiences of conviviality. I explore both the power relations between newcomers and hosts and the initial production and negotiation of *cohabitation* and *convivencia* as part of the same process. Power dynamics upon arrival which depend on other social categories than local resident, e.g. stranger and immigrant, interact with conceptions and practices of conviviality.

Contextualising conviviality and local everyday interactions in the migration histories of Casamançais, the ethnography is interspersed with portraits of some of the key figures of my fieldwork.

Part Four – Revisiting conviviality – concludes from the ethnographic evidence presented in Parts Two and Three evoking the key dimensions of living with difference. In Chapter Seven, I first situate the process of conviviality in open spaces. Its main thrust is put in the review of the three basic practices of conviviality – interaction, negotiation, translation – which emerge from the ethnography. Drawing conceptual conclusions from the four ethnographic chapters, I carve out the comparison between the two regions and the contradicting aspects of Casamançais'

everyday lives. The Conclusion answers the questions raised in the introduction and stresses that conviviality, although it is fragile and in process, is continuously about living with maintained differences. This I learned from choosing Casamançais perspectives in both Catalonia and Casamance. Having sketched the overall thesis outline, the next task is to provide background information on the Casamançais and Catalan configurations and representations of diversity, as well as on the migrations of Casamançais.

Chapter 2.

Migrations and diversities in Catalonia and Casamance

Having presented my conceptual interest in the process of conviviality in the introduction, in this chapter I engage with the regionally specific history of configurations of diversity, and various representations of living together in culturally diverse regions. Configurations and representations of cultural difference rely on multiply overlapping processes of institutionalised classifications along ethnic, religious, national, linguistic and other lines that people engage with in everyday life. Both constitute the framework in which conviviality, the fragile process of living with difference, takes place as everyday practice and lived experience. Furthermore, I briefly contextualise the migration of Casamançais, both in its historical development and geographical spread as another important dimension of their everyday experiences.

A note of caution concerns the use of categories and representations of popular discourses which can easily be misread as essentialising both the Casamançais interlocutors' identities and the representations of social practices. Rather than falling into this trap, I combine the review of regionally specific literature with efforts to represent recurrent categorisations and forms of 'prosaic essentialism' (Werbner 1997). We all try to avoid thinking and speaking in bounded, homogenised stereotypes full of prejudices, however, in practice this is what constantly happens (Grillo 2003). This chapter is meant to situate the reader in such a way as to be able to contextualise recurrent references to cultural configurations and essentialising, simplifying representations featuring in the ethnography of Parts Two and Three.

Early in this chapter, I present Casamance, its configurations of diversity, and concepts and discourses of *cohabitation*. The second section is dedicated to the migration of Casamançais and focuses on their outmigration while also keeping their potential return in mind. In the third section, I engage with Catalonia, its immigration history and policies of immigration and integration. I furthermore engage with recurrent themes in the Casamançais ways of relating to the new local

social field which draw on European, transnational and global discursive resources. In the ethnography of Parts Two and Three I will come back to common tropes from this chapter qualifying and contextualising them in everyday practices and processes.

2.1 Cohabitation in Casamance. Configurations and representations

> La Casamance semble ainsi placée sous le signe de la diversité, au point qu'on pourrait se demander si elle existe autrement que par sa différence et la coupure qui la souligne, si le sentiment casamançais ne semblait aussi solidement enraciné.[29] (Marut 1994b: 23)

Centuries of population movement have shaped the Casamance region which has resulted in the multi-layered contemporary configurations of diversity.[30] Despite popular discourse tending to ascribe the Middle Casamance (Sédhiou) to the Mandinka and the Lower Casamance (Ziguinchor) to the Jola, many different ethnic groups co-exist in these sub-regions where most of my interlocutors came from. At crossroads in the process of urbanisation and onward-migration, the regional capitals Ziguinchor and Sédhiou are particularly complex social fields with neighbourhoods that differ in their cultural and social make-up.

In this section, I explore the configurations of Lower and Middle Casamance and the discourses of my informants which draw on popular representations of diversity.

[29] Casamance thus seems to be placed under the sign of diversity, so much so that, if the sense of a Casamançais identity did not appear to be so firmly rooted, one could ask whether it exists at all apart from its difference and the division[s] running through it. (from French)

[30] The same argument could be made for the whole West Africa region (cf. Diouf 1994).

However, the Mandingisation process mainly in the Sédhiou region has led to the dominance of Mandinka concerning mainly the everyday language use and the Muslim religion. Similarly, Wolofisation in Ziguinchor in particular suggests strong cultural influences from Dakar and its Wolof speakers. Furthermore, I address the regional proximity of Casamance to Gambia and the Guineas which results in multiple national self-identifications and flexible uses of passports. It is in the realm of national identities and territories that the independence aspirations of the Mouvement des Forces Démocratique de la Casamance (MFDC) play out. Finally, I note how the Ziguinchor region in particular is marked by the religious diversity with Christians, followers of traditional religions and Muslims accounting for equal proportions of the population of some areas.

Discussing the configurations of the Casamançais local social field in a first section, I then address representations of everyday living with difference, taking both institutionalised discourses (Casamançais and Senegalese) and popular representations of *voisinage* (*siiñooyaa*), neighbourliness, and *cohabitation* (*bukinor*) into account. Important dimensions include the moral expectations of neighbours, cosmopolitan ideals of Casamançais, ethnic and religious *cohabitation* in Senegal, unifying discourses under the labels of Mandingisation and Wolofisation, and multinational kin networks.

Throughout this section I stress the constructive element of people's perceptions and representations of the Casamançais region, their neighbourhoods, and their everyday struggles with difference. The following account commences with the most current descriptions that were initially offered to me in response to having shown an interest in how Casamançais deal with cultural difference.

Historically complex: social configurations in Casamance

No one single group inhabits the *région naturelle de Casamance*[31]. Historically, today's most populous ethnic groups, Jola, Mandinka and Fula, all immigrated into the area. The Jola, whose presence was first documented on the Southern river banks of the Casamance River estuary, later spread into, and occupied, territories previously inhabited by Bainuk people (Roche 1985: 28-32; Linares 1992: 84-90). As a result the majority of the population in Lower Casamance sees itself as Jola. Likewise, the Mandinka came to settle the land of the Bainuk and became the westernmost representatives of the Mali Empire (Nugent 2008: 928; Roche 1985: 53-6; Quinn 1972). Both forcefully and peacefully converting local populations, the Mandinka represent the largest share of the population in Middle Casamance and culturally had a strong influence on all the other local groups.[32] Having once been nomadic herders, the Fula first settled in peaceful coexistence with the Mandinka in today's Upper Casamance (Quinn 1971; Bâ 1986: 60-5), yet in the second half of the 19th century they fought for their independence from the Mandinka (Bâ 1986; N'Gaide 1999; Quinn 1971).[33] Importantly, the Wolof, the ethnic group identified most with Senegal and certainly the most powerful in administration and commerce, are not very numerous in

[31] 'The natural region of Casamance' (from French). Speaking of the natural region is often used to challenge the administrative division of Casamance into two (until 2008) and later three (since 2009) regions (République du Sénégal 2008). However, the unifying discourse is equally contested (Faye 1994).

[32] Historical accounts have documented this process of conquest and warfare very closely (cf. Roche 1985; Linares 1992: 85-9). Others have stressed the peaceful spreading of Islam which had occurred beforehand (Dramé 2009). They also show that within all ethnic groups further differentiations prevail, sometimes drawing on linguistic, religious and status markers. Thus the Jola linguistically split into four languages and ten dialects (Sapir 1965). Culturally, they are divided into sub-ethnic groups, different socio-economic forms of organisation, and merely self-sustained villages at war with each other (cf. Thomas 1959; Pélissier 1958; Linares 1992). Among the Mandinka, a crucial differentiation was between the pagan 'Soninke' and the Muslim Mandinka stemming from the 19th-century religious jihads in the region (Leary 1971: 232f). This distinction, however, was not strongly remembered at the time of my fieldwork.

[33] The Fula are the Soudano-Guinean Fulbe and were given the name by the Mandinka (Bâ 1986: 60-79). Given that I only worked in the Lower and Middle Casamance, I refrain from a full exploration of the Upper Casamance. However, Fula moved as traders and herders throughout the region.

Table 1 Population of the Kolda, Ziguinchor, and Dakar Regions by Department and ethnicity, 2002

	Sédhiou		Bignona		Oussouye		Ziguinchor		Region Ziguinchor		Region Dakar	
Ethnicity	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Wolof	10,563	3.1	2,413	1.3	1,381	4	12,010	6.6	15,804	3.9	1,034,722	49.2
Fula	73,943	21.7	11,916	6.3	2,370	6.8	28,370	15.7	42,656	10.5	430,843	20.5
Serer	2,421	0.7	2,517	1.3	1,477	4.3	7,062	3.9	11,056	2.7	281,077	13.4
Jola	31,780	9.3	147,506	77.4	27,486	79.1	60,095	33.2	235,087	57.8	104,745	5
Bambara	2,471	0.7	909	0.5	132	0.4	2,713	1.5	3,754	0.9	43,712	2.1
Mandjak	23,288	6.8	2,018	1.1	233	0.7	11,928	6.6	14,179	3.5	40,939	1.9
Mandinka	137,372	40.3	15,128	7.9	717	2.1	29,371	16.2	45,216	11.1	35,461	1.7
Socé	13	0	15	0	11	0	389	0.2	415	0.1	28,870	1.4
Maure	505	0.1	1,461	0.8	76	0.2	553	0.3	2,090	0.5	22,581	1.1
Sarahole	1,415	0.4	745	0.4	202	0.6	1,901	1.1	2,848	0.7	23,188	1.1
Soninke	276	0.1	143	0.1	36	0.1	913	0.5	1,092	0.3	18,791	0.9
Balanta	42,509	12.5	1,982	1	205	0.6	9,462	5.2	11,649	2.9	7,857	0.4
Mancanya	6,470	1.9	368	0.2	226	0.7	8,999	5	9,593	2.4	9,170	0.4
Bainuk	4,274	1.3	2,647	1.4	63	0.2	4,385	2.4	7,095	1.7	4,178	0.2
Susu	138	0	123	0.1	34	0.1	578	0.3	735	0.2	4,220	0.2
Jahanka	1,822	0.5	362	0.2	42	0.1	1,106	0.6	1,510	0.4	2,262	0.1
Malinke	53	0	45	0	1	0	55	0	101	0	2,339	0.1
Creole	33	0	7	0	2	0	72	0	81	0	566	0
Jalonke	118	0	25	0	-	-	48	0	73	0	198	0
Other	1,195	0.4	287	0.2	58	0.2	1,029	0.6	1,374	0.3	8,669	0.4
Total	**340,659**	**100**	**190,617**	**100**	**34,752**	**100**	**181,039**	**100**	**406,408**	**100**	**2,104,388**	**100**

(Senegalese national census 2002, ANSD 2009)

Casamance (3.3% in Sédhiou Region, 6.6% in Ziguinchor Region in 2002, ANSD 2009).

A closer, comparative look at the Ziguinchor and Sédhiou regions reveals their distinct ethnic, linguistic and religious configuration which is more differentiated than conveyed by the main ethnic labels attributed to them. An approximation of the ethnic diversity, the census enumerates 19 ethnicities and 'others' (see Table 1). Apart from Mandinka, Jola and Fula, the next largest ethnic groups are Balanta, Mandjak, Mancanya, Wolof, Bainuk and Serer. While the north bank of Lower Casamance is dominated by Jola, the South Bank including the town of Ziguinchor has a track record of long standing ethnic diversity with Jola, in 2002, accounting for only a third of the population (ANSD 2005, 2009; Trincaz 1981; Pélissier 2008 [1966]: 886-91). This has led the local government to claim that '[ce] brassage ethnique fait de cette région

Table 2 First and second languages in Casamance by Department, 2002

Selected languages	Bignona		Oussouye		Ziguinchor		Kolda		Sédhiou		Vélingara	
language ratio	first	second	first	second	first	second	first	second	first	second	first	second
	1/0.6		1/0.6		1/0.8		1/0.3		1/0.4		1/0.2	
Balanta	0.7%	0.1%	0.4%	0.0%	3.5%	0.7%	1.4%	0.1%	11.5%	3.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Creole	0.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.4%	1.3%	4.1%	0.1%	0.9%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.5%
Jola	77.7%	11.4%	82.9%	4.1%	30.6%	5.4%	1.5%	0.5%	8.9%	3.3%	0.8%	0.3%
Mancanya	0.2%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	4.7%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Mandinka	10.5%	20.3%	1.6%	1.7%	20.5%	12.5%	8.3%	9.5%	44.8%	51.9%	5.5%	7.0%
Mandjak	0.9%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	5.5%	0.4%	0.3%	0.0%	6.7%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%
Fula	4.9%	1.3%	4.8%	0.6%	12.1%	2.0%	70.8%	27.8%	21.0%	5.4%	82.9%	30.3%
Wolof	2.7%	42.6%	5.5%	50.5%	14.8%	61.5%	12.1%	38.0%	3.2%	23.1%	1.6%	28.3%
French	0.1%	21.9%	0.2%	41.0%	1.2%	10.9%	0.1%	20.4%	0.0%	10.4%	0.3%	26.4%
others	2.2%	1.8%	3.6%	1.6%	5.8%	2.2%	5.1%	2.8%	2.0%	1.4%	8.6%	7.0%
total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Senegalese national census 2002, ANSD 2009)

l'une des plus cosmopolites du Sénégal.'[34] (ANSD 2007b: 12). A good share of the Ziguinchor population confirmed this cosmopolitan outlook (cf. de Jong 2007: 100).

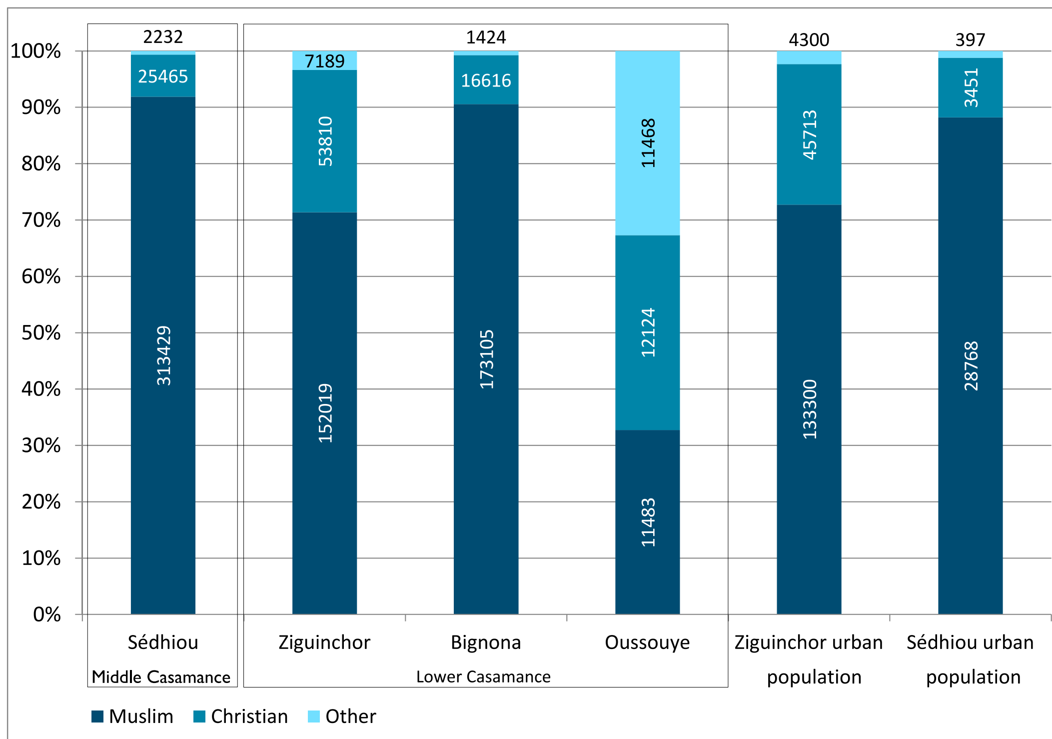
To the contrary, the Middle Casamance enjoys a perception of being the heartland of the Mandinka, although large shares of both Jola, Fula and, south of the Casamance River, Balanta also inhabit the territory (Schaffer 1976, 2003).[35] Ethnically, both regions are mixed which becomes even clearer on the level of comparing peripheral neighbourhoods of Sédhiou and Ziguinchor, something I return to below. The major differences between the Ziguinchor and Sédhiou regions are linguistic and religious ones.

The 2002 census gives an idea of first and second languages spoken (see Table 2). In Ziguinchor four in five people named a second language, while in Sédhiou it was only two in five. In Ziguinchor, the most common first languages are Jola, Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Mandjak and Mancanya, while Wolof prevails as second language before Mandinka and French. In Sédhiou, Mandinka is clearly most frequently

[34] 'This ethnic mixing renders this region one of the most cosmopolitan of Senegal.' (from French)

[35] Towards the Gambian border, there is additional diversity due to Tukulor and Wolof immigrant groups. Roche (1985: 117) historically also documents the presence of Sarahole and Mandjak in Sédhiou.

Chart 1 Religious diversity in Sédhiou, Ziguinchor and Dakar, by Department and Region, 2002



(Senegalese National Census 2002, ANSD 2009)

spoken as first and second language, followed by Fula as a first, and Wolof as a second language. It is safe to conclude that Mandinka and Wolof are regionally *linguae francae* in situations of continued linguistic diversity. However, the linguistic repertoire of most Casamançais extends beyond knowing a mother tongue and one further language. Often, they additionally converse in the *lingua franca* of the neighbourhood (de Jong 2007: 103), a language of commerce such as Wolof or Creole (which for some is known through having grown up in Guinea Bissau and because of the Creole population of Ziguinchor stemming from its Portuguese colonial past), or indeed the official language, French. In practice, I learned that these can be quite minimal language skills.

Religiously, the Lower Casamance is the region of Senegal that is the most heterogeneous (see Chart 1). Acknowledging neither multiple affiliations nor syncretic beliefs of the population, the census shows that all departments of the Lower and Middle Casamance have a share of between 7 to over 30 per cent Christians and shares of adherents of traditional religions of up to 35 per cent. Not

surprisingly, religious pluralism has been the subject of much study (Trincaz 1981; Baum 1986, 1990, 1999; Roche 1985; de Jong 2007).[36] While substantial evidence of syncretism exists, people's adherences to different Muslim brotherhoods was granted little importance in Lower and Middle Casamance. This has recurrently culminated in the popular statement that Muslim brotherhoods (possibly mainly referring to the political influence of the Murid brotherhood, but also new conservative movements such as the Ibadu) were limited to the north.[37] Thus, the major difference that was debated in Casamance was between Muslims and Christians, which both are, to a larger or lesser extent, syncretic. This becomes most obvious in the continuous practice of initiation rituals and the presence of sacred forests and shrines for adherents to both Muslim and Christian beliefs (cf. de Jong 1999, 2007; Gable 1995; Mark 1992; Baum 1999; Tomàs 2005; Schaffer 2003).

While the statistics show that the Middle and Lower Casamance are actually quite different according to their ethnic and religious composition, what matters most is the overall complexity of the population composition. This cultural heterogeneity is amplified in the regional capitals, Ziguinchor and Sédhiou which have grown continuously over the last 100 years from less than 1000 inhabitants to over 200,000 and 19,000 respectively (ANSD 2010: 9; ANSD 2007a: 13).[38] Subsequently, I introduce neighbourhoods in Ziguinchor and Sédhiou to give an idea of how this diversity manifested itself.

Both Ziguinchor and Sédhiou share common roots in having been Bainuk settlements which were developed as administrative and commercial centres, first by

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[36] Baum traces the routes of Jola religion back to the 17th century, while influences of Christian and Muslim conversion only started in the 19th century and largely stayed on the north shore of the river (Baum 1990, 1999, 1986). Foucher (2005a) also develops the impact of Christian conversion on the Casamançais independence movement.

[37] Note that this picture would be likely to change if I had taken Upper Casamance into account where Medina Gounass is a major religious pilgrimage site for the Tijaniyyah brotherhood to which the majority of Casamançais Muslims belong (cf. N'Gaide 2002; Smith 2009b).

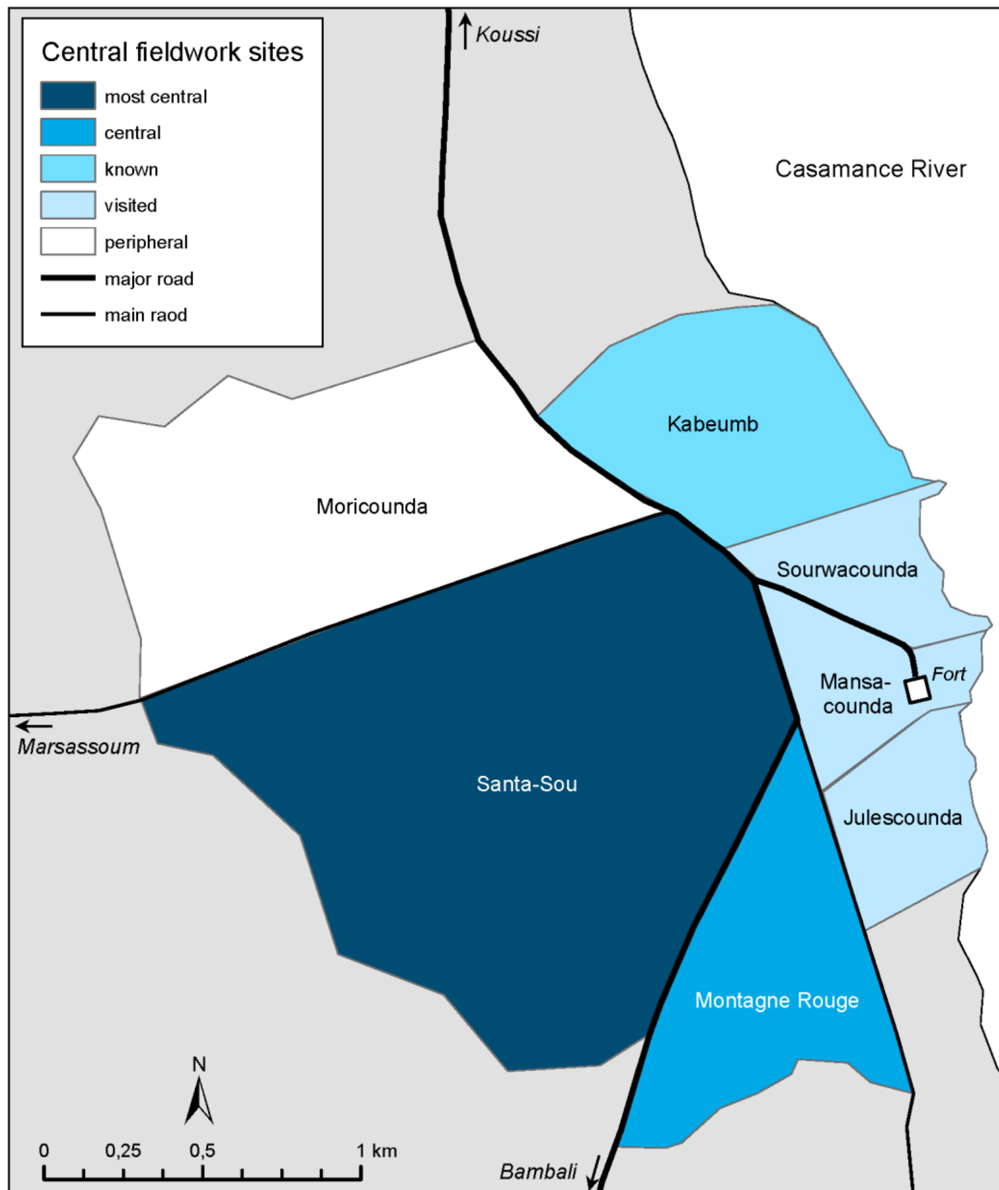
[38] Cf. also Bruneau (1979), J. Trincaz (1981), P. Trincaz (1984), Service de la Statistique Générale (1953), Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (1992) and ANSD (2005).

the Portuguese (Ziguinchor until 1886) and then the French. As a result of rapid rates of urbanisation and increase in immigrant labour, peripheral neighbourhoods of both Ziguinchor and Sédhiou grew in size. Lindiane, of which I portrayed the main Boulevard in the introduction, spans developed land in the east and spontaneous settlements in the west. Similarly, this is the case of Santa-Sou in Sédhiou (see Map 5). Both are being further developed and increasingly provide basic infrastructure in an effort to regularise residence structures. As a result, several waves of immigrants from different parts of the subregion and cultural traditions overlapped in these newer neighbourhoods. Although early Lindiane and Santa-Sou housed mainly labourers and not administrators or major traders, by the 21st century they had become socially mixed neighbourhoods with large houses of successful families, including those of increasing numbers of *émigrés*, emigrants to Europe, and basic village style houses of recently arrived migrants, partly from Guinea Bissau. Thus, both Ziguinchor and Sédhiou had developed into multi-ethnic, permeable urban spaces not unlike the sprawling neighbourhoods of Dakar.[39]

Casamançais villages, too, varied according to their history of specific ethnic and religious composition. Koussi, a village in Middle Casamance was closest in its social and cultural makeup to the regional capitals since it was founded only in 1948 for labourers of the Compagnie Génerale des Oléagineux Tropicaux (CGOT) who came from all over the subregion (cf. David 1980: 446-51; Diallo Cô-Trung 1998). Other villages, however, were relatively homogenous such as Sakar, a Mandinka village in the heartland of the Pakao holy land (Schaffer 2003, 1980). The only non-Mandinka were a few Fula shop owners, a Jola worker at the rural development agency and two immigrant families who had come during the independence war of neighbouring Guinea Bissau and lived at the edge of the village. Other villages were also labelled according to the ethnicity of the founder, whether or not their population had diversified.

[39] Dakar, especially the suburbs and working class neighbourhoods were important as spaces of transit, yet their analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis (cf. Ndiaye 2008: 409-10).

Map 5 Sédhiou neighbourhoods



In the peripheral neighbourhoods of towns more than in villages, Casamançais were rubbing shoulders with Bissau Guinean labour migrants who had come over during the 20th century and ex-refugees from Guinea Bissau's bloody independence war between 1960 and 1975.[40] Bissau Guineans and Casamançais share many ethnicities whose historical rootedness in Casamance varies (mainly Bainuk, Jola, Mandinka, Mancanya, Mandjak and Balanta). Despite conflictual episodes, they had acquired 'an art of living in profound harmony with the environment where they lived' (Trincaz 1984: 160, my translation) sharing some basic forms of social organisation. However, prejudices stemming from initial experiences and ethnic stereotypes remained among local residents which Casamançais interlocutors often cited to explain the residential marginality of the Mancanya, the wealth of the Mandjak or the illicit intentions of the Manoj (Bissau Guinean Balanta), for example.

To the contrary, hardly any Wolof or other northern Senegalese lived in these peripheral neighbourhoods. They tended to be in the more central, commercially active neighbourhoods where the administration was also located (cf. Bruneau 1979: 125-38; Trincaz 1984: 83f, 164-71). Before independence, northern Senegalese acted as mediators and representatives of the French colonisers and worked for the French houses of commerce (Roche 1985: 117-24; cf. Meguelle 2008; Kebe 2006). In Sédhiou, this was reflected in naming a central neighbourhood *Sourwacounda*, Sourwa being the Mandinka term for Wolof/northerner. After independence, the Wolof took over from the French in administration, something perceived as the 'continuation of colonial rule by *nordistes* ('northerners')' (de Jong 2007: 99). Since the 1980s, increasing numbers of local Casamançais administrators have entered local institutions, yet the feeling of being marginalised by the *nordistes* and subject to their political and economic dominance has persisted among large shares of the Ziguinchor population (Foucher 2002a). This was also increasingly felt in Sédhiou, the heartland of the Mandinka, where Wolof was slowly gaining ground.

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[40] Furthermore, Fula refugees also came from Guinea Conakry (de Jong 2007: 100), a migration movement that was not part of popular accounts of the interlocutors in Lower and Middle Casamance.

At the time of my fieldwork, most inhabitants of regional Casamançais capitals were from the subregion. Officially documented international immigration in Casamance was low at only three per cent of the total population which suggests that at least some of the continuous border-crossing mobility remained undocumented (ANSD 2008: 14, 39).[41] Still, certain foreigner categories were central in the Casamançais' categorisations, such as *tubab* referring to Westerners, or certain nationalities and foreign ethnicities that they imbued with specific meaning (cf. Chapter Six).

Despite other classifications, co-resident was the most salient category of people who mattered for conviviality in neighbourhoods. While other studies concerned with local sociality focused on the rich associational life in Senegalese and Casamançais towns and villages (cf. Reveyrand 1986; Fassin 1987; Weil 1976; Jettinger 2009), in the following I will review less organised, but nevertheless institutionalised forms of sociality enacted among co-residents: conviviality.

Representations of *cohabitation* in Casamance and its challenges

Having described the diversities of Casamance and its villages and neighbourhoods of Sédhiou and Ziguinchor raises the question of how people engaged with these multiple, overlapping differences. Trying to explain to me what everyday life among neighbours was all about my interlocutors used the French words *cohabitation* (living together) and *voisinage* (neighbourliness) interchangeably. In their mother tongues Casamançais most often referred to variations of *bukinor* (Jola) and *siiñooyaa* (Mandinka). Although the literal meanings of *bukinor* and *siiñooyaa* diverge, they are closely linked. *Bukinor* stems from the Jola verb –*kinor*, to live together. *Bukinor* thus translates into *cohabitation*. The Mandinka *siiñooyaa,* however, contains the noun

[41] For the Casamance regions, the average international immigrant population is higher than for Senegal overall (just 2%). Given the low level of international immigration and the open-door policy of the Senegalese government since independence, no serious restrictions were placed on international immigration (Fall 2003). Furthermore, within Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) the free-movement of people was implemented between 1979 and 1994.

siiñoo, the neighbour, paralleling *voisinage*. This close link of *voisinage* and *cohabitation* and their interchangeable use manifest the centrality of neighbourliness and actually shared residency for living together with difference. Several elements informed this discourse of *cohabitation*, which I will now address in turn to establish the basis of popular representations of living with difference. It is worth noting that some of these discourses were further elaborated as I continuously asked them to explain local social relations to me.

A popular argument put forward by Casamançais interlocutors was that the importance of a neighbour, the *cohabitant*, emerged in a situation in which kin relations were limited due to living far apart. This was substantiated in the phrase 'Ton voisin est ton plus proche parent.'[42] In a diverse urban setting, I was recurrently told that all people should be treated alike, whether or not they belonged to your household or family. The discourse of *cohabitation* stressed the practices that contributed to peaceful living with difference. This frequently implied mutual help, support and sharing. However, among local residents this tended to be less than among kin. The envisioned behaviour was one of respect, consultation, consideration and forgiving. In the discussions a strong normative framework became apparent which prescribed what was possible or not, wanted or not, and good or bad in everyday encounters with neighbours regardless of their difference. Casamançais thus quietly acknowledged differences and built them into their conception of sharing the same locality. This mainly resulted in reducing expectations of solidarity, but keeping *cohabitation*.

At the basis of *cohabitation* was the idea of equal standing in mixed neighbourhoods, something that Souleymane Faty, a well-educated school administrator in his mid-forties, described clearly for Santa-Sou in Sédhiou:

> [Concerning] the occupation of plots, you go to whichever neighbourhood, you will find the house of a Fula, the house of a Mandinka, and the house of

[42] 'Your neighbour is your closest relative.' (from French)

> so and so. We do not say: 'Here, we don't give [a plot] to these people who just arrived.'[43] (03/2010)

Similarly, Jean-Philippe Djiboune, an elderly Christian Jola in Sédhiou, confirmed that people could choose where to live according to whom they wanted to live close to. He stated that if a Jola, a Fula, a Balanta and a Mandinka were friends, one being Christian, the other one Muslim, they would settle where there was enough room for all of them. Even in Sédhiou, the more provincial town in comparison to Ziguinchor, this discourse of mixing prevailed. While certain segments of neighbourhoods in both Sédhiou and Ziguinchor could be ascribed to one ethnicity, the descriptions of other parts varied widely among my interlocutors since they were too mixed to evoke a uniform interpretation. Some Casamançais openly admitted missing an overview of the complexities encountered in such neighbourhoods. As a result, Casamançais were very aware of the diverse cultural dynamics of the places they lived in and the differences between the people there. The limited knowledge, however, also supported stereotyping, something I will turn to below.

Apart from neighbourliness which concerned all local residents, *cousinage* – the joking relationships on various levels between ethnic groups, village units, and between certain family names – is a crucial way of engaging with difference in Senegal (de Jong 2005; Smith 2006, 2010). This resource, however, seemed to be too specific to play out in short and ordinary everyday interactions with people who were not well known. Only occasionally, Casamançais referred to *cousinage* openly to explain their means of getting along and resolving conflicts, for example. In everyday life, Casamançais interlocutors referred to less specific means of communication that would easily include everyone, instead of only specific joking partners. Especially among the younger interlocutors, it was often unknown who the relevant joking partners were and how joking relations were correctly performed. Rather than

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[43] French: '[En ce qui concerne] l'occupation des terres à Sédhiou, dans n'importe quel quartier, vous allez là-bas, vous allez trouver la maison d'un Peul, la maison d'un Mandingue, vous allez trouver la maison d'un tel. On dit pas: «Ici, ces gens-là qui viennent d'arriver, on va pas leur donner [un terrain] ici.»'

formal *cousinage*, humour was a truly important resource which happened in 'language games', the playful engagement with the various linguistic and cultural resources available in the social situation (cf. Parkin 1974: 192-6).[44] It mainly contributed to the sustained encounters of *causeries*, groups of people chatting.

Furthermore, intermarriage and mixed parentage were more present than *cousinage* among Casamançais in urban settings.[45] People intermarried both between ethnic groups and religious affiliation, although Christians often complained about the bias towards having to convert to Islam upon marrying into a Muslim family, while Muslims would hardly ever convert to Christianity. Often, however, this seemed to be a formal concern since Christians regularly continued their own religious practices or re-converted at a later stage of their lives. Apart from justifying substantial flexibility in everyday interpretations of both ethnic and religious affiliations (the latter also mirroring high levels of syncretism), intermarriage also explained some people's multiple mother tongues and certain situational religious and ethnic identifications. For example, some Muslims would break eating and drinking taboos when accompanying their Christian friends or kin.

On a larger scale, ethnic and religious *cohabitation* were tightly linked in the discourses of living with difference. Casamançais insisted on the regionally peaceful coexistence of Muslim, Christian and regional religious traditions. This is not surprising given that some ethnic groups embraced followers of various religions (e.g. Jola), and religious membership bridged ethnic divides. Furthermore, the continued relevance of traditional beliefs combined religion and ethnicity. The practise of traditional beliefs was widespread while also being regular church goers or following the Muslim daily routine. Mixed families and neighbourhoods were another case in point. Ethnic and religious *cohabitation* was also discursively linked,

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[44] To fully grasp the various dimensions of humour as factors in everyday social relations remains a future topic of research.

[45] There are early examples of intermarriage, even with northerners (e.g. Roche 1985: 181, between Wolof and Jola).

since the mixed Muslim-Christian cemetery of Ziguinchor, which Casamançais believed to be unique in Senegal, became a prominent emblem for both groups.[46]

In contrast to a specific Casamançais reading, religious *cohabitation* was also exemplified referencing the Senegalese *dialogue islamo-chrétien* (Muslim-Christian dialogue) of religious and state authorities, which my interlocutors interpreted as an affirmation of the freedom of religion and peaceful co-existence (cf. KAS 2012). The mutual delegations to important Muslim and Christian pilgrimage sites and during the major religious festivities were prominent examples showing how Muslims and Christians should embrace each other. Furthermore, Casamançais regularly quoted media coverage of such events as well as discussions of local imams on the differences and commonalities of both religions (cf. Smith 2012). Critiques of the mutual beliefs were raised more cautiously, mainly debating the roles of Jesus and Mohammed, differences in religious observance and imbalances in intermarriage practices. However, the overarching pride of the Senegalese tradition of largely peaceful coexistence of Muslims and Christians did not preclude any conflicts or tensions due to religion or ethnic belonging. This unifying discourse glossed over contested subjects among Casamançais, such as the perceived domination of Muslims, the non-recognition of religious differences, or family disputes. However, religious *cohabitation* was a strong regional and national discourse having a lasting impact on people’s perception of living with difference.

Relying on some or all of these factors, many Casamançais both in Catalonia and Casamance constructed the image of Casamance as a multilingual, interethnic, interreligious and truly cosmopolitan region. They themselves identified as multilingual, worldly, open-minded, flexible, considerate and well-travelled. Whether or not this was the case, the claim to such virtues was frequently made – partially explaining why *cohabitation* was possible in the first place. Multilingualism was frequently chosen to score their point; those who were particularly eager tried to

[46] Foucher (2005a: 381) notes, however, that the same claim exists in the north of Senegal, in Joal-Fadiouth. He further notes that this aspect of religious pluralism has not been dealt with.

boast of their multilingual abilities using synonyms for the same language or naming every minor dialect as well. For example, Mandinka was mentioned as both Socé, the Wolof term for Mandinka, and as Mandinka. Additionally, Mandinka neighbours in particular were teased for imposing their language everywhere and being rather poor at developing multilingual repertoires. Instead of speaking to actual facts in urban neighbourhoods, stereotypes were reproduced that had some grounding in everyday life.

In certain places and among specific people, the cosmopolitan outlook of Casamançais shifted due to a number of overlapping processes. While on the ethnic level, ever more specific ways of identifying became salient at times, at others it was claims made to the homogenising processes of Mandingisation or Wolofisation. Given their decentralised historical organisation on a village basis, Jola were most prone to stress cultural and linguistic differentiation. Furthermore, Casamançais under the influence of Mandingisation tried to manifest their cultural distinctiveness; for example, Balanta and Fula in Middle Casamance. One distinctive element of *cohabitation* was its ability to accommodate difference, which homogenisation processes challenged.

Mandinka prevailed among all the ethnic groups in Middle Casamance, and certain neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor, which shows the extent to which neighbouring ethnic groups had been assimilated, *mandinguisé*.[47] Parallel processes contributing to this effect were the Mandinka-led religious jihads proselytising Islam and their accompanying geographical expansion (Leary 1970, 1971) which led to accepting Mandinka forms of hierarchical social organisation such as a gendered division of labour, principles of seniority, and the hierarchical incorporation of strangers (cf. Linares 1992). The level of Mandingisation varied from site to site. In Ziguinchor, for example, de Jong (2007: 114-27) took the participation of all ethnic groups in the Mandinka circumcision ritual (*kuyandingo*) as an expression of their Mandingisation.

[47] For an overview of the complex processes, cf. Thomson (2011). For further accounts of cultural appropriations cf. Hamer (1983) and Pélissier (2008 [1966]). See also Dramé (2006, 2009) on the early spreading of Islam. For religious conviviality see also Trincaz (1981).

Yet ethnic re-appropriations of the same ritual showed the importance of particular ethnic origins. Similarly, Mandinka was used widely as a *lingua franca*, however, most inhabitants reaffirmed their distinct ethnic identities against provocative claims that since they had lost their language, they also had lost their culture. Claiming ethnic difference fitted well with the strengthening of ethnic and regional identities in the Senegalese 'national political economy of difference' since the 1980s (de Jong 2007: 126; cf. Smith 2012). *Cohabitation* gained relevance in this situation in which difference was emphasised rather than glossed over.

While I continued to learn about differences, Casamançais themselves did not focus on heterogeneity alone. As we saw above, they engaged in several forms of unifying discourses and practices on the regional level setting Casamance more or less consciously apart from the rest of Senegal.[48] Frequently, however, Casamançais also re-embedded the region in the national state of Senegal. This inevitably caused contradictions between various, co-existing discourses. Many of those favouring national unity also supported on-going Wolofisation. The homogenising force of Wolof manifested itself in everyday matters of the younger generations, initially girls, who used it as the language of the school yard, leisure, dating and the market place (cf. Dreyfus and Juillard 2005; Juillard 1995, 2005). To them, Wolof was an inclusive language which was easily learned and adjusted to local uses incorporating elements of the speakers' respective repertoires. Strengthening the role of Wolof as a national homogenising force, some argued that the Senegalese state should adopt Wolof instead of French as the official language to increase its 'African authenticity' (cf. Swigart 2000). Others, however, resisted Wolofisation due to the negative morality stereotypically attributed to the Wolof (cf. Foucher 2002a: 184-89).[49] Furthermore, they thought of Wolof as a poor language and continued to embrace Senghor's policy of establishing equality among all ethno-linguistic groups of

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[48] See also the accounts of processes of Casamançais unity in Barbier-Wiesser (1994).

[49] On the development of Wolofisation, cf. Wioland and Calvet (1967), Cruise O'Brien (1975, 1998), Swigart (1990, 1994), and Gal and Irvine (2000).

Senegal favouring French as Senegal's official language. The latter felt an urge to acknowledge cultural differences while supporting the Senegalese national project.[50]

The Casamançais involvement in the national Senegalese project also manifested in their claim that Senegal is the country of *teranga*. *Teral* in Wolof means 'to receive', thus *teranga* means all the practices of receiving a foreigner which go beyond a general understanding of hospitality.[51] It is central to the Senegalese national identity and although it is also lived in Casamance it supersedes the south and is part of the self-perception of all regions and all ethnicities of Senegal. As a Wolof principle, *teranga* holds that guests can expect everything from their hosts for as long as they stay. This was regularly brought forward as the main way of receiving people different to oneself, strangers and other Senegalese alike. Belief in the value of *teranga* counterbalanced the negative images of northerners and the Wolof. Casamançais reconciled their appropriation of *teranga* with their bitterness concerning the north and spoke of it as 'African' solidarity and hospitality more broadly or claimed the exceptional *hospitalité* of their respective ethnic groups.

Casamançais at a very general level sustained a sense of autonomy from the Senegalese nation-state which can be contextualised in historical, ethnic and current political factors. Historically, the region had enjoyed *de facto* autonomy during long periods of French colonial rule which was justified by the natural geographical separation of the region (Foucher 2002a: 128-30).[52] The geographical separation matches a cultural one in reference to ethnic and religious configurations discussed here. Locally understood 'Casamançais' values were considered to be different from the negatively connoted ones of the northern Senegalese traders, the *moodu-moodu*. Foucher (2002a: 187-9) argues that the well-educated Jola disapproved of, what they considered, the uneducated, dishonest, cunning, vulgar, entrepreneurial Wolof. I

[50] For a succinct analysis of the various interpretations of the Senegalese national history to which these popular representations could be related, see Smith (2012, 2006, 2009a).

[51] Cf. the work of Gasparetti (2011, 2009) on food and migration, and the rearing of children of migrants with distant relatives in Senegal.

[52] Cf. note 31.

argue that for the Mandinka it was a more straightforward loss of regional dominance that they experienced which was reflected in their reluctance to speaking Wolof.

Politically, the inclusion of Casamance into the nation-state remained a subject of continuous debate, which, in light of the separatist rebellion led by the MFDC, was regularly silenced.[53] In everyday discussions, the rebellion was a rare argument put forward with very different intentions. Among my interlocutors, the critique of the movement loomed larger than its support, independent of shared concerns over the marginal position of Casamance. All Casamançais interlocutors disapproved of the violence of the MFDC and presented the conflict as one cause of the regional developmental gridlock and sometimes as the reason for their personal decision to emigrate.

At the time of my fieldwork and in reference to everyday life the rebellion had its most salient effect in the moments of actual confrontation when public life halted for the limited time in which gunfire in the proximity of Ziguinchor could be heard. Given the length of the conflict (since 1982) and its perpetual interference in people's lives (a sense of insecurity, the media coverage of crimes committed and having to discuss the conflict when in the north of Senegal) many Casamançais had become somewhat inured to it and it was commonplace for them to maintain ordinary activities in neighbourhoods. Despite negative potentialities arising from the fear of violence (cf. Vigh 2011; Green 1994), and in view of the 'normality' of living next door to armed conflict, Casamançais were convinced that *cohabitation* needed to go on and were willing to contribute to it.[54] In contrast, Casamançais admitted being more reluctant in regards to *teranga*, fearing the negative intentions of foreigners staying in their midst.

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[53] For more details on the diverse aspects of the conflict, see, for example, Evans (2005, 2009) Foucher (2003, 2006, 2009, 2011), de Jong (2005), Lambert (1998), and Marut (1994a, 1996, 2010).

[54] During my fieldwork I did not witness any attacks on northerners or foreigners which de Jong (2007: 101) quotes to explain why many Wolof actually left Casamance.

Independent of ideological independence aspirations of Casamançais or their dissatisfaction with national Senegalese politics (cf. Foucher 2002a, 2002b), flexible ways of identifying nationally also played in. It continues to be common place that kin networks reach across the borders to Guinea Bissau, Gambia and Guinea Conakry.[55] As a consequence, nationality was of limited significance to many Casamançais interlocutors. Some Casamançais held Senegalese, some Gambian and others Guinean nationality. Also, people easily claimed double nationality, or changed it if so required by the specific situation in which they found themselves. While among Casamançais youth a nationalist Senegalese discourse was growing, for many Casamançais official papers like passports and birth certificates mainly remained a means to overcome certain bureaucratic hurdles. These items were still rarely seen as determining someone's identity. This did not imply that Casamançais were indifferent to national politics. Rather, many at least shared an interest in the national developments of more than one West African state.

Summary

In the above section, I have discussed several processes of differentiation and homogenisation, which are underway simultaneously. This is not surprising given the religious, ethnic, linguistic and national diversity of the Casamançais social field and the subregional context in which it is embedded. In a situation of maintained differences, a discourse of *cohabitation* is crucial to understanding the ways in which people who are different get along in everyday life. As a part of it, Casamançais constructed their identity as open-minded, multilingual, considerate and respectful. Some of it was certainly related to actual experiences of interethnic and interreligious mixing, which is on-going in Casamance and beyond. On the other hand, Casamançais were aware of homogenising forces which challenged the conscious efforts of *cohabitation*, the local discourse of living *with* difference. Wolofisation and

[55] Concerning Senegal and Gambia, this is even stronger since they had formed a political federation between 1982 and 1989.

Senegalese nationalism were only two examples. The opposition to national homogenisation was one way to contextualise the independence aspirations of the MFDC. Although its violent actions were openly rejected by all interlocutors, its aspiration to ascertain the relevance of Casamançais difference and equal treatment within the Senegalese nation was widely shared.

This introduction to popular representations of everyday ways of living with diversity in Casamance has introduced an important productive tension at play between processes of diversification and homogenisation. Aspiring to *cohabitation* that was shared among all local residents can also be understood as a form of finding common ground or establishing a consensus. In contrast to Mandingisation or Wolofisation, which were perceived to aim at overcoming difference, *cohabitation* was about living with it. This became a relevant framework once Casamançais left their places of origin behind to embark on regional and international migrations.

2.2 Casamançais migrations. Going to the city and abroad, and coming back

Migration dynamics between West Africa and Europe have established a link between both Casamance and Catalonia.[56] Starting in the 1960s, a historical coincidence led to the arrival of the first Gambian immigrants in Catalonia (Kaplan Marcusán 1998: 96). Due to social networks across the colonial and postcolonial boarders of Gambia and Casamance and the effects of chain migration, large shares of the Senegalese population in Catalonia are Casamançais. Introducing the migrations of Casamançais to Catalonia, I firstly embed it in the widely studied migrations of Casamançais to the colonial and postcolonial capitals Dakar and Banjul. Secondly, I contextualise the international migration of Casamançais in the wider literature on the global migrations of Senegalese. Thirdly, I present the

[56] The section title is chosen in reference to Linares (2003).

Casamançais immigrant population in Catalonia according to their various practices and self-identifications. I conclude by drawing attention to the on-going, translocal activities (cf. Appadurai 1995) of Casamançais. Having introduced Casamançais migrations, I will address the configurations and representations of the Catalan social field in the final section of this chapter.

Casamançais rural-urban migrations

Apart from the historical settlement of Casamance discussed in the previous section, further large migration movements characterise more recent Casamançais history. The migrations of Jola labour and trade migrants from the Casamance region into towns and to Gambia became important in the 19th century and continued thereafter (Snyder 1981; Linares 2003; Lambert 2002; Foucher 2002a; van der Klei 1985). Particularly salient were the harvesting of palm produce and rubber (Foucher 2002a: 64; Mark 1977, 1976), in which both men and women participated (Hamer 1981; Lambert 1999). Furthermore, large numbers of workers from across the subregion went as *navetanes*[57] to work during the wet season on the groundnut fields all over Senegal (David 1980).[58]

Such economic motives for migration complemented the population movements caused by the history of warfare and religious jihads discussed earlier in this chapter. After Senegalese independence in 1960, the independence war of Guinea Bissau and political confrontations in independent Guinea Conakry caused major, though mainly temporary, population movements. The Casamançais conflict also contributed to displacing whole villages, whose populations often settled in Ziguinchor (Evans 2007; Dièye 2009).

[57] *naweet* = wet season in Wolof.

[58] Groundnut was cultivated in Upper and Middle Casamance, Sine Saloum, Diourbel, Louga, and Gambia.

Urbanisation was a main aspect of the colonial and postcolonial population movements as manifested in the impressive growth of regional capitals (cf. Bruneau 1979; Trincaz 1984)[59] and on-migration to the (post)colonial capitals of Bathurst (today's Banjul) and Dakar (cf. Hamer 1981; Linares 2003; Lambert 2002; Foucher 2002a; Reboussin 1995). Within Senegal, Dakar has received nearly 43% of all the internal Senegalese first generation migrants (ANSD 2008: 47). Furthermore, Dakar is a pole for international migrants from the West Africa region (Ndiaye 2008; Fall 1999, 2003).[60] In the past, Jola were particularly active in migrating to Dakar (Foucher 2002a: 54) which was in contrast to the lower migration rates of Mandinka and Fula inhabitants of Middle and Upper Casamance.[61]

These internal migrations had different effects and appeared in various forms according to age classes, birth-order and relative social status (Linares 1992: 9), and depending on the specific needs, networks, constraints and abilities of villages (Foucher 2002a: 48). Yet, migration has become a common experience for all Casamançais, both men and women (cf. Hamer 1981, 1983; Foucher 2005b; de Jonge et al. 1978). Common features of both seasonal and long-term migrations are the translocal links maintained to the places of origin and living in resulting translocal communities (Lambert 2002; de Jong 1999), which due to international migration extend transnationally (Kane 2002).

After Casamançais labour migrants started to move to other West African countries (Kaplan Marcusán 1998: 96; Sow 2007) – a reoccurring phenomenon in the majority of the migration histories of my interlocutors – going to Europe was only an additional migration event, yet one which was increasingly attributed a lot of importance. Thus,

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[59] See also Nicolas and Gaye (1988) on the urbanisation process of Oussouye. Unfortunately there is no study on Sédhiou.

[60] Certainly, it would have been intriguing to study the effects of urbanisation on *cohabitation* in Dakar, yet this would be a project of its own.

[61] The 2002 census shows that the percentage of Jola in Dakar remains higher than that of Mandinka (ANSD 2009). Fula from all over Senegal are taken together, which makes it impossible to know which proportion was born in Casamance. An unexplored phenomenon remains the recent upturn of Fula international migrants from Upper Casamance, something that several of my interlocutors commented on.

in Casamance two processes are interlinked in a society deeply influenced by a culture of mobility and migration (cf. de Bruijn et al. 2001; Hahn and Klute 2007): the internal diversification due to migrations in the subregion, and the rather long history of international migration of Casamançais.

International migration from Senegal

Casamançais international migration has mostly gone unnoticed in the wealth of publications on Senegalese migrations. While the Soninké migrants were the earliest to leave Senegal (e.g. Traoré 1994; Quiminal 1995; Timera 1996; Manchuelle 1997), more recently, a lot of the scholarship has focused on the Murid and consequently largely Wolof migrations (e.g. Ebin 1995; Stoller 1996; Riccio 2006; Diouf 2000; Babou 2002; Bava and Gueye 2001; Kaag 2008; Carter 1997). Starting with the recruitment of *tirailleurs* – infantrymen in France – at the beginning of the 20th century, the migrations of Senegalese to France massively increased post-independence due to the large scale recruitment policies of French post World War Two industries which targeted the Senegalese River Valley and Tambacounda regions (Riccio 2005: 103). This recruitment migration accompanied by the absence of visa restrictions was not to last long, yet migration to Europe continued.

In the 1970s and 1980s Senegalese migratory practices diversified in response to new opportunities and restrictions. The crisis of groundnut production and structural adjustment policies provided good reasons for a growing-up generation to look beyond Senegal where they perceived no chances to find the means to support a family (Fall 1997; Cruise O'Brien 2003: 168). At the same time, images of successful migrants and of a life in Europe, as well as the desire to become someone through migration have made emigration more attractive (cf. Riccio 2005; van Nieuwenhuyze 2007; Kaplan Marcusán 2003). In short, longstanding experiences of internal migration, the negative economic developments of Senegal, and hopes for the positive economic and social outcomes of migration motivated international emigration.

The emphasis in studying recent international migration of Senegalese has remained focused on the Senegal River Valley and the Cape Verde peninsula (Dakar), and on France as the preferred destination (cf. Deville-Velloz 2008; and several contributions in Diop 2008a).[62] Migration from the Dakar region included people originating from all regions of Senegal; however, with further migration controls in the north those leaving Casamance directly became increasingly visible as more *pateras* (fishing boats) left Ziguinchor (IRIN s.a.; cf. Venables 2009b; Tall and Tandian 2010; Robin and Ndiaye 2009; Willems 2008b). While many of my interlocutors passed through Dakar and further transit spaces, others left straight from Casamance. While Casamançais rural-urban migrations are studied widely (e.g. Foucher 2002a; Lambert 2002; Linares 2003; Reboussin 1995; Cormier 1985), here I stress that Casamançais also participate widely in international migrations.

Recognising the diverse origins of Senegalese migrants, it's additionally important to note that European destinations have diversified. As a response to the international oil crisis in 1973, getting into Europe became increasingly difficult with most northern European countries, including France, strengthening their immigration controls. As a consequence, already multifaceted routes to Europe became even more complex and diversified with numerous difficulties and risks attached to them (cf. de Haas 2008; Adepoju 2005, 2004; Ba et al. 2008). Migration became criminalised, and new European destinations like Spain and Italy became attractive alongside other international ones (cf. Ba et al. 2008: 18f; King et al. 2000a; Jettinger 2005). As a result of recognising both different regions of origin and new destinations of Senegalese migrations, Casamançais can be found as far as Argentina (Traoré 2006; Zubrzycki and Agnelli 2009) or, indeed, in substantial numbers in Catalonia.[63]

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[62] Furthermore, the Cape Verde region with Dakar is subject of the Senegalese part of the large European research project Migrations between Africa and Europe (MAFE) (Beauchemin and Gonzalez Ferrer 2009: 12).

[63] Describing global networks of specific Senegalese villages would also be a worthwhile undertaking further exploring 'complex transnationalism' (cf. Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Kane 2002).

Casamançais in Catalonia

Catalonia has taken a lead role in migration processes within Spain, which for the last three decades has developed into a major immigration country (Aja and Arango 2006). Although the majority of migrants tend to come from North Africa, South America, and increasingly from Eastern Europe and China, the number of migrants from Senegal has been growing as well. Furthermore, the majority of Gambian immigrants in Spain live in Catalonia. Therefore, Senegalese and Gambian together are mostly referred to as Senegambian in much of the Catalan literature (cf. Kaplan Marcusán 1998, 2007, 2003; Sow 2004, 2005; Jabardo Velasco 2004; Rodríguez García 2002).[64]

Given shared ethnic affiliations, interlinking migration networks and chain migration, many interlocutors confirmed that a substantial proportion of the 18,000 Senegalese in Catalonia were from Casamance, in particular in Mataró, Granollers and Sabadell.[65] In Barcelona, Terrassa and Salou, other places of high Senegalese concentration, they are from all parts of the country (see Map 2, page 4). The composition of migrant associations in Catalonia suggests the same pattern of links between Casamançais and Gambians (cf. Heil 2008).

As Chart 2 shows, migration from Senegal is still male dominated. The largest cohorts are of a lower working age (15-44 years), accounting for over 80 per cent of Senegalese migrant men. Although they are employed in a large variety of sectors in Catalonia (Jabardo Velasco 2006: 70), Díez Nicolás (2002: 266) found that most sub-Saharan Africans cluster in the agricultural sector (38%), followed by independent commerce (14%) the services sector (14%), industry (8%) and construction (8%).[66] While the age range of my interlocutors nicely matches the above statistics, they

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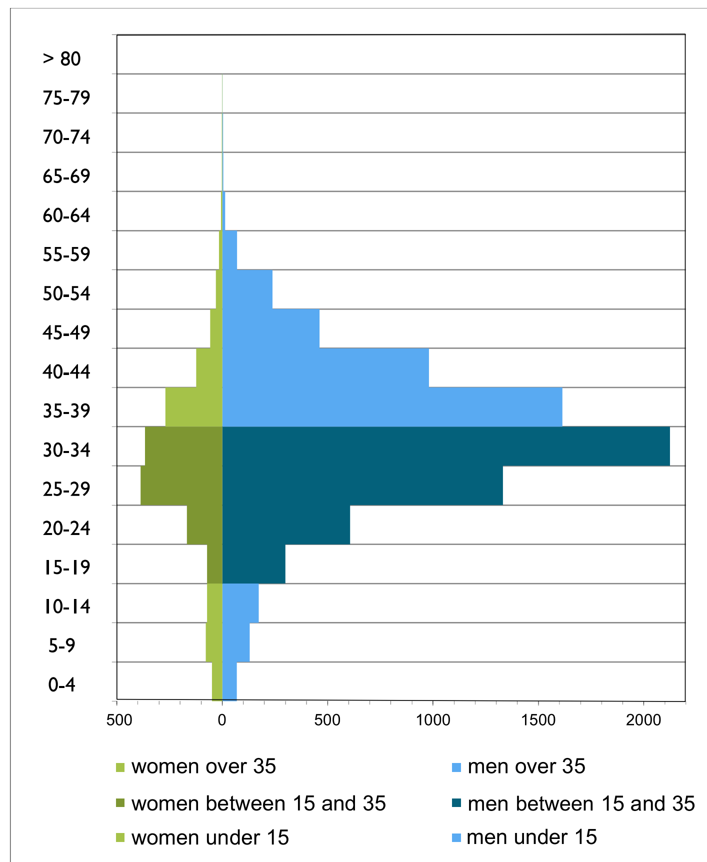
[64] Over 14,000 Gambians lived in Catalonia of a total of 19,000 Gambians in Spain (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011).

[65] In total, more than 60,000 Senegalese lived in Spain in 2010 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2011).

[66] Another 8% work in other sectors and no data was available on unemployment.

Chart 2 Senegalese migrants according to gender and age in Barcelona Province, 2011



(Data: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012)

proportionately worked more in agriculture, factories, construction and in private homes and less in commerce. Most of my respondents preferred employment over working in independent commerce. However, given the economic crisis which started in 2008 and a reduction of the work force in all industries, unemployment among Casamançais in 2010 had reached very high levels and they increasingly depended on informal employment.

While such macro statistics give a general idea of the living situation of Casamançais in Catalonia, they are only one element in understanding everyday practices and sociality. Thus, Casamançais interlocutors identified with many more categories than national and socio-economic ones. For example, ethnic and supranational categories underlay the practices and discourses of social organisation and identification, as did religion and age. In my field sites, I mainly interacted with Jola, Mandinka, Fula and Balanta, although I knew of the presence of others as well. The majority were

practising Muslims, which, in the Catalan social field, was a way of identifying they tended to stress less than being African or sub-Saharan (see below). Casamançais tactically used both dominant and demotic categories to situate themselves in the local social field (cf. Baumann 1996). They drew from a spectrum ranging from quasi universal statements of sharing migration experiences with people from all over the world to identifying with a certain family name or village of origin. Ethnic, religious, national and subregional categories such as 'sub-Saharan' lay in between.[67] Furthermore, some Casamançais explained their actions by claiming a particular class background (profession and education). Finally, identifying as local residents on the one hand was as general as the claim to be global migrants since both referred to an internally heterogeneous group. On the other hand, it was quite specific since it referred only to those sharing the same neighbourhood. Various identifications implied different understandings of living with difference, which I describe in the following section.

While being situated in multiple ways in the local social field in Catalonia, home and more distant places in their transnational networks remained crucial reference points in the lives of Casamançais. St. Jacques (2009) shows how transnational activities of Casamançais increased with upward mobility on the labour market. Yet, many Casamançais arrived in Catalonia with already strong personal networks which facilitated their 'primary integration' into the local structures of transnational communities (Sow 2004). While solidarity among people of the same network was both emotionally and economically important (cf. Riccio 2001: 584; Sow 2004), it also involved conflicts, particularly intergenerational ones (van Nieuwenhuyze 2007). In addition, the effects of transnational lives were apparent in the places of origin.

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[67] Caste is another way of social classification, which, however, did not feature significantly in my research, and according to Riccio (2005: 103) is losing importance.

Visiting home. Returning heroes or absent husbands?

As an important social force, migration challenges existing power structures, both abroad in Catalonia and in the places of origin in Casamance. Sooner or later, Casamançais returned home on visits, often with the intention to fulfil expectations and earn the benefits of migrating. The social expectations of their families and of their wider networks were high which – especially given increasing difficulties in Europe – resulted in postponing such trips to avoid admitting failure and falling into disgrace. Although family and friends in Casamance were becoming more aware of the hardship of migration, most Casamançais migrants continued to return to embody what a whole generation was aspiring to: a successful migrant returning home rich. Therefore, migration challenged and changed the social fabric of the places they left behind, ultimately also affecting the ideals of *cohabitation*.

Whether or not the decision to migrate was taken individually or collectively (cf. Lambert 2002), as a rite of passage it was a way of gaining social prestige. Casamançais tried 'to make a name for [themselves], to become a "Grand"'[68] (Schmitz 2008: 8; cf. de Jonge et al. 1978: 128f), and women re-gained independence in a Muslim, male dominated society (Foucher 2005b). Thus, migration was a possibility of social growth and mobility (Diop 2008b: 24), and it increasingly became the preferred one (Fouquet 2008; Dahou and Foucher 2004). While parts of the local population believed that migrants gained their wealth in fraudulent activities (cf. Riccio 2005: 108-9), by and large migrants profited from both their symbolic and economic power being the more desirable marriage partners, building multiple storey houses, driving expensive cars, and being listened to more in the course of conversations (cf. Schmitz 2008: 8; Fouquet 2007). However, being absent most of the time had recently become a salient factor reducing emigrants' status with their relatives, wives, in-laws and brides-to-be. Among the young men, however, this had not (yet) substantially changed migration aspirations and ideas about Europe.

[68] French original: '«se faire un nom», devenir un «Grand»'.

The continuous influence of migration had an effect in the migrants' absence through those who were able to access the associated social reputation and economic means (Fouquet 2008: 253-4). In Senegal and Casamance, remittances played a major role, since infrastructure projects undertaken by migrants and their associations attracted foreign funds and at times competed with local initiatives (Riccio 2005: 104f; cf. Sokpoh 2006; Fall 2011; Østergaard-Nielsen 2011). Remittances augment social disparities between families and places (cf. Jones 1998). Often, investments were first realised in urban centres while villages of origin lacked support (Schmitz 2008: 12).[69] Despite the heightened concerns linked to migration, its perception had mainly remained positive in Casamance even as the economic crisis had led to a massive reduction of remittances which had been widely felt as a constraint.

Through their migration, many Casamançais assumed a powerful position in the social fabric at home, increasing their influence as role models for younger generations while simultaneously offsetting local power structures. The multiple aspects of changing local social relations due to the impact of migration thus inevitably had an impact on *cohabitation*, which I develop of the following ethnography.

Summary

In this section, I contextualised Casamançais migrations to Catalonia in both rural-urban and international migration dynamics of Casamançais. Internal migrations already led to the emergence of translocal communities which nowadays are global in reach. The social dynamics of this international migration were therefore heralded by urbanisation. The values embodied by (successful) migrants had offset power relations at home, also raising our awareness for possible effects on *cohabitation*. The diversification of international Senegalese migration has also resulted in the presence of a very heterogeneous mix of Casamançais in Catalonia which varied according to

[69] Working on the Dominican Republic, Levitt (2001) stresses the discrepancies between the wishes and needs of migrants vs. those of people continuously resident in the places of origin.

social and cultural identification, regional origin, and migration route. I now turn to the configurations of diversity and the representations of conviviality at play in the Catalan local social field.

2.3 Catalan convivència. European configurations and policies, and Casamançais receptions

> Catalunya s'ha anat fent en el decurs del temps amb les aportacions d'energies de moltes generacions, de moltes tradicions i cultures, que hi han trobat una terra d'acollida.[70] (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006a: Preàmbul)

The Preamble of the Statute of Autonomy states that Catalonia benefited from the contributions of many traditions and generations. With large scale immigration in the 21st century, this may have resulted in more diverse influences than ever. Already in the 1980s, Catalan policies were proactive in conceptualising ways of living with difference. A crucial term of this political discussion is *convivència* which corresponds to Castilian *convivencia*; it is both a reference to a current political discussion of living with difference caused by immigration throughout Spain and a historical one to Al-Andalus (cf. Mann et al. 1992). In this field, Casamançais immigrants had their own reading of Catalan representations of living with difference, which they contextualised within both their migration trajectories and global discourses.

In this section, I firstly explore the diverse configurations of the Catalan local social field. Secondly, I present Catalan policies of social incorporation of immigrants

[70] Catalonia has been shaped over the course of time through the contribution of the energy of many generations, traditions and cultures, which found in Catalonia a land of welcome.' (from Catalan, official translation, Generalitat de Catalunya 2006b: Preamble)

which is to a large extent dealt with on the level of Spain's autonomous regions, thus making the Catalan perspective the most relevant one. I emphasise the notion of local residency on the basis of the *empadronament/empadronamiento*, registration with the town hall irrespective of legal immigration status, and Catalan as the common public language. Finally, I pay attention to local Casamançais representations of diversity and *convivència* in Catalonia. Apart from picking up Catalan representations, Casamançais related to, on the one hand, global discourses of racial and religious discrimination and identification, and, on the other, general ideas of modernisation. Next, I embed Catalonia within the Spanish migration experiences and processes of diversification.

Catalonia – overlapping diversities

In the European context, Spain was once an emigration country sending guest workers to booming regions in France, Germany and Switzerland. However, with the fall of the Franco regime in 1978 and the introduction of democracy, Spain has undergone massive change, of which King (2001a) identifies rapid economic growth and changing labour markets as the most important. Since the mid-1980s, Spain is no longer only a sending or transit country for international migration but immigration has reached unprecedented levels. In 2011, 14% (6.7 million) of the total population of Spain and 17.5% (1.3 million) of Catalan residents were foreign born.[71] Since 2008, when Spain started to feel the effects of the economic crisis, the number of immigrants to Catalonia still increased, although at a much slower rate than before.

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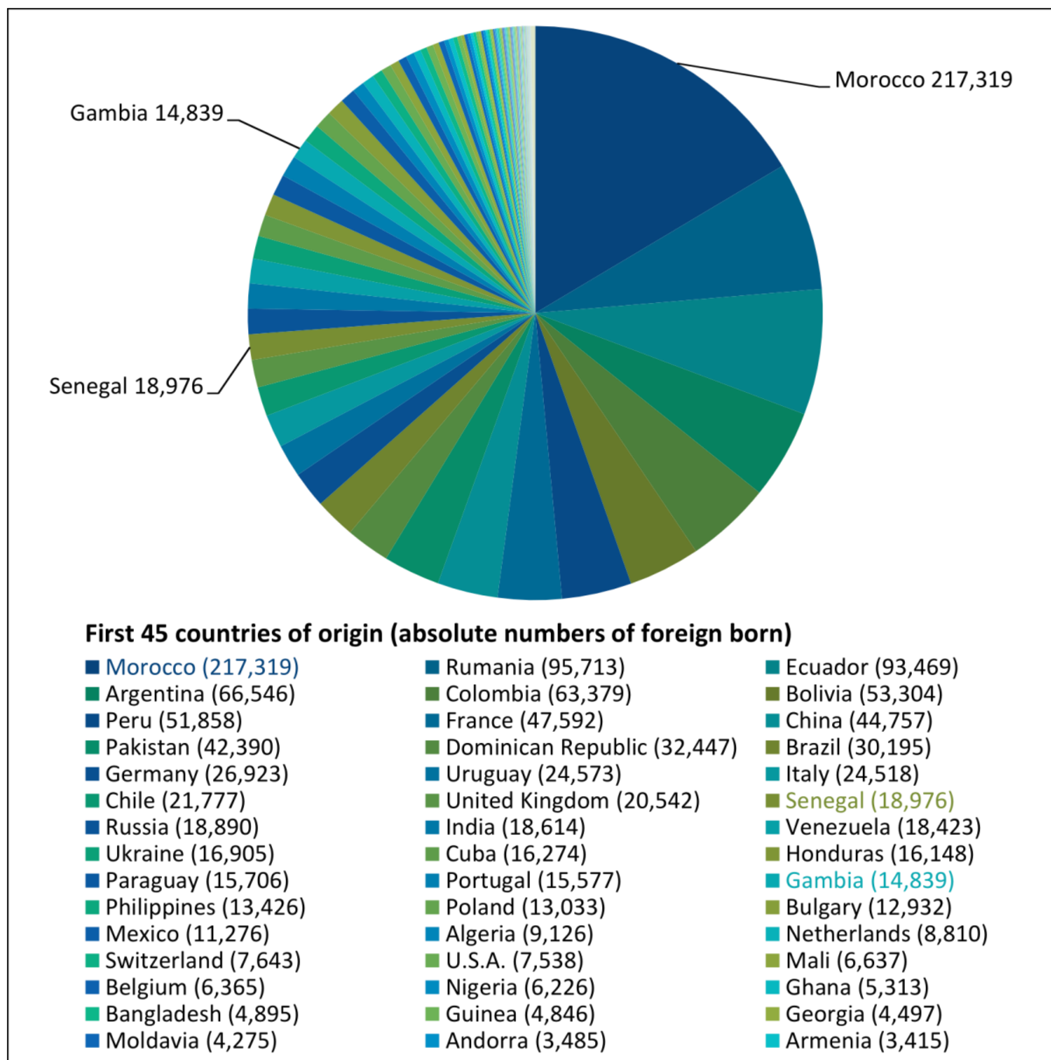
[71] In the early years of the 2000s, the number of foreigners recorded in Spanish municipal registers more than doubled in one year, from 923,879 in 2001 to 1,977,946 in 2002 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2002, 2003). These numbers are taken from the municipal register (padrón) and include foreign born with and without formal legal residence and/or work permit as long as they registered with the local town authorities. Over 1.3 million of the foreign born in Spain hold Spanish nationality, and over 240,000 in Catalonia (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012).

Chart 3 Foreign born population in Catalonia, 2011



(Data: Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012)

Along with the Basque country, Catalonia preceded the rest of Spain in its high levels of immigration. A result of its more rapid economic development, the region first drew significant internal migration from the south of Spain in the 1950s and 1960s.[72] Entire new neighbourhoods were built at that time including the neighbourhoods where I conducted fieldwork (e.g. Cerdanyola in Mataró, cf. Lligadas 2000). Both the built environment and the population composition mirror these internal migration

[72] These internal migration movements have been widely analysed (cf. Alvarez and Antolín 1973; Ávila 1993; Bentolila and Dolado 1991; Bentolila 2001; Bover and Velilla 2005; Ródenas Calatayud 1994; Silvestre Rodríguez 2002; Solé Puig 2000).

movements rendering them distinct to the old Catalan city centres (Solé Puig 2000: 218). The binary coexistence of Castilian and Catalan inhabitants and languages that has slowly developed in such neighbourhoods is complemented by the diversity of origins of international immigrants. In 2011, current residents of Catalonia (independent of their legal status and nationality) were born in over 120 countries (see Chart 3). In a historically Catholic region, the proportion of Muslim immigrants in 2008 was at over 33% of all immigrants (Moreras 2008: 18), nearly six per cent of the total population. In the neighbourhoods of Mataró, Sabadell and Granollers, medium sized industrial towns, immigration and the influx of Muslims is further accentuated. I next present my main field site town, Mataró, in more detail.

Mataró, the district capital of the Maresme, one of the four districts of the province of Barcelona, is close to the Catalan average in that nearly 17% of its inhabitants are foreign born. Most of the foreigners are Moroccan nationals (41%), 19% hold passports from other African countries, 19% from Latin America, and nearly nine per cent are Chinese citizens. While other towns in Catalonia have higher proportions of immigrants such as Granollers (20%)[73], Mataró is the Spanish town with the most expertise in immigration and integration policy (Aja and Arango 2006: 383).

Table 3 shows the composition of the population in the neighbourhoods of Mataró where the Casamançais interlocutors lived. Those born outside of Catalonia, i.e. international and internal migrants, constitute nearly 40% of the population of Mataró. Characteristic are the high concentration of internal and international migrants and the high percentage of Senegalese and Gambians in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Cerdanyola, Palau and Rocafonda. In Cerdanyola, every other person is born outside the Catalonia region, and one in four inhabitants claims foreign nationality. Of those born outside Spain, the majority is from Morocco (46%), and more than one in five is from Senegal or Gambia. While North Africans are the overall immigrant majority in Mataró and in Cerdanyola, in public discourse the

[73] Sabadell, in contrast has a below average proportion of foreign born population (13.7%, Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2012)

Table 3 Population characteristics in selected neighbourhoods of Mataró, 2011

Neighbourhood (selection)	absolute numbers by nationality									shares in %			
	Total Population	Foreign nationals	Morocco	Argentina, Colòmbia, Equador, Bolívia	China	Senegal	Gàmbia	Mali	Others	Born outside of Catalonia (Rest of Spain and abroad)	Foreign nationals	Moroccans of all foreign nationals	Senegambian of all foreign nationals
Mataró, total	124,161	20,985	8,654	1,948	1,879	1,509	1,348	617	5,030	39.1	16.9	41.2	13.6
Cerdanyola	30,659	7,393	3,424	489	673	892	654	197	1,064	49.3	24.1	46.3	20.9
Rocafonda	11,034	4,016	2,340	267	163	215	270	192	569	54.7	36.4	58.3	12.1
Palau	6,927	2,425	1,370	138	81	96	219	149	372	49.5	35.0	56.5	13.0
Molins Torner	5,890	527	170	83	47	6	26	6	189	39.4	8.9	32.3	6.1
Centre	4,294	443	82	80	21	4	16	0	240	23.5	10.3	18.5	4.5
Peramàs	7,948	941	223	151	138	84	21	18	306	40.7	11.8	23.7	11.2
Pla d'en Boet	5,370	757	258	58	138	58	43	32	170	43.5	14.1	34.1	13.3
others	52,039	4,483	787	682	618	154	99	23	2,120	28.9	8.6	17.6	5.6

(modified from: Ajuntament de Mataró 2012)

large presence of sub-Saharan Africans in Cerdanyola is noted more. The Moroccan presence is eponymous in common parlance for Rocafonda, referred to as *Rocamoro*, *moros* being a Spanish pejorative for Arabs, North Africans or Muslims in general. In either neighbourhood, immigrants from abroad and from the south of Spain made for an impressive diversity represented in the scene in the Parc de Cerdanyola described in the introduction.

Although immigrants were more numerous in peripheral neighbourhoods, which were closer to their places of work, they participated in the regular housing market. In the absence of an equivalent to French *foyers d'immigrés* (immigrants' hostels) and concentrations which Riccio (1999, 2002, 2006) alludes to speaking of the *dahiras* in Italy, Casamançais in Catalonia lived in residential blocks alongside other local residents. However, at the time of my fieldwork, *pisos patera*, the overcrowded, exploitative flats whose name alludes to the fishing boats used to smuggle sub-Saharan migrants to the Canaries started to appear. While none of my interlocutors suffered such conditions, the number of sub-Saharan immigrants in Cerdanyola had continuously increased since the economic crisis in 2008 as migrants from other parts of Spain and newcomers joined family members and co-villagers who were better off. Usually they made residence with a family who owned or rented a large

apartment and shared it with those in precarious conditions. In several flats I visited regularly in Cerdanyola, relatives and friends had recently joined having lost their jobs and flats elsewhere in Catalonia and Spain. While the housing quality was dire, everybody tried to keep up living conditions as best they could.

These population dynamics were reflected in the Casamançais representations of 'their' neighbourhoods in Catalonia. Asked to tell me who lived in the vicinity, Casamançais most often answered following the same pattern: stating first that immigrants overcrowded the neighbourhoods, they then named West Africans and other sub-Saharan groups in detail: Senegalese, Gambian, Malian, Guinean, Burkinabe or Bambara, Sarahole, Mandinka, Tukulor [Fula], Jola, etc. Secondly, they listed Moroccans and/or *moros*, before turning to all other immigrant groups from around the world. At times, I had to inquire specifically about the latter as well as about Spaniards and Catalans. Mamadou Diédhiou, a generally well-informed Jola from Sédhiou in his forties, became quiet after naming a few different places of origin saying: 'Je sais pas, presque toutes les nationalités'[74] (11/2010). Rather than ethnic preferences, I attribute the vagueness of naming far-flung places of origin to a lack of familiarity with them. While Casamançais had passed through a number of African and European countries before getting to Catalonia, the rest of the world often remained relatively unknown to them. The differentiating among the large number of immigrants depended on the Casamançais' individual experiences and often remained partial and selective. Similarly, Casamançais were to a variable extent familiar with Catalan discourses of migrant incorporation, which I sketch next.

[74] 'I don't know, nearly all nationalities' (from French)

Figure 3 'We are Catalonia. Country of *convivència*'

(Generalitat de Catalunya 2009a)

Catalan *convivència* and migration

'Som Catalunya. País de convivència'[75] – in 2009, I was welcomed back to my field site by three posters portraying two people each, of different ages and different ethnic backgrounds. The headlines stated the different countries of birth of either the parents or grandparents of the individuals depicted. Under the main slogan the

[75] 'We are Catalonia, land of *convivència*' (from Catalan). The headline of Figure 3 reads: 'Khadja's father was born in Africa. Júlia's father was born in Ripoll [town in Catalonia].'

posters said that natives and newcomers aimed at designing a common future grounded on an equality of beliefs, genders and ages, and granting everyone equal rights and duties. Catalan was postulated as the language of reception (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b, 2010b). In Catalonia, the posters suggested, diversity was an asset, and Catalonia was proud to be a country of *convivència* (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009a). The posters revealed two key aspects: the importance of the Catalan language and the quest for a strong sense of unity on the basis of local residency. While this was the only time I saw *convivència* publicly used for an official political campaign, the term was part of the Casamançais understanding of living together in Catalonia, and more specifically in the neighbourhoods of Catalan towns. In the following I embed this Catalan policy campaign in the national context and stress its distinctiveness.

In Spain, the change towards becoming an immigration country was recognised in the 1980s, when in 1985 the *Ley Orgánica de Extranjería 7/1985*, Spain's first Foreigners Law, was passed. Until then, there were no visa requirements and free immigration was possible. From the 1980s onwards, changes in immigration policy were led by the need to conform to European Community policy (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008). Since then, immigration policy has remained split between the Spanish state and its autonomous communities.[76] The central government regulates the juridical-administrative aspects of immigration, whereas the accommodation of immigrants in integration policies like the provision of social services (education, health, housing, social and cultural services) is realised on the local and regional level of the autonomous communities (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008; Aja and Arango 2006).

The second Foreigners Law, coming into effect in 2000, strengthened the situation of those irregularly residing in Spain on the basis of the *empadronamiento* (Catalan: *empadronament*), the *de facto* residence in a municipality irrespective of legal

[76] Together with the Basque country and Galicia, Catalonia was one of the first autonomous communities founded in 1979 using as its claim its history as an independent nation with a distinct culture and language. In 1983, the whole country was divided into 17 communities (La Constitución Española de 1978, Art. 143).

immigration status (cf. Solanes Corella 2010, 2004). Newly introduced basic rights were access to education, public health, social benefits and assistance. While implemented to various degrees depending on local and regional frameworks, Catalonia has always been a forerunner from its first integration plan in 1993 to the latest spanning the years 2009-2012 (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008: esp. 23). In effect, at the time of my research the *empadronament* secured access to health care, continuous education, further services such as reception classes (*acollida*), as well as the possibility of regularisation after three years of consecutive residency. This was contingent on having a full-time work permit and a positive social *résumé*, i.e. basic Catalan skills, basic knowledge of living in Catalonia, etc. Such local policies introduced a level of symbolic, and partially legal equality among local residents (cf. Zapata-Barrero 2009a).

Recently, immigration and integration concerns were integrated into Catalan national project in the new Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 2006 (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006a: art.138), a development supported by intellectual nationalist discourses (Zapata-Barrero 2009b). As quoted above, the preamble of the Autonomy Statute proudly sees the Catalan culture, which is the basis for the region's independence struggles, as mixed and cosmopolitan, facilitating the inclusion of foreigners. 'Un pacte per viure junts i juntes. Pacte Nacional per a la Immigració'[77], which followed the Statute in 2009, formulates a regional policy on migration and integration which transcends competencies in other Spanish regions.[78] *Convivència* had been the key term in promoting this national immigration pact widely. People *de facto* living in Catalonia, i.e. those registered, should have the same rights and duties on the basis of recognising the constitutive framework of the Spanish state (politically, legally) and Catalonia (culturally), while Catalonia would protect and facilitate the maintaining of cultural plurality. The national Catalan project thus

[77]'Agreement to live together. National Agreement on Immigration.' (from Catalan).

[78] Catalonia not only deals with social integration, but also formulates further rights on the level of immigration management and control so far dealt with on the state level. In 2010, Catalonia was granted the right to issue its own residency and work permits.

revealed two sides of the same coin, on the one hand granting everyone equality (*empadronament*, cultural and religious plurality), while promoting the Catalan cultural identity.[79] This is the core of the national project 'to which the whole population who lives and works in Catalonia dedicates itself'[80] (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b: 26).

However, the Catalan and, more generally, the Spanish approach to immigration and integration has been frequently critiqued for keeping people in irregularity due to the missmatch of immigration regulations and labour demands. The list of adverse effects is long: irregular employment and exploitation, no or only short-term residence and work permits, and no possibility for full political participation (cf. Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008: 14; Aja and Arango 2006; Solanes Corella 2006; Izquierdo 2001; Suárez-Navaz 2004). Such critiques call the Catalan social integration policy, *empadronament* and *convivència* into question since crucial issues of legal and ensuing social inequality are raised. This is certainly one level of critique taken up by Casamançais as well which was in contrast to their appropriations of *convivència* as everyday living with difference.

On the ground, people speak of *convivència* which broadly means 'to live in the company of others with whom we interact with empathy, sharing, communication, and the regulation of conflict' (Erickson 2011: 123).[81] For some Casamançais, the reference is not strictly to Catalonia, since the Castilian term *convivencia* makes reference to Andalusia and the Middle Ages when Jews, Muslims, and Christians simultaneously resided there (Suárez-Navaz 2004: 191f; cf. Coleman and Doubleday 2008; Mann et al. 1992).[82] Yet today Catalans and Casamançais who live in Catalonia

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[79] This makes it different from demands of British scholars advocating for leaving ethnicity and race outside national identity projects (Amin 2002: 978; Parekh 2000).

[80] Catalan: 'amb el qual es compromet tota la població que viu i treballa a Catalunya.'

[81] Not having done research with Catalan and Castilian (i.e. Southern Spanish) local residents, I rely on Erickson to give an impression of their use of *convivència*.

[82] This plays down the fact that the three faith communities never lived together on equal terms (Kamen 1998).

mainly use it to refer to the questions of today's living together in Catalan towns and neighbourhoods. Frequently, Casamançais even used the Spanish/Catalan term to introduce relevant discourses and practices while speaking French. Such linguistic plurality and borrowing was common among Catalans as well who increasingly used and mixed Castilian and Catalan, and it was actively encouraged in political documents describing *convivència*. However, Catalan is granted a particular role as the 'llengua pública comuna' – the common public language (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b: 69).

In both the National Agreement and its practical application, the Citizenship and Immigration Plan, the Catalan language is centre stage of the Catalan identity project, also concerning immigrant reception (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b, 2010b). Its stated aim is:

> to foster knowledge of Catalan among the entire population of Catalonia, especially among foreigners, and also extend the use of Catalan in all community and social relationship environments. (Generalitat de Catalunya 2010a: 68)

On the level of local government this had repercussions in a number of ways: while language classes of continuing education and of reception programmes for newly arrived foreigners used to be in Castilian, now the majority teach Catalan. Eight million Euros had been ear-marked for 'Catalan language normalisation' comparing to just slightly over 100 thousand Euros for language of origin classes (Generalitat de Catalunya 2010a: 146-8). The imbalance could not be expressed more strongly.

However, recent research has questioned the continuous salience of the Catalan language as part of the national project and instead suggests that Catalan increasingly is a pragmatic choice among local residents reflecting the partial success of Catalan language policy (Gal 2013; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Urla 2013; Woolard 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013). Yet, Casamançais argued to facilitate *convivència* relying on both its pragmatic and political dimensions. On the one hand, having had to adjust to various languages in Senegal and during their migration, Casamançais found it natural to learn Catalan as the regional *lingua franca*. On the other hand,

Casamançais stressed the political role of national languages like Catalan in European integration discourses. While some maintained a positive attitude towards integration, others clearly perceived that the burden to adjust was put on them as immigrants.

Relating to *convivència* in Catalonia was not a straightforward exercise for Casamançais. They were fairly good at fulfilling the discourse of sharing Catalan as a common language and more often than not took it for granted. Yet the structural situation of being an immigrant in Catalonia also offered a lot of room for challenging Catalan *convivència*. Other ways of understanding power relations in a migration context, as well as living together in everyday life gained ground, which I explore below.

Casamançais European imaginations

Apart from the political initiatives of social integration in Catalonia, Casamançais also contextualised everyday living with difference in larger frameworks at play in Catalan sites. European, transnational and global references were recurrent when speaking of individualism, religion and race. At times they cohered with local convictions of *convivència* or *cohabitation*, at times they challenged them. Subsequently, I present aspects linked to a European imaginary as the economically fulfilling, but lonely '*el Dorado*'.[83] This was set against nostalgic memories of home fostering overly positive representations of communal relations, solidarity and *cohabitation*. Furthermore, I discuss how Casamançais connected to global discourses of globalisation, blackness and Muslim-Christian relations, in which they felt they occupied a marginal subject position. Below, I restrict my explorations to representations of racism, Muslim-Christian relations and Euro-centred globalisation as seen by Casamançais in Catalonia.

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[83] Similar representations feature prominently in the comparative project EUmagine and the findings for the north of Senegal (www.eumagine.org [accessed on 27/12/2012], in particular Fall et al. 2012).

Despite the official Catalan discourses emphasising the relative equality of local residents, Casamançais frequently related to their experience of being black, more specifically black African. Two aspects mattered most: the expectation of more similar values among blacks, and being exposed to various forms of racism. Speaking of *convivencia* in Catalonia and confronted with people from around the world and everyday practices they were unfamiliar with, Casamançais assumed that at least black Africans should act predictably: they should greet and show solidarity based on shared values and norms such as respect for elders, the family, the community, and more broadly the common good. Well aware that this was not necessarily the case, Casamançais stressed the fundamental difference between African and European aspirations. Several facets of racism in transit and in Catalonia contributed to their collective consciousness as blacks.

Some Casamançais felt strongly about their experiences of racism during migration (cf. Pliez 2004; Hamood 2006). Ansou Diédhiou (see portrait, Chapter Six) was exemplary in having passed through several North African countries. He gave several instances of how he, as a sub-Saharan black, had been exposed to racism and had lived in permanent fear. Libyans, in particular, randomly exerted their power over black immigrants, stopping them on their way to work, blaming them for raping, seducing or simply looking at Libyan women, and on occasion beating them. Furthermore, many North Africans neither accepted sub-Saharans as Muslim brothers, nor acknowledged them to be Muslims at all. This led to a marginalised life-style of many Casamançais in transit.

Racist practices continued in Catalonia, and Ansou and others were sensitive to all forms of direct and latent racism that they experienced (cf. Díez Nicolás 2002).[84] Casamançais quickly experienced how most locals were incapable of differentiating between them, both on their identification documents in interactions with authorities and in open neighbourhood spaces during fleeting encounters. Feelings about this latent racism varied, yet many Casamançais like Ansou explicitly disliked co-

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[84] Cf. Riccio (1999) for racist experiences of Senegalese street peddlers in Italy.

workers and employers just calling them *Africano*, or *negro* (black). They wanted to be called by their name as a matter of being respected as fellow human beings. In their apartment blocks, Casamançais furthermore struggled with incidences where their identity was reduced to their skin colour. Implied prejudices were frequent, of which being dirty and disrespectful of the neighbours' space ranked highest. In view of the effects of being black, Ansou and others felt they would never be equal, and discrimination would continue to prevail over *convivencia*.

This racially marked inequality had a counterpart in Muslim-Christian relations. I noted earlier how *cohabitation* between Muslims and Christians in Casamance directly blended into cultural discourses of *cohabitation*. In Catalonia, however, this was a rather troublesome relationship, despite a formal recognition of the equality of beliefs. The National Agreement states that in a secular state everyone is entitled to their individual faiths and deserves equitable and impartial treatment within the limits of general laws. These laws protect individual rights and establish equality between cultures, age groups and genders. (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b: 71f). Furthermore, interreligious dialogue should be encouraged to foster 'thoughts in favour of living together [*convivència*]' (ibid.: 72).

Interreligious dialogue and equality of beliefs were hard to perceive in everyday neighbourhood life and discourses. Although many Muslims (North and sub-Saharan African) lived in the peripheral neighbourhoods of Mataró, as Muslims they were continuously marginalised and distrusted (cf. Moreras 2008, 2009). A low point in Catalan-Muslim relations followed the Madrid train bombings in March 2004 committed by an Islamist terror cell. Resistance to the Muslim presence in neighbourhoods had been frequent before, but the situation was aggravated and exploited by the media and right-wing political actors. Although Casamançais were rarely perceived as Muslims and thus not the primary objects of attention, they felt a real burden being placed on their everyday religious practice.

From the standpoint of Casamançais Muslims, the question of obtaining centrally located prayer rooms or mosques was crucial (cf. Astor 2012). In all my Catalan field site towns, Muslims had established prayer rooms (locally referred to as mosques)

with some official support, yet only at the urban periphery. To pray, Muslims had to leave their neighbourhoods to join believers in the prayer rooms that had once been industrial plants.[85] Many Casamançais believed that until a representative mosque was built in Barcelona, no other Catalan town would be able to succeed in obtaining one. At the same time they preferred a stepwise process of negotiating their presence as Muslims in Catalonia over open confrontation. Casamançais therefore confined their religious practice to the private sphere and the urban periphery. Discussing *convivencia* with Casamançais, the main claim was that such open discrimination of a religious group was unthinkable back home.

A related irritation stemmed from seeing the Catalan churches remain empty on most days of the year. As nearly all Casamançais followed one religion or the other, many implicitly disapproved of co-residents not practising their religion. For many of the Muslim Casamançais, not practising religion was equivalent to not believing. In Casamance, a critical factor for mutual respect, however, was the conviction that everyone believed in the same god and that only the religious practice varied. Eventually, Casamançais related the absence of religious practice to the European norms of individualism and marketisation. Given the Europeans' perceived infidelity and the anti-Muslim discourse, Casamançais felt a double burden in relating to *convivència* in Catalonia through their experiences of religious *cohabitation* in Casamance. European individualism and the sole quest for economic success that was part of the public imaginary of Europe further contributed to this mismatch and changing conviviality.

Above, we saw how returning migrants have a strong influence on the social relations in Casamance due to the high hopes and expectations placed in the migration which they symbolise. These imaginations of European life also influence interpretative efforts of Casamançais in Europe. The migration discourse is entangled with the discourse built around the notion of *tubab*, the European or white person,

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[85] Even the first large mosque in Cornellà de Llobregat (just outside Barcelona) built for this purpose shows no external signs of a mosque and disappears between the industrial plants that surround it (www.324.cat/noticia/1395426/ [accessed 20/12/2012]).

who morally is inferior to the Senegalese (cf. Cruise O'Brien 1972: 260-4). On the other hand, the economic success of the *tubab* is admired. Both continue as discourses in Catalonia influencing the expectations and frustrations which I briefly present in terms of economic hopes before turning to the perceived signs of moral decay.

Casamançais always mentioned the economic strength of '*el Dorado*' Europe in explaining their migrations. The hope to find 'fast' and 'big' money was shared among individual migrants and the strategies of their families (Jónsson 2008: 35; cf. van Nieuwenhuyze 2007; Kaplan Marcusán 2003). Casamançais like other African migrants maintained an image of 'European' success under which North America was often subsumed (cf. Fall et al. 2012).[86] The hope that 'the grass is greener across the Mediterranean' (White 1999: 843) is a common perspective from a variety of African countries and one that is propagated by global media representations (Appadurai 1990). Casamançais accepted the perpetual quest for economic productivity as the foremost explanation of the lack of time and engagement of Europeans. For the same reason many critiqued and minimised their 'African-style' sociality out of consideration for their working neighbours. Due to the felt economic supremacy of Europeans, some Casamançais finally accepted their disempowered subject position in hopes of eventually receiving their share. Reifying this European '*el Dorado*', Casamançais nurtured both their personal economic aspirations and the negative flipside of European moral decay.

The experiences of Europe as a cold place where immigrants had to be invisible due to a xenophobic and exclusionary culture was the flipside of Europe as '*el Dorado*' (cf. Riccio 2005: 110f). A common representation was that the people of Europe had lost the values of being together as a family, among friends, as neighbours or as believers in the same god. Reproducing their prejudices, Casamançais raised the questions of why Spanish preferred to live with dogs instead of their families, why men killed 'their' women as regularly shown on TV, and how it happened that people had to

[86] Furthermore, having been exploited during colonial time and as welcome labour migrants in the 1960s, Senegalese feel some legitimacy in wanting their share of the wealth of the French and of Europe in general as an aspect of postcolonial equality (Riccio 2005: 110).

sleep on the street instead of finding a host. According to Casamançais, much of this was due to Europeans' excessive concern with material means (cf. Riccio 2004: 939-41). Casamançais struggled to reconcile their aspirations to economic success and a modern lifestyle with the need to maintain the image of acting responsibly in view of Europe's moral decay.

This double-edged perception and discursive reproduction of Europe became further distorted under the impact of the on-going economic crisis. The booming years of Spain in which immigration and obtaining papers were easy and work readily available had undeniably ceased. Despite the moral corruption, the actual, disillusioning, experience of continuous economic difficulties in Catalonia and Spain were sometimes seen as signs that Spain was not really part of Europe but rather part of Africa. The 'better Europe' for some was envisioned to start past the Pyrenees. Others expected France and Italy to be worse than Spain, especially, since in Spain it was still easier for undocumented migrants to endure. Thus, Catalonia and Spain were represented in numerous, often contradictory ways that had various influence on everyday living with difference which ultimately depended on individual circumstances and specific social situations.

Summary

This final section introduced the various layers of diversity in Catalonia and the discourses of living with differences from the perspectives of both local policy and Casamançais migrants. Catalan neighbourhoods that were built at a time of large-scale internal migration were diversified by the influx of international migrants. Addressing this mixing, Catalan policy gave the diversity of people's origins a generally positive spin. The *empadronament*, registration with the town hall, offered an important example of how, despite cultural diversity, a formal equality was created, even though it remained partial. Yet, the Catalan language equally occupied a crucial place as the local *lingua franca*. Casamançais engaged with this double message mainly constructively. Some acted as self-confident as local residents as they did in Casamance, yet others felt subjugated to integration demands. Such power

hierarchies being a challenge for *convivència*, Casamançais related to additional representations to explain their everyday experiences. Perceived discrepancies of values and norms expressed in European individualism and economic primacy in combination with the decay of the family and loss of religious faith constituted a challenge and alternative to representations of living with difference in Catalonia. Various forms of racism furthermore reiterated the stereotypical Europe-Africa divide.

2.4 Outlook

Introducing the migrations of Casamançais, the configurations of diversity and difference in Catalonia and Casamance, and the recurrent representations of living with difference in both local social fields, I hope to have established common ground concerning the dimensions of the ethnography at hand. Familiarising the reader with the history of cultural diversity in both regions and representations of living with difference – *cohabitation* and *convivència* – had the objective of building a framework in which to situate the ethnographic explorations of practices of conviviality. Some aspects were surely presented in broad strokes which merit a closer look that is to come. However, all of the region-specific references and the ways they were embedded in national and global narratives were recurrent throughout my fieldwork with Casamançais, thus justifying their inclusion in this chapter further supported by links to the regional and migration-related literature.

While migrants from Casamance and their friends and relatives assumed many different identities and related to various discourses and experiences, they nevertheless shared some experiences of *cohabitation* in Casamance and references to national, regional and global discourses, which led to common features in interpreting and living *convivència* in Catalonia. This is the alternative perspective of living with difference that this ethnography intends to explore. Among the distinct influences from Casamance were neighbourliness, reception and hospitality (*teranga*), hierarchical incorporation, cosmopolitan self-representations, and multilingual

claims as well as the readiness to engage with *linguae francae*. In Catalonia, Casamançais were exposed to the political project of *convivència* while also making sense of their migration experiences through a number of globally available discursive resources. Furthermore, and despite being embedded in local social fields, Casamançais' (temporary) returns and further transnational practices kept the transnational social field alive. Apart from influencing Casamançais' lives and Catalan society, migration, return and transnational influences were some of the forces leading to social change in Casamance as well. Thus, in addition to all variation in the configurations and representations of Casamance and Catalonia, I have pointed out representations and configurations of living with difference that are of relevance in *both* sites of this comparison, Casamance, my interlocutors' initial field of socialisation, and their current place of residency, Catalonia. Qualifying how people actually lived with difference in the everyday follows in the subsequent four ethnographic chapters.

PART TWO.

OBSERVING CONVIVIALITY

Chapter 3.

Neighbourhood encounters in everyday life

Ziguinchor, Casamance, May 2010

Street dust and workshop soot mixed when I went to pick up my neighbour Oumar Kane from work one afternoon to walk back to Lindiane. We joined the flow of Ziguinchorois walking along newly paved streets and more often on the red and yellow bare soil, the common urban surface. Women and girls went to the market every day to purchase the ingredients for daily meals, boys and adolescents were sent to run errands for a family member or friend, people went to work, left to greet friends or acquaintances somewhere, or went to settle a deal.

Oumar worked as an apprentice welder in HLM (Habitations à Loyer Modéré, subsidised housing) in Néma, a central area of Ziguinchor. After visiting his employer and the family of a Casamançais who lived in Catalonia, we continued our way home on the main Boulevard de Lindiane, giving way to taxis and *cars rapides*, public transport minibuses, and cyclists, and navigated the uneven surface. The boulevard was the direct way home, yet Oumar tried to convince me that taking the smaller streets crisscrossing the neighbourhood, which he knew well, would have been faster. Certainly, passing through the little streets would have been more diverting because of the many opportunities to stop and exchange extended greetings. Approaching home on the Boulevard, we nevertheless greeted a number of people in passing. Dropping me off at Samboukunda, Oumar quickly came into the yard to inquire about the family and to banter with Damé Sambou's daughter and sister-in-law. He then carried on next door, where his co-residents and their friends were sitting in front of the house preparing tea. With me he had made an effort to chat in basic French, while, depending on whom we encountered, he used his Wolof, Jola and Mandinka repertoires.

Accompanying Oumar, I witnessed his ways of interacting with various local residents. In this chapter I ask which everyday practices meaningfully contributed to

living with difference in the local social field. In particular, what is the role of greeting and the showing of interest, as well as inhabiting and temporarily appropriating open spaces? Furthermore, is there a relevant connection between people's practices and the spaces in which they happen? I argue that practices of conviviality construct a meaningful space – convivial space. Practices and spaces of conviviality are in a symbiotic relationship mutually reinforcing each other.

The walk with Oumar took a couple of hours and seemingly nothing spectacular happened. Encounters between people consisted of minimal interactions, occurring while on the way somewhere and with various forms of tactical and casual greeting. They were often fleeting and spontaneous, sometimes sustained; they were enacted with strangers, acquaintances and peers, both in groups and individually. They happened in open spaces which in principle were accessible to all. While parks, streets and squares were the more obvious examples, hallways, staircases and yards were others.

Apart from fleeting encounters, Oumar and I also passed groups of people of various ages having tea or chatting outside and inhabiting this space. Criss-crossing the neighbourhood on other occasions, I also witnessed parties held under canopies pitched on the street. The celebrating people not only inhabited open spaces but indeed temporarily appropriated them constructing a sense of locality which defined this space (cf. Appadurai 2005 [1995]: 178-99). Inevitably, the convivial spaces that emerged from outdoor celebrations were discussed and contested.

I will argue that the gatherings that inhabited open spaces were the result of past negotiations and translations. In consequence, I will show how the consensus shared among local residents always remained fragile and in-flux. Often, contesting practices of living with difference happened in quite subtle ways. This raises the questions of how much interaction is actually favoured in comparison to mutual avoidance (cf. Smith 1974: vii-xvii) and how local forms of living with difference are supported or contested. Instead of seeing local social fields as fully integrated or disintegrated, I stress that from the outset fragility defines local relations in diverse neighbourhoods.

Instead of just reproducing discourses of living with difference as presented in the previous chapter, I explore encounters as well as their relation to representations which were at the core of Casamançais' ways of living with difference. Part of this is to see when convivial space emerged and when conviviality remained a discourse. Furthermore, it remains to be seen to what extent practices and discourses of conviviality are similar or different between Casamance and Catalonia. Throughout this chapter, the tensions between trying to maintain known practices and either not achieving or actively changing them mark the processes at play.

In the following first section, I explore everyday encounters in Casamance that lead on from my experience above. I present the ways in which Casamançais pass through the neighbourhood, giving greetings in passing or in more sustained encounters. Continuing the comparative analysis in Catalonia, in the second section I explore the claim of Casamançais that they go out mostly when they have somewhere specific to go; when they are in transit. In the third section, I will investigate the role greeting played in encounters in Catalonia comparing it to practices in Casamance. In all of these sections special emphasis will be given to multilingual practices and choices. Finally, I draw a comparison between ways of inhabiting and appropriating open spaces in Catalonia and in Casamance. It is in this section that negotiations of conflictual situations take centre stage. I will conclude from this chapter that practices which embody convivial spaces such as greeting, fleeting encounters and inhabiting open spaces are crucial to understanding local conviviality. Conviviality is ever-evolving, a consensus in progress confronting the challenges of changing contexts, migrant subjectivities and uncertainty.

3.1 Encounters in Casamance

Passing through the neighbourhood and greeting

As we have seen in the introduction, Lindiane is one of the more peripheral neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor, the regional capital of the Lower Casamance. Yet it is

a large one in which Christians and Muslims live next to each other, as do different ethnic groups. Similarly, the built environment reflects this diversity. Apart from accommodating households of various socioeconomic backgrounds, houses of Christians alternate with those of Muslims and others; various places of worship are scattered throughout the neighbourhood, as are corner shops, hardware stores and various workshops. Yet the local geography cannot be fully understood in static terms. Mobility provokes encounters all across the neighbourhood and to a lesser extent across the city as a whole.

Accompanying Oumar Kane and many others during their daily activities in Lindiane, I witnessed a lot of relatively short encounters on the street and in front of houses. Some entailed just the short *Salaamaléékum – maléékum salaam*.[87] Others nodded their heads or additionally shook hands. Among Muslims, the right hand often came to rest on the chest after shaking hands, a sign of respect among equals.[88]

Muslims and Christians alike used *Salaamaléékum* even in Lindiane, a neighbourhood with a large proportion of Christians. Augustin Sambou, a subtenant in Samboukunda explained a widely held conviction that this was appropriate since everyone addressed the same god. Apart from the innumerable times I heard and said *Salaamaléékum*, I additionally listened to and engaged in numerous other forms of greeting as well. In Jola, people could start off by saying *Saafi* or *Saafu*, depending on whether they encountered one or many. This would replace the *Salaamaléékum* while in Mandinka *Kori tana nteŋ? – Tana nteŋ!*[89] normally followed the universal *Salaam alaykum – Alaykum salaam*. Augustin Sambou was explicit that most of the time Wolof would be used in Ziguinchor to address a stranger. Everyone in town

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[87] For Jola spelling I refer to Sapir's dictionary (1993), for Mandinka to Drame's grammar and dictionary (2003), and for Wolof, as in this case, to Diouf's dictionary (2003).

[88] Some also said it was appropriated from the Wolof and/or Murids, who situate the 'sensitive organ' *naw* inside of the sternum; *naw* also means respect and consideration (cf. Sylla 1980: 91f).

[89] Is everyone doing well? – Very well!

would at least know *Na nga def? – Maa ngi fi rekk*[90] to follow up on the initial *Salaamaléékum*. French was only used on more formal occasions or among people one knew. While in town, Wolof could be presupposed, schooling and thus the knowledge of French could not.

Apart from greetings in passing I also followed some more elaborate exchanges upon initial encounters. For example, people known to one another tended to address each other by their family names in response to *Saafi*. Among strangers, in Jola this was the first thing enquired. At the beginning of my fieldwork, people I encountered asked for my last name straight away leading to this exchange: *Saafi – Au ka saafi buu*? – *Ka saafom Heil*.[91] The following questions then enquired into the usual. *Heil, Kassumay? – Kassumay keb/vale. – Au béy nu kine? – Allemagne ni kine …*[92] Augustin himself frequently joked that people would not only enquire about all the family members but also the animals that had been around last time the other had visited, the state of the harvest, and the like. In this way, he introduced his critique of the greeting practice which required a lot of time. Nevertheless, he continued to cohere with it since it remained part of his understanding of *cohabitation*.

In Sédhiou and other places where Mandinka was spoken, the pattern was similar: *Salaam alaykum – Alaykum salaam*. – *Kori tana nteŋ? – Tana nteŋ! – Súú-kónó-nkoolu lee? – I bí jee. – Ŋ'kee-maa/Ŋ'musu-maa le? – A bí jee …'*[93] Eventually people would again enquire where one came from, which in my case generally meant my country of origin. Locally, a variation of it contained the question of where people came from that moment and where they were going to. After everyone you had encountered

[90] How [do] you do? – I am here only [i.e. I am fine].

[91] I greet you – what is your family name? My family name is Heil.

[92] Heil, (is there) peace [i.e. are you alright]? – Peace only [i.e. I'm fine] (keb and vale are local variations between Jola Fogny and Jola Kasa that were both spoken among the people I knew). Where are you from?

[93] Are all doing well? – Very well! –How is the family (members of the household)? – They are there (i.e. They are fine). - And your husband/wife? – He/She is fine. … The latter already broke the pattern if I decided to answer *Musu tembolu* (I don't have a wife), which caused various reactions normally ending in laughter because my basic Mandinka did not suffice to justify myself.

was equally addressed, which in groups could easily last for a couple of minutes, everyone continued their way.

To disentangle the relevance of encounters in open spaces in Casamance, I first offer some reflections on the use of multilingual repertoires as well as *linguae francae*. Afterwards, I will explore the role attributed to greeting and its critique.

Lingua franca and multilingualism in Casamançais convivial space

When people were on the way to somewhere and encountered people they did not know well, greeting most often remained at the level of a short *Salaamaléékum – maléékum salaam*. People who knew their neighbourhood well also shifted languages according to the encounter. As a Mandinka, Madou Konaté constantly made an effort on our walks in Soucoupapaye in Ziguinchor to greet in Jola when appropriate. Knowing nothing more than that Jola was the mother tongue of someone he encountered, he said he consciously switched languages to foster good neighbourly relations. He easily achieved a positive outcome by pleasing the Jola neighbours who otherwise mainly experienced Mandinka unwilling to speak anything but their own language. In areas where no general agreement on a dominant language had been reached like Lindiane or Soucoupapaye in Ziguinchor, the multilingual practices of greeting became a quasi-universal narrative in my conversations which was regularly put into practice. Multilingual repertoires mattered in Ziguinchor neighbourhoods since no single language was dominant, while in Sédhiou Mandinka clearly was the *lingua franca*.

The Boulevard de Lindiane was one of the many invisible crossroads of Ziguinchor's cultural, linguistic and religious diversity where neither the space nor the people could easily be classified. People belonging to different religious and ethnic groups lived right next to each other and frequently encountered each other on the street. Old men who migrated from the countryside greeted in Jola or Mandinka; adolescents mainly used Wolof, French on occasion, and some words in English; in the shops customers would practise their few words in Fula with the shop keeper; and at the market people bargained in Creole or increasingly in Wolof, or bought

from their preferred vendor using a language comfortable to both. Language switching both between and within social situations such as bargaining was frequent.[94] Language switching was widely shared among the population in Lindiane and beyond. In view of *cohabitation*, Augustin Sambou concluded on a widely held conviction that, 'They should use the language which allows them to communicate with those people [encountered].'[95] This statement was crucial since it clearly revealed the functionalist interpretation of *cohabitation* temporarily ruling status and power relations out. Nevertheless, those speaking several languages like Augustin himself had a clear advantage. They were frequently admired and referred to as the prime examples of a quintessential, multi-lingual and cosmopolitan Casamançais who had travelled the subregion (see portrait). The fact, however, of originating from Guinea Bissau at times was disadvantageous for Augustin (cf. Chapter Six).

Augustin Sambou

Augustin Sambou was born a Jola in Guinea Bissau and apart from his mother tongue he spoke several languages. He had come as a refugee minor in the 1970s and had grown up in a village on the outskirts of Ziguinchor. At the street corner with people of his age he often used Wolof following a general trend. With his cousins from Guinea Bissau he spoke Creole, with his family members his home dialect of Jola, and with his landlord the widely spread Jola Fogny. He also knew Mandinka and some Fula. With his colleagues he spoke French, while with me he sometimes practised English. He also knew Portuguese. He had finished high school in Ziguinchor, had become a primary school teacher, and prepared for an exam for a higher administrative position. He was unmarried, but headed the household constituted by two of his sisters, a cousin and his nephew in Ziguinchor. He also had to take care of his mother's place in a village close to Ziguinchor, and his family

[94] For the latter, see a very detailed transactional analysis in Nairobi (Parkin 1974), from which I take some inspiration.

[95] French: 'Qu'ils utilisent la langue qui leur permet de communiquer avec ces gens-là.'

members back in Guinea Bissau. He was Catholic, but said he maintained elements of his 'traditional religion'. He had friends of multiple ethnic groups and various religious affiliations.

In descriptions of Lindiane, distinctions between people's ethnic origins and linguistic skills were vague, shifting and constantly evaded efforts to generalise. Sometimes, people spoke of ethnic groups or they mentioned which language was mostly spoken, at other times people just mentioned the amazing diversity of the inhabitants. Apart from the inhabitant's mother tongues, Wolof was gaining ground as a language often used with increasing numbers of strangers and among youth. The Jola delegate of the adjacent Boucotte Sud neighbourhood, Yoro Tapha Sambou, stressed that 'Le wolof est dominant, que vous le vouliez ou non.'[96] (Ziguinchor, 04/2010). He felt obliged to speak Wolof, since his children already did. However, he stressed that, ethnically, Jola were the majority followed by Mandinka, Balanta, Fula, Mancanya and Mandjak. The situation of Lindiane resembled this description of Boucotte Sud. Additionally, strangers spread throughout the neighbourhood ranging from Bissau Guinean refugees who had come in the 1960s, to other West Africans, and some Europeans. In such a situation of diversity and when *cohabitation* was at stake, language switching and linguistic creativity served a purpose expressed in Augustin Sambou's earlier comment: to communicate with whomever was around. Depending on how much information people had about each other, they greeted in Wolof or French until they would recognise they shared another language more familiar to them such as Mandinka, Jola or others. At the same time, people could please each other by showing familiarity with ritualised exchanges specific to the other's language. Such limited but creative ways of using linguistic repertoires could well be called truncated multilingualism (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005: 199-200).

At the heart of this balancing act between languages expressed in multilingual repertoires lay the absence of legitimate first-comers to the place. Due to their assimilation into other groups, the original Bainuk inhabitants did not act as hosts,

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[96] 'Wolof is dominant, whether you like it or not.' (from French)

nor was any other exclusive claim to autochthony widely acknowledged, at least not on the local neighbourhood scale. As a consequence, local residents took the varied perceptions of the neighbourhood for granted which was reflected in their distinctive, possibly contradicting practices (cf. Chapter Five).

In Sédhiou in contrast, language switching did not happen a lot since the *lingua franca* was clearly Mandinka. Mamadou Deme confirmed this also for Kabeumb, the Jola-founded neighbourhood of Sédhiou of which he was the delegate. Mamadou was convinced that the main share of the population still was Jola and was related to the four founding families who had come from the Fogny area north of Ziguinchor some two hundred years ago. Since its foundation, the population of Kabeumb had diversified and members of numerous ethnic affiliations lived there. In the past, Mamadou said, Kabeumb inhabitants had lived in symbiosis with the Mandinka. The Diaxanké marabout Fode Kaba who had led the Mandinka in violently spreading Islam had resided next door in the Moricounda neighbourhood. Instead of converting under him, Kabeumb had invited a Bambara family from Mali to be their imams. Since then, the Jola had maintained that the post of chief and delegate remained with the four founder families and was held for life.[97] Although the population of Kabeumb had since diversified and members of numerous ethnic affiliations lived there, it remained known as *the* Jola neighbourhood. Yet speaking Mandinka in open spaces was unquestioned.

While in Ziguinchor no single language dominated in local encounters, in Sédhiou Mandinka clearly prevailed as the accepted *lingua franca* thus curtailing multilingual repertoires. While many of the Balanta in the Sédhiou region spoke Mandinka even at home, in Kabeumb the Jola families maintained Jola, Mamadou reassured me. Similarly, many other ethnic groups, in particular the more recently arrived ones, practised languages other than Mandinka. For example, the Bissau Guinean immigrants in Santa-Sou and Montagne Rouge regularly conversed in Creole. Jola

[97] This was in contrast to the other neighbourhoods where delegates were elected for periods of five years.

from the Kasa area west of Ziguinchor, who had come as labour migrants, continued to speak Jola Kasa. Alain Sagna, a Jola from Sédhiou, who had lived in Dakar and now lived in Catalonia, manoeuvred easily in all languages: Jola (Kasa and Fogny), Mandinka and Wolof, in addition to French, Castilian and Catalan (see Portrait Chapter Five). Despite individual multilingual repertoires widely found with people living and having grown up in Sédhiou, the hegemony of the Mandinka language in open spaces and everyday life was unquestioned, forming part of the wider Mandingisation process in religious and cultural terms (cf. Chapter Six).

Living with difference in a local social field could either be facilitated by (truncated) multilingualism or by the existence of a *lingua franca* that was commonly agreed upon. The latter did not preclude that individuals had multilingual skills, even though they could be reduced. Convivial space emerged when in encounters the focus was clearly on finding a way to communicate rather than to make a statement about one's belonging or language preference. This could either be done using a *lingua franca* or multilingual repertoires. To facilitate communication was important to comply with neighbourly duties and to show mutual consideration and respect, both of which I will explore next.

Greeting: its substance and critique

Richly equipped with at least some capacity to engage with others in multiple languages which could include *linguae francae* or not, in Casamance most of my informants stressed the importance of engaging with those encountered along the way. Seyni Badji, a primary school director who lived in Lindiane, substantiated that greeting upon meeting, even when under time pressure, was widely observed in Casamance, something distinctive in comparison to Europe. Firstly he claimed that here everybody knew each other and secondly that it was expected to greet passers-by, thereby showing one's consideration and respect. The hope was that this would be reciprocal, which it often was. I was repeatedly offered these two explanations: the first one postulated a strong local tradition of *voisinage*, neighbourliness; the

second one was more global in reach and raised the expectation to respect neighbours and strangers alike.

The first aspect, the claim to neighbourliness, related to the key assumption that neighbours had to substitute for absentee relatives in town (cf. Section 2.1). This implied that neighbours had no 'natural' ties to rely on apart from living in spatial proximity and fostering neighbourly relations. Extended greeting was an important element in such neighbourly relations signalling one's interest in the neighbour's wellbeing. Augustin Sambou said that one should ask 'how the other is doing in his family; in order not to offend him, too, if he is not well; sometimes, one might need to stay home to assist [one's] neighbour.'[98] Enquiring about the situation of the other showed the readiness, willingness and interest necessary to take action in case it was needed. It referred to a situation in which neighbours were familiar with the social field in which they lived, i.e. their neighbourhood.

Independent of complying with neighbourly duties, and more importantly, a great majority agreed upon the importance of greeting as a sign of respect. The hand resting on the chest to conclude greetings practised by Muslims reinforced this meaning. This was very important to the Casamançais at home and abroad. A large proportion of Casamançais even felt in the position to enforce greeting by way of accusing the other of not respecting this basic form of *cohabitation*. Everyone encountered was first met with the respect owed to an equal, which was not restricted to local residents only but referenced the shared humanity that Stolcke (1995: 1) refers to in the opening quote of the introduction. At the same time, this process actively acknowledged difference: as part of the exchange interlocutors inquired into each other's diverging origins by way of family name and home village, and when needed people switched languages to facilitate mutual understanding. The complement of this positive interest in difference, inquiring into

[98] French: 'comment va l'autre dans sa famille; s'il va mal, pour ne pas le toucher aussi; parfois, il faut qu'on ne parte pas au travail pour assister le voisin.'

someone's whereabouts and identity also contributed to a sense of security among neighbours by knowing who was around.

Showing an interest in those encountered was even more pronounced in the villages I visited. Koussi and Sakar in the Sédhiou region were small enough to traverse comfortably on foot.[99] In both villages, most of the family houses were built in compounds grouped around a yard. Some of them were fenced while others remained open, as did the spaces in front of single houses. In Sakar where all but two families were Mandinka, everybody was acquainted and on walks villagers frequently paused to catch up with people along the way and in courtyards.[100] The gatherings were reference points attracting flows of people.

Koussi, a very heterogeneous village, was little different in this respect. While there were disputes in the village between Mandinka and Fula about leadership (Chapter Six), greeting and meeting remained an essential part of the everyday. The younger brother of Ibou Djitte in Mataró, Amoul Djitte in Koussi stopped and greeted everybody, some in passing while remaining longer with others: his Jola nominal aunt who converted to Islam upon marriage, the Mandinka-Jola teacher couple, and one of the few Jola Christians. In this manner he slowly passed through the village. In Koussi, as elsewhere, I could regularly observe local residents stopping and chatting or at least greeting in passing. Casual encounters shaped convivial space between houses, along the smaller lanes, within courtyards and along the main road.

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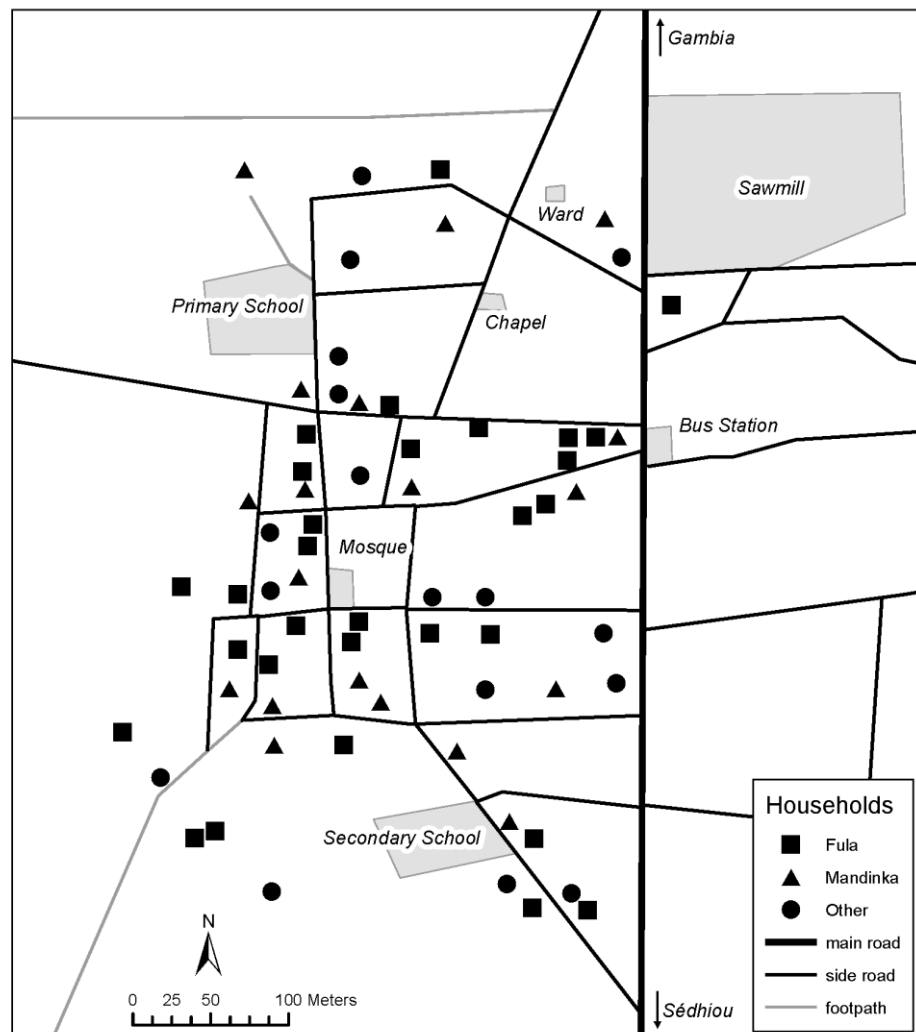
[99] Larger villages sometimes also are structured into neighbourhoods which can be very relevant references for social organisation (cf. Lambert 2002; de Jong 2007).

[100] There were only two houses of Jalonké in Sakar, one Jola worked in a state agency for local rural development, and a couple of Fula ran the local shops. Both Fula and Jola were seen to be temporarily in the village. Cf. Chapter Six for a longer analysis.

Map 6 Koussi households by ethnicity



Founded as a labourer village by a French company, Koussi's population composition resembled Ziguinchor and Sédhiou's a lot more than Sakar's. Mapping the family names gave a good impression of the spatial mixing of Koussi residents of different ethnic affiliations (Map 6). Mandinka and Fula were most numerous, but people had various ethnic origins. Among the majority of Muslims, Koussi's five Christian families had at times run catechism classes in their small village chapel. The neighbouring village up north, however, held a far stronger Christian community. In addition to internally diverse households, the distribution of households by their main ethnic affiliation in the village illustrated that it was impossible to pass through Koussi without encountering people with varying cultural backgrounds.

Although greeting was widely practised, disputes and negotiations were also part of the everyday process from which convivial space emerged. I joined Amoul who, in the capacity of electrician, went with his co-Mandinka friend to connect a new house 'chez les Peuls'[101] to the electricity network. Upon arrival in the yard, the Mandinka friend got upset with the Fula residents since they insisted on speaking Fula with him. A senior woman stated that at least at home she wanted to speak her language since already in village affairs Mandinka was always dominant. Not knowing Fula, the Mandinka felt that the Fula women imposed her language on him. He therefore wanted the Fula to be more flexible in facilitating greeting in Mandinka. Tensions became apparent due to their dissimilar interpretation of who should make the effort to speak the other's language when and where. The Mandinka assumed the validity of Mandinka as *lingua franca* in yards, while the Fula contested such a consensus since she felt at home. This clearly showed the process of negotiating conviviality. Being co-present in the yard, they agreed that interacting was necessary, but which language to use remained contested. This showed the on-going tension in the village between the two largest groups, Mandinka and Fula. Conviviality was fragile and the emergence of convivial space depended on the everyday negotiations and interactions taking place.

To the contrary, in Ziguinchor I witnessed people fundamentally refusing to interact with people whom they passed on the street. Alassane Danso, a university student born in Sakar, hardly greeted anyone on his way through the Soucoupapaye and Lindiane neighbourhoods. He even advised me to follow his example and pass people silently if they intended to greet. Apart from finding it a waste of time, Alassane's argument was an expression of his aspirations to urban modernity: this was Ziguinchor, a town, and not a village and thus to greet in fleeting encounters was obsolete. For Alassane, greeting was only part of everyday life in villages. In regional towns like Ziguinchor and Sédhiou even the most fundamental form of greeting that was maintained by the majority of the population was thus contested.

[101] 'at the Fula's place' (from French)

Only a few stated their opposition as clearly as Alassane but many aspiring urban youths, students and professionals followed this impulse in practice (cf. Chapter Five). Yet, in practice, greeting – even if reduced to a very brief exchange – was maintained at least with those who were known or directly encountered. Importantly, knowing did not mean in-depth friendship but a minimal knowledge including who the other one was and where he was from. This was something normally acquired upon the first encounter. In Casamance, people's difference was respected by way of enquiring and knowing their diverse origins. In contrast, during my fieldwork not to greet sometimes went unnoticed in crowded areas and in towns since people did not feel that they were part of an encounter. This was particularly true among the younger residents who actively aspired to a different, modern lifestyle. In such cases, nodding or giving way was all that possibly remained of conviviality.

Summary

In this section, I have suggested that throughout Casamance the strong claim to *cohabitation* and *voisinage* was put into practice and that convivial space emerged from reciprocal processes. Greeting during random encounters, both showing respect for the stranger and interest in the neighbour's wellbeing, was prominent in all places in which I did research. Any circulation through the neighbourhood implied various encounters, often enquiring into the origin – and hereby acknowledging the difference – of the other. This interaction was facilitated by multilingual skills that were deployed appropriately according to context. It did not matter that people's multilingualism was to varying degrees truncated. People continuously translated between languages and contexts, quickly adjusting their ways of doing things. Here, differences between villages and urban neighbourhoods, between generations and people having spent more or less time in various locations, as well as between individual convictions and aspirations played in, ultimately revealing the fragility of convivial processes. As a result, (not) facilitating various forms of greeting by taking time or using an appropriate language, as well as disputes about the implied

significance of greeting, were present and played out in practice. Various versions of feeling a need to greet but fearing to stay too long had to be negotiated. Tensions were inevitably part of the process, keeping the resulting consensus to a minimum.[102] Yet the discourse of *cohabitation*, based on the ideal of facilitating interaction, remained strong and was manifest in many practices that were taken for granted. These ethnographic examples will be contrasted with the encounters and discourses of Casamançais in Catalonia which I engage with next.

3.2 In transit in Catalonia

Market in Cerdanyola. Variations of encounters[103]

While in 2007 the weekly market of Cerdanyola was quite peripheral, by 2010 the location of the small but busy market on Saturdays had changed to the street and parking places next to the Parc de Cerdanyola. Large quantities of fruit and vegetables were on offer as well as clothes. Local residents of all ages and origins went there to shop.[104] The market was characterised by the quantity rather than the quality of goods, which was in contrast to the picturesque stalls in the central Mataró market hall. Several North African and Latin American immigrants worked as vendors but I never saw a sub-Saharan vendor. While there was no African-run stall, many products were of interest to the African population of the neighbourhood.

One Saturday I accompanied Alain Sagna (Portrait in Chapter Five) to launder his baby's clothes at the launderette on Carrer Rosselló and to pick up some fruit at the

[102] In contrast to Smith's critique of consensual theory that in his view 'assert[s] that conflict expresses consensus [which] deprives it of any meaning' (Smith 1974: xiii), my analysis shows that despite mutual avoidance and maintained difference, conviviality refers to basic practices which also facilitate the handling of conflict and tension, thereby promoting peaceful living with difference.

[103] The vignette of the market is composed of experiences on several occasions.

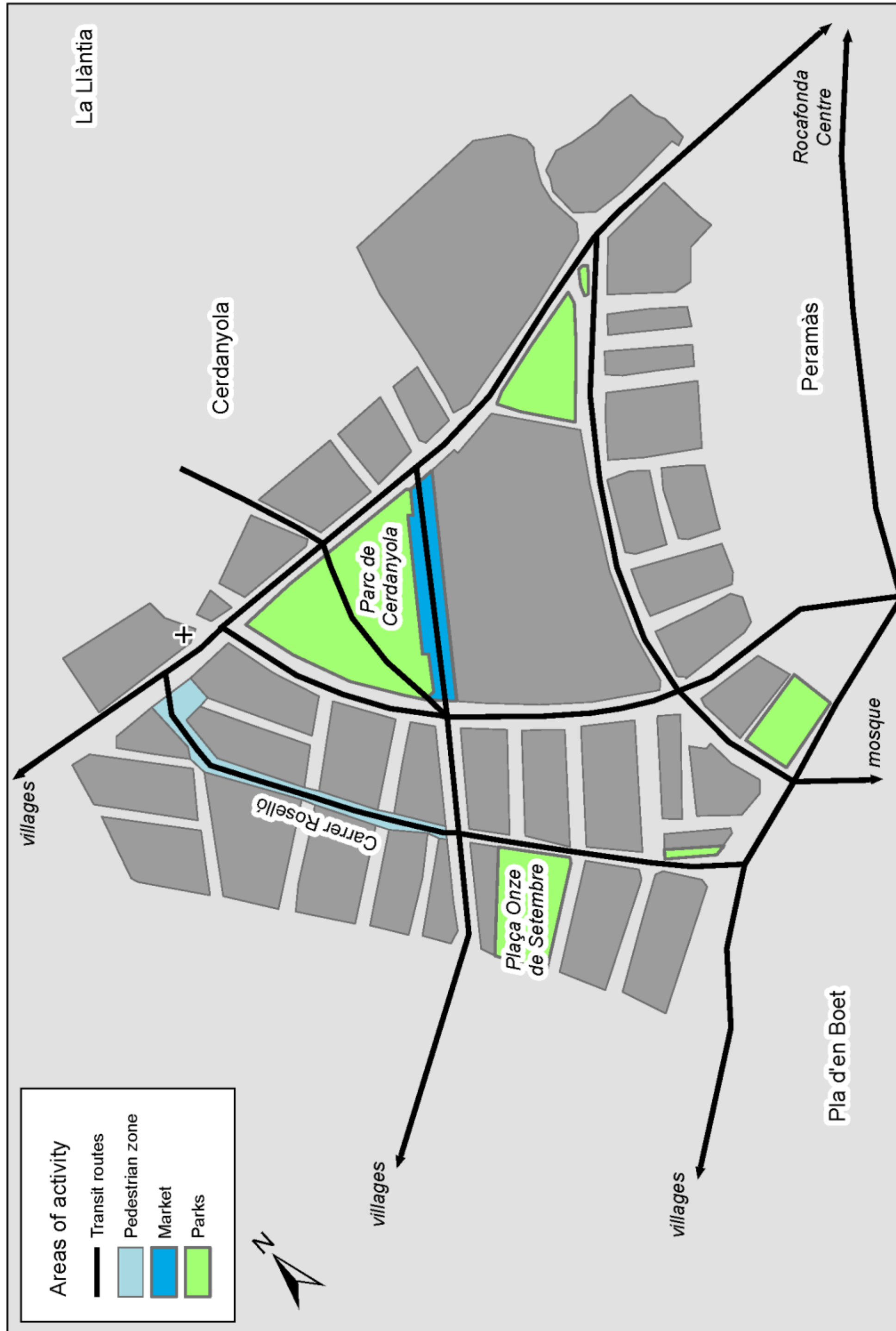
[104] Recently, an interest in market interactions has re-emerged with findings that either stressed markets as sociable or primarily economic spaces (cf. Pottie-Sherman 2011)

market. He tried to be quick and engage only minimally with the acquaintances and friends we crossed paths with to limit the time spent outside. Nevertheless he exchanged some fleeting greetings and slowed down to chat for some time with his peers, pretending to be in a relaxed Saturday morning mood. Arriving at the market he followed the rhythm of everybody else looking for the best deal. He only interrupted comparing prices and quality to comment on acquaintances we saw from a distance, and to exchange greetings with a few people.

Nobody seemed to care about the mixing of people in the market and everybody attended to their own business. People's appearances indicated their different origins and lifestyles, as did the layered soundscape of multiple languages. While some like Alain Sagna rushed to return home quickly, others took time to shop or to be social. On one occasion, Ansou Diédhiou accompanied a visiting relative from Dakar to the market with a number of other relatives and friends. Filming the event of the visit, they frequently stopped and engaged in greetings. In doing the filming the group around Ansou Diédhiou temporarily inhabited some of the market space. All kinds of people had this opportunity which marked the potentiality of the market as a convivial space.

At the market in Cerdanyola, I could observe various social practices of Casamançais in Catalonia of which I will address three aspects in turn. In the remainder of this section, I focus on the reasons for passing quickly through the neighbourhood spaces with a clear destination in mind like Alain Sagna on his way to and from the market. In the following section, I investigate the fleeting greetings that happened nevertheless all along the way. Having noticed how Ansou and his guests inhabited the market space, in the final part of this chapter I enquire into more sustained encounters in open spaces at various times and locations in both Casamance and Catalonia.

Map 7 Field site areas in Cerdanyola, Mataró



'On the way'. Limiting time spent outside

Like Alain Sagna who ran some errands and immediately returned home, many of the Casamançais said that whenever they were outside they were just on the way somewhere. Speaking of life in the neighbourhood, Souleymane Biaye in Granollers pinpointed his and a friend's main engagement with neighbourhood space: 'In part we [seem to] want to marginalise ourselves. How, why? Me and El Hadji, I go to his house and afterwards he comes to my house' (Granollers, 11/2010).[105] Indeed, as a slight variation of Alain Sagna's run to the market, I accompanied many of my Casamançais informants going from one flat to another and sometimes back again. On the way, apart from selective fleeting interactions the movement was directed towards a destination, and ideally involved no further interaction with the immediate environment. This was reinforced by going in pairs and their occasionally reclusive posture hiding under a baseball cap or a hoodie. Generally however, their clothing was diverse ranging from casual to formal, 'European' to 'traditional', and hinting at the different ways of relating to their surroundings.

Talking about social relations in the neighbourhood, Keba Deme (see Portrait below) said that he did not spend much time outside. One day, I met him with a couple of friends heading to one of their homes. They had passed the Plaça de l'Onze de Setembre where they had stopped to greet some of their compatriots and then carried on immediately afterwards. Commemorating the Catalan national day, the Plaça most of the year felt like a rather uninviting, deserted non-place. Apart from a couple of long rows of benches there was a little urban grove of acacia trees in the corner next to an administrative community centre and day centre for elderly people. Whenever I passed by, sub-Saharan men inhabited this space and chatted in groups or sometimes played draughts. Keba himself was never one of them.

While on many walks alone and in the company of a Casamançais I stopped at the grove to greet and chat, yet hardly anybody admitted to spending time there. To

[105] Spanish: 'En parte somos nosotros que queremos marginarnos. Como, por qué? Yo y El Hadji, yo voy a su casa y luego el viene a mi casa.'

hang out in the grove was perceived as a waste of time and socially dangerous. The primary legitimate reason to be outside was to look for work, e.g. spending the morning going from one house to another in the nearby villages asking whether there were gardening or other tasks to do. Furthermore, the potential for social control by fellow migrants was felt to be high for someone unemployed hanging out in open spaces in the neighbourhood. Casamançais feared that rumours questioning the sincerity of their migration endeavour could spread within Mataró and make their way back to Senegal. Whether the rumours were justified or not they spread frequently. As a consequence, Keba greeted as expected, but avoided staying too long so as to not be associated with a space which had negative connotations.

Sounkar Deme was clear about the risks involved in spending time outside:

> In the park, there are all sorts of things [that are going on]. … If you are used to staying in the park, you end up being gossiped about … this is not reasonable. Also, they do little things out there, [like] selling drugs. If you don't have papers, you have to keep away from such places. I don't do this sort of thing. … Because I know what I've left behind. For others who are alone, with no father or mother or children,… they don't care about their lives.[106] (Mataró, 11/2010)

The opinion prevailed that people sitting around chatting would gossip and get involved in other people's business. Not having papers heightened the risks attached to irregular activities. Even for regularly working migrants risks were involved. Complicated but frequent family arrangements such as having affairs in Europe while being married in Casamance, or a conspicuous lifestyle in Europe could create problems and economic difficulties and could easily spoil a reputation. Consequently, Alain Sagna feared losing social status and his image as a successful

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[106] French: 'Au parc il y a tout. … Si tu as l'habitude de rester au parc, tu vas dans les faux commentaires, … c'est pas raisonnable. Aussi, ils font des petits trucs là-bas, [comme] vendre des drogues. Donc si tu n'as pas de papiers, il faut éviter de rester dans des lieux pareils. Moi, j'ai pas l'habitude de faire ça. … Parce que moi je sais ce que j'ai laissé derrière. Il y en a d'autres, qui sont seuls, ils n'ont pas de père, ni de mère, ni d'enfant, … leurs vies, ils s'en foutent.

migrant. Like many facing this situation, he pretended to be relaxed with his peers when outside while at the same time minimising the time there. In spaces like the Plaça gossiping and spiteful remarks had become the dominant mode of exchange among Casamançais in Catalonia.

To explain the difference between Catalonia and Casamance, Alain Sagna referred to the stylised example of anonymously providing rice to those in need in Casamançais neighbourhoods, a result of the prevailing solidarity 'back home' juxtaposing it to the hostile atmosphere in Catalonia. Yet, when he visited Sédhiou during my stay in

Figure 4 Urban grove of the Plaça de l'Onze de Setembre

by Tilmann Heil

Casamance, he also exhibited distrust and caution in interacting with neighbours. He neither drank nor ate at anybody's place out of a deep seated fear of envy and *magie noire*, black magic. It is against this backdrop that the commitment to *cohabitation* expressed and practised by many in Casamance became even more salient. Others, however, tried to minimise contact, a strategy employed in both Casamance and Catalonia. Claiming to be on the way somewhere was the flipside to showing interest in the neighbour's wellbeing. While less vocalised in Casamance, perceiving the outside and people one might encounter there as potentially dangerous to one's wellbeing existed at both ends of the comparison. In both Casamance and Catalonia,

Casamançais at times were uneasy and cautious, thus trying to keep interactions and exchange to a minimum.

In Catalonia, the claim of only being outside for a purpose was finally reinforced by appropriating dominant prejudices held against migrants. Sounkar Deme, above, referred to illegal activities, such as drug dealing. Casamançais thus distanced themselves from a widely held local prejudice against 'black' migrants. Additionally, this was in line with the observation that immigrant children stayed out alone late into the evening with nobody taking care of them – another negative prejudice against migrants. Although both drug dealing and lack of control over children were also negatively connoted in Casamance, they became particularly salient in the Catalan social field since even Casamançais attributed them to immigrants only. Fakeba Badji, well-trained and in an office job, felt that it was only immigrant children who roamed free, never the Catalan ones. Due to this perception, he said, he would have moved out of this 'immigrant neighbourhood' to avoid exposing his children to such an environment, if sufficiently affordable housing had been available elsewhere.

Summary

Casamançais in Catalonia perceived spending time outside in the neighbourhood as socially dangerous and restricted due to social control and gossip-mongering. Engaging in collectively condemned activities was a perceived abuse of open space. This intensified the concerns of most of my respondents who tried to pass through open spaces in transit on the way to a specific destination. Despite examples of limiting one's vulnerability by restricting time outside and interactions with neighbours in Casamance, much of the perceived and experienced dangers of open spaces were linked to the situation of the Casamançais as immigrants in Catalonia. Personal goals and opinions of migration, transnational obligations and social control, as well as their awareness for local prejudices against migrants meant that interacting with people outside was something to be cautious of. While at times practical reasons like having to work restricted the migrants' time to dwell outside,

many social factors generally rendered it unattractive to actually invest in the construction of convivial space.

Often, Casamançais tried to keep interactions to a minimum, translating their understanding of conviviality to a new context, or rather articulating their understanding of *cohabitation* in coherence with local conditions. However, not everybody was equally concerned about this, and even Sounkar and Alain greeted and sometimes became part of groups of people thereby taking part in processes shaping convivial space. Also, I had no difficulty in meeting people in the Plaça and the Parc who quite happily inhabited open spaces. Exploring practices of greeting and of inhabiting spaces next, we will see how Casamançais in many ways re-enacted convivial space as we had seen it in Casamance. Yet, these practices were also translated between the two contexts.

3.3 Greeting in Catalonia

In the above section, I referred to Keba Deme and his dislike of spending time in the Plaça de l'Onze de Setembre. Nevertheless he stopped and greeted the people he knew. Similarly, Alain Sagna engaged with his peers on the way to the market and in front of the launderette. Both knew the people they met on the way. Keba Deme, however, went into more detail qualifying various encounters, including with several Mancanya, on the basis of his migration experience (see portrait):

> Yes, [I met] some Mancanya. … Because they spoke Creole. … I thought, they're my relatives ... I have to greet them. … I greeted them, I asked their names, I asked [and] they said they live in Cerdanyola, I said [where I live], *adja*, *adja*, I left them there.
>
> TH: And with the Spanish?
>
> KD: There is one thing: I don't understand Spanish well. If I understood Spanish, I could do something with the Spanish. But I do not understand the language well well well. … I am ashamed …

> The street allows you to meet people. Because, sometimes walking … you can say 'Ah, this dude, I always see him here'. Sometimes [you say]: 'Hola - Hola' 'Bon dia - Bon dia' - all that, it makes you acquainted. … Even if I don't know you, I can tell you 'Bon dia' in passing on the road. ... Since Senegal I'm used to this.[107] (Mataró, 10/2010)

Keba Deme

Keba Deme grew up with his uncle in his home village in the Kalounayes, north-east of Ziguinchor. Joining his father in Ziguinchor, he dropped out of secondary school after three years. After a few years in Ziguinchor, he worked five years in Guinea Bissau before getting established in Gambia. Since his time in Bissau he dreamt of going to Europe which he finally did in 2008. Now in his mid-40s, he maintained close contact with his wife and children and two younger brothers in Gambia, his father in Ziguinchor and the people from his home village where he belonged to the founder family (cf. Chapter Six).

In Ziguinchor he had lived in a mixed neighbourhood like Lindiane. His home village was homogenously Jola, although strongly influenced by Mandingisation. Before coming to Europe, going to different places in West Africa also was part of his migration 'adventure'. He had lived with many different people and had extended his language repertoire to Creole and English. Though a Muslim he had tried palm wine, thus showing a certain flexibility and openness towards practices contradicting

[107] French: 'Oui, [j'ai rencontré] quelques Mancanya … Parce qu'ils ont parlé le créole. … Je me suis dit, ça ce sont mes parents … Il faut que je les salue. … J'ai fait les salutations avec eux, j'ai demandé leurs noms, j'ai demandé [et] ils ont dit qu'ils habitent à Cerdanyola. J'ai dit [où j'habite], *adja*, *adja*, je les ai laissés là-bas. …'

TH: 'Et avec les Espagnols?'

KD: 'Ça, aussi, il y a une chose: ça me manque de comprendre bien l'espagnol. Si on a bien compris l'espagnol, je peux faire quelque chose avec les Espagnols. Mais j'ai pas compris la langue bien bien bien. … J'ai honte. …

La rue aussi donne des connaissances. Parce que, parfois en te promenant, tu peux voir des gens, tu peux dire 'Ah, le gars-là, je le vois toujours ici'. Parfois: 'Hola – Hola' 'Bon dia – Bon dia' – tout ça, ça donne des connaissances. … Même si je te connais pas, je peux te dire 'Bon dia' en passant sur la route. … Depuis le Sénégal je suis habitué à ça.'

his declared faith. Going through the north of Senegal, he finally made it to the Canary Islands. In Mataró, he joined quite a large group of family and friends, most of them Jola from the same region of origin. Not having a legal residence permit, his strong social network provided both social and basic economic security. Having internalised the discourse of *cohabitation* in Casamance, Keba both discursively and in practice tried to maintain such neighbourly relations in Catalonia.

Keba felt the need to greet the Mancanya since he understood their language, Creole, and had lived with them for five years in Guinea Bissau. He called them family, yet he only exchanged with them basic greetings inquiring their names and place of residence. Like in Casamance, both were crucial attributes of a person and to know them was the basis even for casual encounters. To share the same linguistic repertoire provided the means to show respect and be convivial. Although Keba made language responsible for his limited engagement with Spaniards, he more generally was apprehensive about addressing Europeans, since he later admitted to knowing the basic greetings in Catalan and Castilian.

Recalling his years in Catalonia, Keba Deme also spoke of Moroccans, Latin Americans and Catalans he met at work and in language classes which complemented his account of interacting with other West Africans and acquaintances gained through regular minimal interaction. In contrast to his narrative, I only ever saw him with other black people. While his everyday practice thus appeared to be more limited, it continued to be accompanied by his strong claim to belief in the importance of greeting independently of the situation, whether in Casamance or in Catalonia, in a town or a village.

Given the prominence of different language repertoires in Keba's explanations of his greeting practices, in the following paragraphs I first address the ways in which Casamançais used rich, but sometimes truncated, linguistic repertoires. Afterwards, I

address the nuances and variations of greeting to understand the situational dynamics and conclude on its significance for conviviality.[108]

Language choices and uses

Random encounters were examples of flexible and informal, but respectful exchange. On a short walk with Idi Bodian, a Jola, he exchanged the first greeting in Mandinka with the Gambian wife of a friend, enquiring into the well-being of her husband and family; subsequently he stopped to catch up in Castilian with two Spanish neighbours who asked Idi where he had been lately. Another time, his two-year old daughter accompanied him. In the shop where he looked for a new washing machine the vendor recognised the daughter and made small talk with Idi. Later a Catalan woman standing in the door of her shop greeted Idi and invited his daughter in to stay with her for a while. Coming back out of the shop she gave the girl some sweets. Due to a lot of greetings with other West Africans in Wolof, Mandinka and Jola and others in Spanish and Catalan, it took some time to make the short way back to his flat. In front of his house, he briefly conversed with his Gambian neighbour before going in. Later in the afternoon, Idi and his friends stood on the balcony and had a chat with a Spanish woman across the little street. In order to attend to everybody appropriately Idi constantly switched mainly between four languages: Castilian, Wolof, Jola and Mandinka. This repertoire varied from one Casamançais to another depending on many factors like the place of origin, migration trajectory, education and skills. Keba Deme, having been to Guinea Bissau, used Creole and Catalan, others used Arabic, English, French and two more impressed me with their German.

Switching languages seamlessly in fleeting encounters with whomever he encountered, Idi evoked the feeling of everyday normality. Creatively engaging with a wide linguistic repertoire was ordinary to him and his peers. At the same time Idi

[108] Exploring language use and greeting practices to satisfy a more encompassing analysis of paralinguistic features and kinesics (gestures, facial expression, posture) would require further fieldwork.

Bodian was one of the more ambitious migrants. In his late-30s, he was driven by the wish to improve his social status. He was active in associations, he knew the policy discourses of *convivència*, and advised many Casamançais in migration-related questions as well as in concerns of living with difference in the neighbourhood. It contributed to his social status to have a wide linguistic repertoire and to use it publicly. However, using at least fragments of multiple languages was something most of my informants were accustomed to. To switch and translate effortlessly between them was part of both Casamançais and Catalan everyday life.

The occasions on which to use certain languages were variously perceived in different local contexts. In the previous chapter, I described the complex configuration of Cerdanyola. Similar to Lindiane in Ziguinchor, my informants did not agree whether there were more Mandinka or Jola, more Senegalese or more Gambian, or indeed more Catalan or Castilian. From the perspective of Casamançais, the neighbourhood was effectively a polycentric, multilingual space. Using certain languages and not others in fleeting encounters, was thus permanently negotiated.

In certain spaces relying on a *lingua franca* was more likely than in others. For example, some of my informants lived in Sabadell where they agreed that the neighbourhood was dominated by Gambian Mandinka. On the way to run some errands, Hamidou Dabo greeted several times in Mandinka. He explained that this was the dominant language among 'sub-Saharans', followed by Castilian. While unable to differentiate between Spanish and Catalan people, Hamidou made clear that overall Castilian was heard more in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, although he was fluent in Wolof and French, having lived in Dakar and worked for a French company, he said that neither of the two were appropriate choices with unknown 'sub-Saharans' in the neighbourhood given the large proportion of Gambian Mandinka. Hamidou's flatmate, Idrissa Samaté confirmed this: with Africans unknown to him, he would speak Castilian since the geographical scope of Mandinka, Wolof and French was likely to be too limited.

Even among Casamançais in Catalonia the language choice was not self-evident. On the occasion of my hosting a couple of Jola Casamançais, an argument about

language choice broke out when a Mandinka, Ibou Djitte, joined. Knowing that my guests would most likely be from Casamance, Ibou greeted in Mandinka which prompted a Jola response. Saying in Mandinka that he did not understand Jola, but that they would know Mandinka, Ibou declared it as the preferred language of communication. Yet, Ibou's Jola interlocutor mocked him by sticking to Jola. Consequently, they argued in French, being rather passionate about the incident. Similar to the discomfort between Mandinka and Fula in Koussi and Jola-Mandinka relations more generally in Casamance (cf. de Jong 2007), Mandinka-Jola relations in Catalonia remained tense on occasions. Still, I rarely witnessed open clashes like this one. In open spaces all Casamançais tended to be ready to draw on a wide repertoire and local *linguae francae* of which they were proud.

Among the Casamançais the role of Castilian and Catalan as *linguae francae* in everyday encounters was differently evaluated. People like Idi and Idrissa Samaté were aware that large proportions of the neighbourhood population were Castilian-speaking since they originated from the south of Spain. This put the use of Catalan as a working *lingua franca* into perspective. Their preference was toward Castilian since they could use it all over Spain. Among the Casamançais, Castilian was definitely more frequently and better spoken. Nevertheless, the claim to know some Catalan and to show the intention to speak it, was nearly omnipresent and had its positive effects in everyday encounters like in the case of Keba Deme who knew some Catalan phrases. The result was often a syncretic use of Castilian interspersed with Catalan words, and sometimes French ones if necessary. Given the resemblance of Catalan with French, this mixing was variously practised and sometimes presented as pure Catalan. At times, Casamançais argued that knowing French and Castilian would entail knowing Catalan as well. The often minimal and syncretic use of Catalan did not prevent Casamançais to share a general sympathy for the Catalan project promoting Catalan as the 'common public language' (cf. Section 5.3).

To use their linguistic repertoire appropriately, Casamançais constantly evaluated what their interlocutors would be able to speak and their preferences. Depending on the local configuration, various languages were used as *linguae francae*. Accepting a *lingua franca* was not surprising for those who had lived in the Mandinka dominated

area of Sédhiou and others who had come from Ziguinchor where Wolof increasingly had the role of facilitating contact among strangers. In both Catalonia and Casamance, creative language switching and mixing employing a diverse linguistic repertoire including *linguae francae* contributed to shaping convivial space. Interacting in local encounters required adjusting to various situations; it was a permanent act of translation and negotiation happening in interactions. Often, Casamançais were quick to understand and pre-empted the situational prerequisites to enable a peaceful encounter.

Variations in the practice of greeting: spaces and people

Apart from the complex linguistic choices, greeting was practised depending on the spaces and the people involved. I will show this using the street as one example, before introducing apartment blocks and the encounter between immediate neighbours as another. I address both variations in greeting and aspects of it that cohered with practices in Casamance.

Casamançais described variations of street scenes ranging from not directly interacting with people in the space they passed through to situations in which they inhabited open spaces in prolonged encounters. The examples given so far reveal some of the possible variations: Keba Deme only greeted people he regularly encountered, i.e. local residents who, whenever I accompanied him, were black. The local Catalan situation involving people he had little previous experience with made it difficult for him to judge in fleeting encounters who belonged or not and to choose appropriate ways to address them. In any case, greeting during some encounters allowed him to maintain the universal claim to greeting everybody. Hamidou Dabo in Sabadell greeted many people, for example fellow sub-Saharans met along the way, the Moroccan operator of the *locutorí* where he regularly went, and the young woman at the supermarket till. He stressed that even most of the people he greeted in Mandinka were only acquaintances about whom he knew little. Alain Sagna on the way to the Saturday market only interacted with his peers, i.e. people that he wanted to have a good relationship with. The intention of greeting was to maintain

good neighbourly relationships, even though it incorporated ever fewer people. Finally, Idi Bodian was among those engaging the most in all kinds of encounters. He interacted with people in various ways all of which happened effortlessly. Most Casamançais referred to such fleeting encounters and greetings as important parts of living together. Keba and others were convinced that to interact with all the different people, although in varying ways, was important to create a cooperative neighbourly atmosphere; Alain's attention to it was more selective.

Similar to encounters in the streets, interactions with direct neighbours in the apartment block revealed further aspects of living with difference. According to Idrissa Samaté, 'with the neighbours – we will not visit. But anyway, if we meet on the stairs, we greet each other, we chat, sometimes we take two minutes to chat and all that.'[109] (Granollers, 11/2010). He expressed that cooperative neighbourly relations were important which was similar to practices in Casamance.

Greeting was just one example of many neighbourly interactions which Fode Sadio Faty perceived distinctly in Europe:

> You cannot force this [the relationship between residents]. Maybe I can force it with my compatriot; I can come to see him without notifying him, … like in Africa. But the one who is next to me, the European, I cannot do it the way I did it there. I observed. There is a bit of reticence, a bit of individualism here. … Because first of all, he has not opened the door for it to be possible to approach him. … I got used to that. If we meet in the stairs: 'Salut' – 'Salut', 'Hola' – 'Hola'. This is all. Sometimes there is not even an 'Hola'.[110] (Granollers, 11/2010).

[109] French: 'avec les voisins – on ne va pas se rendre visite. Mais quand même, si on se rencontre dans les escaliers, on se salue, on cause, des fois on prend deux minutes pour causer et tout ça.'

[110] French: 'Ça [les relations entre les habitants du bloc] ne peut pas se forcer. Peut-être, moi je peux forcer avec mon compatriote, je peux lui rendre visite sans l'aviser, … comme en Afrique. Mais celui qui est à côté, un Européen, je ne peux pas faire comme je faisais avec le gars. … J'ai observé. ... Il y a un peu de réticence, un peu d'individualisme de ce côté-là. … Premièrement, il ne m'a pas ouvert la porte pour pouvoir l'approcher, ... Je me suis adapté à

No spontaneous visits, individualism, reticence, superficial relations, minimal greeting and keeping problems to themselves were the essence of Fode Sadio's observation of his relations with his neighbours in Catalonia. He did not judge these differences; instead, he described the process of translation that he engaged in when he arrived in Catalonia. His aiming for good neighbourly relations remained the same, only what these good relations meant had changed. Translation went beyond the literal sense requiring the re-interpretation of concepts and adjusting oneself in the new local context. It, however, also meant that something was maintained, i.e. Fode Sadio's case in aiming for neighbourliness.

Casamançais experienced the process of translation that Fode Sadio described, in various ways. Fanta Diao, a married woman from Koussi who actively engaged with life in Catalonia, adjusted relatively quickly to the differences in the house she had moved into with her husband and baby. While her default was greeting, she stopped greeting those who did not respond. However, Fanta felt that the one white woman in the house who did greet her – whether she was Catalan, Spanish, or Latin American, Fanta could not tell – exemplified good neighbourly relations as she knew them. Many said they tried to greet others but stopped doing so after they never got a reply. They attributed such (non)encounters to European individualism. Fanta, however, perceived this to be the norm in the specific local context instead of attributing it to Europeans alone since she was not sure where the people she interacted with were from. Finally, there were many who thought that people who did not greet were poorly educated since they showed no respect for those they encountered. Thus, interacting with direct neighbours did not merely depend on where they were from, but on local norms and prior experiences of actual interaction.

Fanta was relatively indifferent to this change in greeting but rather accepted the differences she encountered. Many felt that to stop greeting would spare them the daily frustration of getting no response. In this context Sounkar Deme's experience of

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ça. Quand je sors on se rencontre dans l'escalier: "Salut" –"Salut", "Hola" – "Hola". C'est tout. Des fois, il y a même pas "Hola".'

moving into a new apartment block and meeting a Spanish neighbour who readily offered to help out whenever she could came as a surprise. Not needing anything, Sounkar tested her twice, once asking for oil and once for onions which she offered to him immediately. This very much excited him, reminding him of classical good relations in Casamance. On the other hand, moving into a new place Casamançais felt that not to be greeted was due to reluctance and prejudices on the part of the other inhabitants. While some took longer, most soon found ways to understand such changes by getting acquainted with local norms. This was different to instances of outright racism and xenophobia, which were also mainly perceived as a lack of respect, but which were harder to resolve (cf. Chapter Six). Various degrees of tension were part of living with difference and contributed to the overall fragility of conviviality.

Transnational continuities and local disruptions in greeting

Casamançais' attitudes towards greeting had an influence on perceiving and participating in neighbourly relations. Generally, Casamançais greeted at least someone along the way, but not everyone alike. Greeting ranged on a spectrum from a simple statement on the occasion of a random, unintentional fleeting encounter, to an active engagement with a newly arrived neighbour. Common to all was that respect was shown to the ones encountered mainly through taking sufficient time to attend to the other. Time as a factor had started to feature among those aspiring to a modern urban life in Casamance and most Casamançais mentioned it in Europe. The ability to observe and increasingly pre-empt situational prerequisites such as the appropriate allocation of time showed the readiness of Casamançais to translate their practices into local forms of conviviality. Having to adjust to various situations and people was something they had been accustomed to in Casamance. According to the actual situation the forms of greeting changed in Casamance, which was also the case in Catalonia.

Casamançais nevertheless expected more continuity with black people and expressed that black people should continue to greet as always; they readily criticised if they

did not satisfy this expectation. In the latter case, the critique was that 'Africans' aspired all too much to 'European individualism,' which caused disinterest in, and disrespect of others and contradicted the values of a Casamançais way of going about everyday encounters. To a lesser degree mutual respect was also expected of people of the same religion, especially among Muslims. A similar expectation was also raised regarding one's neighbours. However, Casamançais assumed that every neighbourhood had a slightly different understanding of conviviality and thus they were cautious to blame neighbours for not cohering with their expectations concerning greeting practices.

To understand the significance of the practice of greeting was crucial, since it exemplified an important element of the process of living with difference and the emergence of convivial space: to interact and greet expressed respect for one another not least by inquiring about and acknowledging difference. Translation between concepts and norms was necessarily part of this, as was the negotiation of different forms of greeting. Conviviality thus was itself an on-going process, a point which will become even clearer in the following section on gatherings in open spaces.

Apart from seeing a necessity to interact and acquire minimal knowledge of one another, Casamançais expected nothing else for convivial space to emerge. They accepted that ways of doing things differed between local contexts. Herein they exhibited an immense willingness to translate their own practices and views to new circumstances. This ability to accommodate differences, sometimes strongly exemplified by switching between different language repertoires, was as much part of convivial space as was the act of greeting itself.

Interaction and translation were part of numerous occasions and the ethnography showed that it was influenced by the experiences of different generations, along the migration path and post migration, and by aspirations to a different, modern life. Since contesting the basic practices of conviviality will be the central concern of Part Three, here it suffices to say that convivial space emerged at the cross-roads of negotiating transnational experiences and conditions of the local social field, for example, in continued but altered forms of greeting. The reciprocity of negotiating

practices, which resulted in mutual respect despite differences, facilitated living *with* difference.

3.4 Inhabiting and appropriating open spaces

While both being in transit and greeting can be characterised as fleeting moments in everyday life, when local residents inhabited open spaces or temporarily appropriated them, the resulting social situations were more sustained and produced a sense of locality. Rather than this being a process of colonisation of space, which Appadurai (2005 [1995]: 183-4) suggests is inherent in any production of locality, the sustained presence of groups of local residents in open spaces was part of an on-going negotiation process including moments of disagreement and tension.

I first explore gatherings in open spaces in Ziguinchor and Casamançais villages. I argue that inhabiting open spaces was facilitated by a shared basic consensus of living *with* difference which was continuously renewed. In Catalonia, I then trace the continuity of Casamançais *cohabitation* in the example of regular gatherings in Carrer Rosselló. Variations in either just inhabiting or even temporarily appropriating open spaces embodied the process of translating practices and negotiating a locally specific, acceptable way of living with difference. I conclude on how gatherings in open spaces embodied the consensus of conviviality in both sites.

Spending time outside in Casamance

Jo, lako![111] – 'Come, sit down!' Leaving the yard of Samboukunda, in Lindiane I was often invited by friends like Oumar Kane or acquaintances to join one of the groups chatting and preparing tea at a street corner. To the left of my home, the Mandinka co-residents of Oumar Kane had pulled out small benches and chairs around a small

[111] In Jola, alternatively, people knowing me a bit would address me in Mandinka (*naa naa, síí!*) or French.

Figure 5 Group of youths I frequently joined for tea gatherings in Sédhiou

by Tilmann Heil

charcoal stove on which they in turn prepared *attaaya*, a strong green tea with plenty of sugar. A lot of time was spent drinking tea since after the first, a second and a third round were usually served.[112] Yet people did come and go in the meantime, sharing only one or two of the rounds, and senior members or guests were included in the serving of tea even if they were not sitting with the group preparing it. This was a regular scene in the neighbourhood after lunch or dinner, and in the afternoons, often occurring in front of shops or workshops.[113]

To the right of Samboukunda, at the Fula-owned corner shop, was another regular meeting point for young men. Women sometimes joined them to sell fruit and vegetables. The men regularly prepared tea; they joked with the women or chatted, commenting on the traffic on the Boulevard or their lives. While in front of the shop along the Boulevard the men were in their twenties or thirties, further into the tiny

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[112] On a detailed analysis of preparing *attaaya* among male youth in Dakar as a way of coping with unemployment and creating solidarity, see Ralph (2008).

[113] Similar, yet extensive studies have been conducted with young men in northern India on their waiting practices and political mobilisation (Jeffrey 2010), and with 'waiting' youths in Ethiopia (Mains 2007). Here, I deal with a different aspect though, which is their role in local conviviality.

streets of the neighbourhood a younger cohort of youths met at a shop after school to spend time together, watching and discussing football shown on the shopkeeper's TV. Many of these groups were mixed, mirroring the diversity of the neighbourhood. In front of my house Fula, Mandinka and Jola met; some were from the Guineas, some were Muslims of different brotherhoods and some were Christians of varying denominations. Given the complex configurations of Casamance, every encounter combined a particular set of people (cf. Chapter Two). This was most obvious in their language practices. To the left of my house they would mainly speak Mandinka, while at the shop, Jola and Wolof prevailed, sometimes interspersed with Fula.

Most of the infrastructure everyone relied on was temporary. Both at the shop and with the Mandinka neighbours, the benches and chairs were temporarily taken out to accommodate whoever joined in. Another neighbour, however, had built benches into the wall of his yard, leaving no doubt that gatherings were very much part of everyday life. Tree trunks left randomly lying around could also be a site for recurrent gatherings. Yet, during the rest of the day they were meaningless. For others again, a carpet in the shade of a mango tree was enough to prepare tea, eat peanuts or mangos, or just spend time together.

Attaaya was only one form of gatherings among neighbours. According to Ralph's informants, preparing tea had gained popularity among young urban unemployed youths during the economic crisis in Senegal (Ralph 2008). Indeed, some of the regulars in the tea ceremonies along the Boulevard de Lindiane were waiting for work opportunities and thus had plenty of spare time to spend at home or outside. Yet, nearly everywhere teachers, workers or fishermen joined the gatherings at the end of their work day and shop keepers or local craftsmen could take a break to have tea with others. Furthermore, tea was shared with those working at the nearby workshops or at home. Both the mechanic and the women doing the chores were regularly offered tea. Apart from being a way of killing time (Ralph 2008), having tea among neighbours, family and friends was a moment in which *cohabitation* was alive. Spending time together was enjoyable and sharing tea, peanuts or fruit often was a

Figure 6 *Bentang* in a yard in Sakar on the day of a baptism

by Tilmann Heil

sign of respect when a guest, elder or members of the adjacent households were served.[114]

Gatherings seemingly without any purpose other than to be sociable were common in Ziguinchor; in villages they tended to be more institutionalised and the *bentang*[115], the palaver platform, often marked their space. In Sakar and Koussi, during midday and in the evening, families and friends gathered on the *bentang* of their courtyard (Figure 6) or along the street. Men also met on a platform at the *banta-báa*, the public place opposite to the mosque, in the evening and after Friday prayers in particular. While at the *banta-báa* gatherings men would discuss village affairs, gatherings elsewhere had various qualities, often bringing family or groups of friends together. The co-presence of women and men was mainly confined to the *bentang* in the yards

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[114] Ralph confirms that 'when folks have idle time, a family member or neighbour might make tea for all to enjoy. The custom is to serve guests first' (Ralph 2008: 3), and he states that 'informal tea ceremonies provide the occasion to discern moral values.' (Ralph 2008: 17).

[115] There are many versions of the same word that all have to do with *banta-báa* or *bantango*, the palaver tree (Drame 2003: 103-4; Quinn 1972: xvi, note 4).

which, during daytime and in evening, qualified as open spaces since everyone was able to come and go. Women would nevertheless fade in and out of other encounters such as those at the bus stop or the corner shop to exchange news, greet in passing or be served a glass of tea.

These spontaneous meetings and regular gatherings were an integral part of everyday village life and certainly also for large segments of the population of regional towns like Ziguinchor and Sédhiou. The spaces were shared and appropriated by various local residents. In towns, people inhabiting open spaces did so more spontaneously, taking out as many benches and chairs as there were people. To spend time outside and to live differences as part of the everyday was something Casamançais widely took for granted.

Although preparing tea or hanging out together often happened in fixed constellations and remained gender and age differentiated, they were also very inclusive. At times it could involve people of various religious and ethnic groups, at others women and men would sit together, or people of different ages, although this occurred less frequently. Serving tea to someone working close by, or joining in for only one round of tea were looser forms of weaving the social fabric of *cohabitation*. People dealt with differences by switching languages, offering stools to elders and guests, and quietly acknowledging diverse origins and religions. During gatherings, convivial space emerged from the practices of local residents. People joining and leaving such situations, at times only greeting in passing, were also part of the everyday. Most situations conveyed a seamless fluidity evident in both communication and movement. While internally diverse gatherings were a site of living *with* difference and at times developed a specific taste of locality, differences between gatherings added to the diversity in the neighbourhood. The co-presence of several gatherings in relative proximity to one another and to other activities also hinted at the wider consensus of conviviality which granted everyone the right to dwell in open neighbourhood spaces.

Carrer Rosselló. A Casamançais street scene in Catalonia

In Catalonia, the initial impression was that open spaces were scarcer than in Casamance and confined to squares, parks, the odd pedestrian zone or the pavement during certain times of the day. Moreover, some of these spaces such as the Plaça de l'Onze de Setembre had also acquired a negative reputation. In contrast, the weekly market described above was a relatively large commercial space which emerged as a convivial one due to the shared practices and concerns of locals participating in the situation. People had negotiated shared meanings and interacted in many often quite fleeting ways. Carrer Rosselló, in turn, was a central space of the neighbourhood and a pedestrian zone where people both passed by and gathered.

One afternoon in October I set off with Famara Badio, a Mandinka from a mixed Casamançais village, and a friend from Sakar who lived with Sierra-Leoneans. Turning into Carrer Rosselló, the friend from Sakar met a white Rastafarian acquaintance and decided to stop and chat. On the short stretch to a couple of permanently installed seats, we continuously met people with whom we were acquainted. After greeting someone from Sakar, we met a Gambian Mandinka woman with her Gambian and Senegalese, Mandinka and Jola friends. Afterwards we greeted someone else from Sakar and when we returned twenty minutes to half an hour later, we found the same and more people chatting. Among them were Souleymane Touré, a Balanta, and Idi Bodian with other Casamançais approximately their age.

Given that this was a regular occurrence, Carrer Rosselló was a busy social space for Casamançais immigrants and bore some similarities to the everyday situations I encountered in Casamance. On workdays people started gathering in the alley after the siesta. News was exchanged along with colloquial joking. At the crossroads, in front of the Moroccan-run *locutorí* next to the launderette where Alain Sagna washed his baby's clothes, people regularly gathered, among them many Casamançais. It was close to their homes, central and spacious enough since it was a pedestrian street. In the immediate vicinity several Casamançais, Gambian and other Senegalese lived in shared housing, who were Mandinka, Fula, Jola, Wolof, Balanta and Soninke.

Figure 7 Shop banners in Carrer Rosselló, Mataró

by Tilmann Heil

Typically, Casamançais passed through Carrer Rosselló to run errands, pay their monthly lottery, or call home. Small shops covering the daily needs of all inhabitants of the neighbourhood lined Carrer Rosselló. Apart from the *locutorí* and the launderette, there was a South-Asian-run supermarket, *Hadja Supermercat*: *Casa d'Africa*, selling vegetables, a Moroccan bakery, a brand new pharmacy advertising homeopathy, a couple of places selling specialities from Extremadura, South-Western Spain, like *jamón* (cured ham), clothing stores, *tabacs* (kiosks), a Chinese hairdresser and supermarket, and many more Catalan, Castilian and immigrant businesses. All needs could be satisfied around Carrer Rosselló and people were constantly in flux. Temporary gatherings regularly came out of this continuous flow.

In comparison with Casamance, gatherings in Catalonia were equally repetitive, spontaneous and diverse. Although in Carrer Rosselló the situation was dominated by black migrants, people of different immigration statuses, education backgrounds, rural and urban origins, and ethnic and religious backgrounds generally took part. Various languages prevailed in interactions of both men and women from various origins and religions. Not all the Casamançais involved in the scene knew each other. Some definitely knew their fellow Mandinka or Jola better than people speaking other languages. Recreating a scene that resembled gatherings in urban spaces in Casamance, Casamançais and other local residents temporarily produced locality, which at the same time emerged as a convivial space incorporating a great number of

different people. While many of the practices of living with difference seemed to have migrated with them and were maintained, the biggest difference was that tea was neither prepared nor were chairs and benches brought out. While a trunk of a tree or a bench incorporated in the wall permanently marked the physical space of gatherings in Ziguinchor, they were not inscribed in the physical landscape of Cerdanyola. Nevertheless social gatherings were sustained and happened regularly, creating locality in both Casamance and Catalonia.

Involving everyone. *Convivencia* and contestations over space

As we saw in the introduction of the many different groups gathering in the Parc de Cerdanyola, and coinciding at the weekly market and in Carrer Rosselló, the simple everyday practice of inhabiting open spaces could facilitate the emergence of convivial space shared among all local residents. To go watch football games in *bars cutres* (simple bars) like the one five meters down from the *locutorí* was another such instance. Most often owned by Spanish and to a growing number by Chinese, these *bars* aired football games broadcasted on pay-TV that were of interest to large numbers of local residents, Casamançais and others alike. During the football matches, those local residents who did not have expensive pay-TV at home went to bars. Casamançais ordered the obligatory coke or *cortado/tallat* (coffee) and watched the match next to a Latin American, Spaniard or someone from elsewhere. The interaction between clients was minimal; nevertheless, they took part in the same social situation, agreeing over appropriate conduct.

Furthermore, on Carrer Rosselló the Casamançais lived their internal differentiation and conviviality in the surrounding diversity of contemporary Catalonia, which the variety of shops displayed. Casamançais knew the Moroccan owner of the *locutorí* as well as some other local residents and employees in the shops. Similar to Casamance, all kinds of people passed by the Casamançais' early evening gatherings and greeted those with whom they were acquainted. As anywhere else, when the groups had grown large, interacting with others at the gathering was hard for those who did not know people well.

In the past, gatherings in Carrer Rosselló had seen moments of conflict arising from differing interests in open spaces. Just ten meters uphill from the *locutorí* were a couple of large seats, one of the few permanent installations inspiring social gatherings on Carrer Rosselló. Most of the time, a couple of people or a smaller group would gather around the seats and chat. By 2011, one of the seats was gone, but Souleymane Touré was sitting on the remaining one. It was early in the morning and the alley was still quite empty in the bright sunshine. At the far end of Carrer Rosselló an *Hermandad*[116] prepared the march for the the Matinal de Saetas, the opening of Holy Week. Souleymane explained that the seat had been taken away by the town hall to appease a woman living in the house next to it who had frequently complained about the noisy gatherings of people. When his flatmate came, they squeezed together into the remaining seat. They continued to inhabit this space although it had caused tension. Open spaces like Carrer Rosselló were used in many ways and local residents held different opinions concerning their use. This needed to be negotiated, which for Souleymane was part of the everyday and nothing spectacular. In the case of Carrer Rosselló, it had seemingly resulted in a new consensus around maintaining it as an open space, respecting more the comfort zone of certain neighbours but still allowing social gatherings of various people.

The conflict over the seats was the most recent sign of the necessary negotiation of conviviality. While Souleymane Touré and his flatmate continued to gather in Carrer Rosselló, others had changed their attitude and tried to pass through open spaces quickly. Being one of them, Famara Badio recalled that in the past flyers were distributed on several occasions within the lower stretches of Carrer Rosselló that accused the black population of polluting the neighbourhood and demanded their rights to open spaces be restricted.[117] Though it was an act of open racism, Famara in part showed sympathy and reasoned that they indeed were already too numerous in

[116] Fraternity (from Castilian). Here the Hermandad Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza.

[117] The expert of the 'New Citizen Department' of Mataró recalls the flyers as a difficult, yet singular incident. She states that when they became aware of these unlawful actions, the town hall quickly traced the troublemaker and put a stop to his activities.

Figure 8 Watching football in a bar, Mataró

by Tilmann Heil

the neighbourhood and that people dwelling outside wasted too much of their time gossiping and blackmailing. Others joined his perspective stating 'c'est saturé'[118] about the presence of sub-Saharans in Cerdanyola. Many argued that what was acceptable in Casamance did not necessarily match the local consensus in Catalonia. Sometimes it was only a fine line that divided those agreeing that situations and people differed and that cultural translation bridging contexts and understanding differences was necessary, and those who had bought into the negative discourses about migrants.

Spontaneous but sustained gatherings in Carrer Rosselló on the one hand expressed a continuity of Casamançais practices in Catalonia, which in part matched the practices of other local residents. On the other hand, such gatherings were constantly negotiated and contested both among Casamançais and within the given local context. Both in Catalonia and Casamance, the fact that everyday sociality would happen in generally shared spaces remained unquestioned. More than anything else, *how* open spaces could be inhabited or even appropriated was at stake. Casamançais

[118] 'It is saturated.' (from French)

took it for granted that perspectives on the use of open spaces differed between various local residents and thus needed to be negotiated. Many showed a willingness to translate their own practices to an emerging local consensus. It was part of their understanding of conviviality. Living together was necessarily an on-going process dependent on the changing social configurations of the neighbourhood. One seat remained, symbolically reinforcing this interpretation. As with practices of greeting, gatherings in open spaces were possible, although in a somewhat altered form which depended on the locally valid consensus of conviviality. To what extent negotiation was a major factor in it became even more apparent during large manifestations of the kind that took place on the Boulevard de Lindiane in Ziguinchor, as we will see in the following chapter.

Summary

Social situations like these gatherings remained fleeting and temporary. Some, however, were also recurrent and more sustained. Inhabiting and temporarily appropriating open spaces accessible to all kinds of people were crucial instances of local conviviality since they marked milestones in the process of negotiating living *with* difference. In Casamance, the preparing of tea and sitting along the main road or at a street corner were omnipresent practices that were hardly ever challenged and from which convivial space emerged among participants, and involving those fading in and out or passing by. Often many such gatherings were close-by but distinct. In Catalonia, gatherings also coincided in relative proximity to one another and as local residents Casamançais frankly inhabited open spaces re-enacting Casamançais *cohabitation* but also relating to the local context. I perceived a strong continuity of practices between Casamance and Catalonia, albeit with the observation that the appropriation of open spaces was more spontaneous, less taken for granted, and left no permanent traces in the physical space. Recalling Casamançais negatively evaluating the spending of time outside, in combination with the conflicts and contestations around gathering in Carrer Rosselló, showed this clearly. Negotiation and translation were part of the Casamançais way of relating to the new local

context. Nevertheless, the ethnography also presented alternative and even contradicting practices of Casamançais in everyday life which showed how their room to manoeuvre resulted in individual ways of understanding, feeling and talking about inhabiting and spontaneously appropriating open spaces.

3.5 Conclusions. The centrality of everyday encounters in conviviality

Exploring neighbourhood encounters in the everyday life of Casamançais led me to understand practices and discourses of conviviality. In both Casamance and Catalonia, the neighbourhood, the space within walking distance one was sufficiently familiar with, continued to be the main spatial reference of conviviality. Convivial space emerged from fleeting encounters, sustained greeting, multilingual practices and when diverse groups inhabited open spaces. Both the emergence of convivial space and the temporarily appropriation of open spaces to construct locality were elements of the process in which a local consensus was negotiated, reproduced or re-defined. While the practices of negotiation, translation and interaction were central in all field sites, the minimal consensus of conviviality varied depending on the local social field. In addition, to fully understand this process was to acknowledge the plurality of human practices which emerged from the creative ways people negotiated individual aspirations as well as the multiple forces within the local social fields. I now conclude on the various local contexts, the prejudices and other forms restricting mutual engagement, and the discourses and basic practices sustaining conviviality including multilingualism and respect.

Different local social fields had an impact on the forms of encounters taking place. In Casamance – Ziguinchor, Sédhiou, Sakar, and Koussi – all had a particular legacy of ethnic, religious and other diversities which at times had an impact on everyday practices. However, independent of the degree of homogeneity or complexity, similar everyday practices could be observed from which convivial space emerged. It was not an *a priori* given physical space, but one that was socially constructed.

Convivial space can be understood as a capacity, 'an instrument and dimension of people's sociality' (cf. Corsín Jiménez 2003: 140). Degrees in greeting practices and in the populating of open spaces exemplified this well. Convivial space also emerged in Catalan neighbourhoods: Casamançais went out, ran errands, greeted various people during casual encounters, and stopped to chat, exchange news and gossip. Clearly, they were influenced by their experiences of living with difference in Casamance and places they had lived along the migration route. In addition, their ability to take part in local forms of conviviality was based upon careful observations of local social relations, growing their partial but adequate knowledge to translate their own practices (cf. Hall 1992: 310). To do this was part of their understanding of conviviality.

However, old and new stereotypes, prejudices and aspirations also informed the ways in which Casamançais familiarised themselves locally. Some of these preconceptions had migrated with them, while others depended on the local social field they were part of in Catalonia. Negative preconceptions often favoured mutual avoidance and thus challenged convivial practices. Already in Casamance, some youths and careful people who perceived greetings as control limited their social interaction trying to avoid too much visibility. In Catalonia, those minimising their time outdoors perceived the risks involved in being social in open spaces even more. Despite such careful evaluations, radically challenging conviviality and even allowing its demise happened more on the level of discourse than in everyday practice.

While conviviality remained fragile since it was challenged by uncertainty and changing contexts, convivial spaces were important in reproducing the constituting practices of conviviality. Interacting in convivial space was a way to inquire and learn about differences, which were negotiated and accommodated in processes of translation. In encounters, Casamançais granted sufficient mutual respect and consideration for everyone, and reciprocity existed in expressing and acknowledging distinct worries, needs and ways of living *with* difference.

Most Casamançais maintained an understanding that living together required mutual respect. To respect someone was a widely held value and was embodied in encounters and the time dedicated to them. Making use of diverse language repertoires also exemplified well how the ones encountered were embraced in their difference. Making use of (truncated) multilingual repertoires was an art and a necessity at the same time. Most often it created phatic communion, a situation in which interaction was sustained on the basis of minimal, mutually intelligible semiotic competencies (cf. Malinowski 1994 [1923]: 9-10). What exactly was said or exchanged was relatively less important than drawing from the suitable linguistic register (cf. Chapter Seven).

This chapter has alluded to various instances of both cooperative and conflictual situations resulting in rather minimal forms of living with difference mainly relying on the basic practices of conviviality maintaining mutual respect. Moments of discontent and tension kept the emerging consensuses minimal, fragile and in flux. Several instances furthermore revealed how some specific forms of conviviality were slowly eroded while waiting to be replaced by others that suited the local configuration better; a dynamic that was relevant in both Casamance and Catalonia.

In consequence, the ethnography pointed to significant variation in fleeting encounters, greeting and inhabiting spaces. Transnational and pre-migration experiences, local contexts, and individual aspirations and emotions had an impact on actual encounters. Distinct contexts created both structural limitations and room for individuals to manoeuvre and re-negotiate practices of conviviality. Being migrants in Catalonia or only recently arrived certainly entailed the most potential for a change in perspective on everyday living with difference. The feeling of losing time in greeting others, fearing social control in open spaces, or only expecting black people to greet were but a few examples. However, to stop greeting could also be seen to be in continuity with aspirations of people in Casamance who had expressed similar concerns of losing time and social control. In towns in Casamance, as well as in Catalonia, limiting interactions was perceived as a sign of modernity and individualism, stating less interest in the other, yet not necessarily disrespect. After all, conviviality seemed to only be a minimal sociality in both contexts. It remains to

be seen in the following chapters how both the practices of interaction, negotiation and translation, and showing respect played out further in both local social fields.

Chapter 4.

Events and celebrations. Staged and sensuous conviviality

Apart from encounters in open spaces discussed in the last chapter, in both Catalonia and Casamance religious celebrations and cultural events in open neighbourhood spaces are recurrent and central to the social life of local residents. Social conventions, traditions and sometimes political bodies structured these events which clearly made them unlike the spontaneous, fleeting encounters discussed in the previous chapter. However, local residents negotiated the inhabiting and appropriating of open spaces on such occasions. In this chapter, I consider the dynamics at stake during large scale cultural and religious celebrations as informative occasions for observing and understanding the political staging of living with difference as well as the sensuous experience of difference – sensuous conviviality – which permeated official acts.

In both staged events and the often liminal experience of sensuous conviviality, I ask how the basic practices of conviviality – interaction, negotiation and translation – were at play in temporarily manifesting the relative equality of the participants in festivities.[119] Local residents both actively claimed spaces and left them to others in agreement. Participants walked a thin line in adhering to a working consensus respecting various needs. At times open neighbourhood spaces were shared, at times they were left to a group of people to celebrate. The often heard sentiment similar to that of Eva Djitte in Sédhiou who said, 'Let them do whatever their religion requires them to,' (04/2011) exemplified the consideration and respect for difference. However, festive practices only needed to cross a fine line to break down and turn into confrontation or indifference which challenged the working consensus on either

[119] In this context I understand liminal and liminality to literally mean (the state of being) betwixt and between, which is also the starting point for Victor Turner in his analysis of ritual processes, the reception of which lies beyond the scope of this thesis (cf. Turner 2008 [1969]; Turner 2012)

end. Successful events, by contrast, were hallmarks influencing future interactions and at the same time they relied on past processes of negotiation.

In a first section, I compare religious celebrations in both Casamance and Catalonia. Both the Tabaski (Id al-Adha) prayer and the Holy Friday procession appropriated a central space, a section of the Boulevard of the Lindiane neighbourhood of Ziguinchor. During both Tabaski and Easter all local residents were incorporated in the celebrations. In Catalonia, however, the Tabaski prayer happened in former industrial plants on the outskirts, while the Semana Santa (Holy Week) appropriated central spaces throughout town. Despite the marked differences between the two field sites, Casamançais in Catalonia continued to take Christian festivities for granted and were co-present in the same spaces when they occurred. Discursively they rationalised the differences they perceived, but disagreed over how to interpret the declining religious practice and Islamophobia.

In the second section, I explore the staging of cultural diversity in both Casamance and Catalonia. The carnival during *ZigFest* in Ziguinchor as well as the *Mostra d'Entitats* in Mataró celebrated cultural diversity in an inclusive way. Despite the adjustments made to performances in the Catalan field site, practices of cultural performance remained similar in both local social fields. Endorsing the political recognition of diversity, Casamançais in Catalonia subverted the single focus on culture by bringing religion back in. Outside the official programmes, convivial space emerged from sensuous experiences of difference in interactions during liminal phases of the same events in which boundaries were crossed and the plurality of practice enjoyed (cf. Erickson 2008, 2011; Wise 2010).

I suggest that official celebrations and events contribute to understanding conviviality in at least three ways: firstly, I evaluate the relevance of the political recognition of difference and diversity; secondly, I stress the importance of blurring boundaries between categories of identification such as culture and religion. Finally, I discuss the importance of sensuous conviviality as liminal experience. Fragile convivial space emerged both from the official staging of *convivència* and the

sensuous experiences of participants. Furthermore, the regular festive events were key points of reference in everyday practices and discourses of conviviality.

4.1 Religious celebrations. Marking differences between Casamance and Catalonia

In Senegal, both Muslim and Christian festivities were acknowledged as public holidays, but the celebrations varied between both neighbourhoods and villages. In Ziguinchor, neighbourhoods like Lindiane, Tilène and Néma had large proportions of Christians and others like Santhiaba, Soucoupapaye and Boucotte were predominantly Muslim. Papis Sonko, living close to both Tilène and Santhiaba, stressed that this played out during celebrations in open spaces: at Easter, on Sundays of Communion and Confirmation all of Tilène seemed to be uniting in a single feast of Christian and Muslim neighbours alike, while in Santhiaba hardly anything could be noticed. Vice versa, during Tabaski there was a lot more activity in Santhiaba than in Tilène where it was nevertheless celebrated. The following ethnography is of Lindiane which like Tilène is a mixed neighbourhood, though sometimes it is referred to as a 'Christian neighbourhood'. On the Boulevard de Lindiane in Ziguinchor (see Map 4, page 18), both Muslim and Christian religious celebrations were among the many ways of temporarily appropriating open spaces. This equal access to open spaces was part of the political project of *cohabitation*, yet in combination with other aspects during these events, such as the sharing of food, the celebrations were a crucial part of the sensuous conviviality of local residents.

In Spain, churches were scattered in towns and neighbourhoods and often in close proximity to major public spaces. In contrast, Muslim prayer rooms were invisible, only identified by small badges on the wall, a shop banner (Figure 9), the shoes left in front of the door during prayer times, and during celebrations when the believers prayed outside if more had come than fitted into the sometimes rather small prayer rooms. Larger places of Muslim worship continued to be confined to the industrial quarters – as was in the case of Mataró – and the former industrial plants now used

Figure 9 Muslim prayer room, Barcelona

by Tilmann Heil

as ‘mosques’ did not externally reveal their newly acquired purpose. In Cerdanyola, the only central, surprisingly modest place of worship remained the Parroquia de Maria Auxiliadora, a Catholic church, built in the 1950s by Southern Spanish immigrants (Lligadas 2000: 182-94). The brick church next to the Parc de Cerdanyola was only at the core of some of the Easter celebrations. For the remainder of the time I spent in Cerdanyola it assumed little attention. Christian holidays, however, structure the annual calendar despite decreasing church attendance. Muslim holidays are not considered, something my interlocutors clearly noted and which contributed to the mismatch they perceived between omnipresent Christian labelling and nearly absent Christian practice (cf. Chapter Two).

In the following, I give the example of the Lindiane neighbourhood of Ziguinchor whose local residents were split between Muslims, Christians and followers of traditional religions. I contrast the experience of Tabaski and Holy Friday in Lindiane with experiences of Casamançais in Cerdanyola during Easter and Tabaski. While religious festivities played a huge role during the Semana Santa especially due to Southern Spanish immigrants, Muslim celebrations and Casamançais Catholic

practices were marginalised. Exploring one of the major differences between Catalonia and Casamance, I stress the practice of negotiation which is embedded in the process of conviviality. Instances of actual religious practice, I argue, can only be understood if we take the historical dimension into account of which negotiation is a crucial part.

Negotiated equality: Tabaski and Holy Friday in Casamance

It was the day before Tabaski 2009 that I arrived in Ziguinchor. The people coming to welcome and invite me to take part in the various celebrations the next day were described in the introduction. On the day of Tabaski itself, believers gathered in the open air on Boulevard de Lindiane next to a small mosque only meters away from my doorstep. The Tabaski prayer was an occasion for which the whole street was barred by praying Muslims who placed their prayer-rugs side by side in long rows facing east (Figure 10). Although traffic was very reduced, taxis, mini buses and cars had to find their way around the huge crowd through the dirt. The appropriation of the space was taken for granted by everybody.

A few months later, during Holy Week and the Holy Friday procession, the boulevard was again claimed by believers. Starting at a remote point along the boulevard, the Catholic procession slowly but steadily approached the neighbourhood church with several stops, prayers and songs on the way. Due to the heat, the procession did not stay neatly together. Instead, believers tried to use the little patches of shade offered by nearby houses and trees. Nevertheless, the procession continued relentlessly. Some neighbours stopped and watched the Catholics proceed. Others showed neither incomprehension nor particular interest. They followed their everyday routines some of which also took place outside: a welder welding, a wholesaler delivering products to retail shops, a mechanic repairing scooters and mopeds.

A common explanation for letting everyone proceed was the perceived equality between Christianity and Islam, and the importance of religious practice. People in Lindiane referred to examples during which the political and religious leadership of

both communities and the Senegalese state embodied this equal respect (cf. Smith 2012: 8f). Common references were made to Senghor who as a Catholic was the first president of Senegal, a majority Muslim state, and to the mutual delegations of religious leaders during religious festivities in both Muslim and Christian pilgrimage cities. On the occasion of festivities as well as in everyday life Casamançais stressed the equality or even the commonalities of Christians and Muslims, which resonated with survey findings from Dakar in which the common religiosity of all was foregrounded (cf. Smith 2012). For some, the sameness of Christians and Muslims additionally relied upon having relatives adhering to both religions. However, even Mandinka in Lindiane, who hardly had Christian family members, had appropriated the justifications outlined here. Local residents took it for granted that everyone should be allowed to practise their religion, including the appropriation of open spaces if so required.

I learned later that occupying open neighbourhood spaces was common also on other occasions such as family celebrations or football rallies. If there was a wedding, a baptism or a funeral, people would gather outside, potentially barring a street for a whole day. Depending on the occasion they would sit, eat, dance, and listen to loud music, and people would come and go. To protect their guests from the sun, the

Figure 10 Tabaski prayer, Lindiane, Ziguinchor, 2009

by Tilmann Heil

hosts would put up canopies for shade. Food and drinks would be distributed to all those present. While the chairs people sat on were moveable, the canopies marked the place quite clearly as the locality of the celebration. On a smaller scale, this appropriation of open space also relied on all neighbours agreeing to such a use of open space. No mention of the involvement of the town authorities was made. Instead, neighbours attending their mutual celebrations provided ample room for sensuous experiences of conviviality.

Temporarily encroaching on other neighbours' lives was the case in Santa-Sou in Sédhiou during a several day long, ear-splitting Murid prayer in preparation of their Màggal (pilgrimage) to Touba. Although immediate neighbours were tired of it, they would have never considered protesting. They said it was impossible, that this was Africa, not Europe and that here everybody was allowed to practise their religion according to their own religious obligations. The Murid prayers were not a single incident but were repeated by other groups throughout my stay. Family celebrations were even more frequent. The consensus on how far people could infringe on each other's liberties and comfort granted a lot of freedom to those celebrating.

During the religious ceremonies the everyday life of those not involved continued seemingly unaffected. Different from the shorter Tabaski prayer, the Holy Friday procession was confined to one side of the street while on the other side everyday traffic passed with the usual noise of shouting men and old engines. Similarly, the workshops and shops continued their noisy business. Both traffic and a general lack of concern for the religious procession annoyed some participants, yet without immediate consequences. Discussing the difference between Tabaski and the Holy Friday procession in retrospect, the length of the procession was negotiated against the shorter duration of the Tabaski prayer. Restricting the procession to one side of the street was the then-practised consensus. The smaller family celebrations were never even questioned and the Màggal preparations were only noisy and therefore endurable. This left the impression that everybody had access, but not exclusive access, to open spaces to practise their religion. Since all neighbours appropriated the same spaces in turn, I conceive of it as a practice of sharing in the course of a year.

The sharing of food affirmed the sharing of open neighbourhood spaces. After the Tabaski prayer, sheep were slaughtered, roasted and grilled at all the neighbours' houses. Muslims prepared extended lunches and engaged in a day-long feast to which neighbours, friends and family were invited. At my host's house, the mutton was shared between Muslims and Christians alike. At the house of Mamadou Bodian, the sub-delegate of the neighbourhood, Christians in some moments outnumbered Muslim guests. While Mamadou Bodian had gone off to celebrate with his peers, his adult sons had invited their friends. Sitting in the yard under the Mango tree, they ate for hours, played cards, listened to music and joked with the female members of the household and friends.

Celebrating Tabaski together was actively equated with Christians distributing *ngalax* at Easter, a sweet dish which they prepared to share with their neighbours, family and friends to break the fasting together. Apart from a few Muslims who rejected anything prepared by Christians, everybody else accepted this Christian gift. Preparing *ngalax* on the eve of Holy Friday was a major concern of Christians to the point that in the Holy Friday service the congregation accepted the priest's scolding for their poor church attendance on Holy Thursday when they were preparing *ngalax* instead. The sharing of food was taken for granted both during Easter and the Tabaski religious celebrations and was of concern to both the Christian and Muslim community. In discourses of *cohabitation* it was a central example. In fact, the sharing of food during Tabaski and Easter was different in both scope and style, yet it symbolised a significant exchange manifesting the reciprocity of the two religious communities. The majority of people I encountered stressed the commonality of practice rather than pointing out the differences.

The large religious celebrations in open spaces clarified a general attitude towards *cohabitation* that I also observed in everyday life. A notion of convivial space emerged that relied on the negotiated and lived experience of equal access to open spaces, i.e. their sharing and consensual appropriating. This could happen concurrently or over the course of the year. My reading of peacefully celebrating Tabaski and Holy Friday therefore also relied on the process of having found a working agreement of how all local residents could practice their religion. The actual prayer and procession

provided proof of this negotiation process. Although there were differences in detail between Christian and Muslim celebrations, their equality was emphasised and thus it influenced everyday practices more than the differences in power relations hampered them.[120] Convivial space relied on shared experiences of mutual respect and flexibility, which importantly resulted from on-going negotiation. The large scale religious celebrations resembled staged performances of this consensus at play, while practices of sharing food and celebrating together clearly provided examples of sensuous conviviality.

Holy Week and Tabaski in Catalonia

The experience of the Tabaski celebrations in Catalonia was very different to the public prayer in Lindiane. Many Muslims in Cerdanyola dressed formally, often in West African *boubous*, a flowing long or half-length damask gown and matching trousers. Yet, in the Cerdanyola neighbourhood all that could be noted were the numerous immigrants who left early in the morning for the industrial park, and returned after a while, only briefly continuing their conversations before going indoors. The southernmost part of Carrer Rosselló was one of the gateways through which a constant flow of Africans left the neighbourhood every Friday around 2pm and on the morning of Tabaski. Two 'mosques', one with a Moroccan and the other with a Mandinka and Jola imam, housed the Tabaski prayers.[121] They were former industrial plants converted into places of worship. The Tabaski prayer happened at the urban periphery, in contrast to the central space it had appropriated along Boulevard de Lindiane.

[120] In this respect, the everyday experience of equality between religions and ethnic groups has a larger impact than the Senegalese state policy promoting equality (cf. Smith 2012).

[121] While many chose the mosque in which an Imam of their origin prayed, there was quite substantial mixing on the day of Tabaski, more than the other days. The Casamançais explained that this was for practical reasons of proximity.

Figure 11 Muslims going to the Tabaski Prayer 2010, Mataró, Spain

by Tilmann Heil

The absence of mosques in lived neighbourhood spaces provoked discussions. Fakeba Badji, a well-established Casamançais, alluded to the strong resistance to mosques to explain why Muslims in Mataró had established themselves at the urban periphery. A Soninké association had a venue within ten meters of the *locutorí* in Carrer Rosselló which they had started to use as a place of worship. However, other residents objected and even feared the large gatherings of sub-Saharans revealed by the shoes left outdoors and the regular flow of people. As a result and due to health and safety regulations, it was closed down by the town authorities and re-opened with its initial purpose of teaching Muslim girls the Qur'an. Still worse, on a number of occasions a place used as a Moroccan mosque in Cerdanyola found its entrance barred with the dung of farm animals. The Moroccans finally gave up and retreated to the industrial park. While there was a Catalan movement supporting a central location for a mosque, many Casamançais actively involved in public immigrant affairs preferred to avoid conflict and to negotiate equal recognition slowly. Nevertheless, these experiences of explicit anti-Muslim practices and the permanent impression of Casamançais that they had to restrict their religiosity to the private

sphere stigmatised them as Muslims in Catalonia. In return, being Muslim was a relevant identity when discussing *convivència* with my interlocutors. Whereas the wider public did not really perceive blacks as Muslims – a position taken by North Africans in the public imaginary – Casamançais nevertheless experienced the same discrimination and challenges to practising their religion in Catalonia as other Muslims, something unheard of in Casamance.

Contrary to the experience of relative equality in Lindiane, in Catalonia the treatment of Christians and Muslims was very unequal. The Holy Week celebrations exemplified this very bluntly. Apart from the large manifestations in the city centre, Cerdanyola, as a hub of Castilian immigration, hosted a Matinal de Saetas in the central neighbourhood park at the beginning of Holy Week. The morning performance of devotional flamenco songs was audible far beyond the park. Two further processions followed on Wednesday and Thursday criss-crossing parts of the neighbourhood, starting and ending at the neighbourhood church. Despite a popular move towards secularism in Spain, Holy Week was ostentatiously celebrated while the Tabaski celebration in Mataró was kept at the periphery.

In the town of Sabadell, however, the Tabaski prayer in the same year took a different shape both in comparison to previous years and to the events in Mataró. While years earlier it had been held in the open air on a large field at the periphery of Sabadell, in 2010 the town authorities had agreed to move it to a more central open space in town. In retrospect Ousmane Diédhiou, a Muslim attending prayer, told the story of a success: they had received access to a relatively central location by the town authorities which facilitated the communal praying of 500-600 Muslims, as in Casamance. He saw the last remaining obstacle in people having to work. He assumed that had it been on a weekend or public holiday at a later hour there would have been even more Muslims present to celebrate together. Given the current Spanish calendar, this seemed to be a quite unfeasible hope in the near future. Many Muslim Casamançais, however, were less moderate, complaining that Tabaski could not be celebrated in Europe like 'at home'. Only the public Tabaski prayer in Sabadell and the large mosques, albeit at the periphery, appeared in a different, more positive

light. For a majority, religious *cohabitation* in Catalonia was only possible in the form of a relative retreat of the Casamançais from central open spaces to the periphery.

Nevertheless, this did not result in rejecting the Christian Holy Week celebrations. While a few sub-Saharans watched the events, more often they just went on with their own activities, for example sitting pensively in the morning sun in parts of the Parc de Cerdanyola in Mataró not taken over by the Matinal de Saetas. Casamançais just let it happen the way the Holy Friday procession also just happened in Ziguinchor. Here, they accepted a status quo supported by their Casamançais mindset, but with the crucial difference that it was not one which kept a balance between religions. Furthermore, neither food at Tabaski nor *ngalax* during Easter were shared with people other than those already familiar with the practice. No Casamançais I knew, however, saw a problem in limiting these practices central to religious celebrations in Casamance to the sub-Saharan neighbours and friends in Catalonia. The wider social situation was not conducive to the symbolic exchange central in Casamance.

For most Casamançais relating to religious practices in Catalonia was difficult. Noticing the decline of Catholicism in Catalonia and the stigmatisation of Islam, it was a common reaction, at least temporarily, to accept a marginal position, stay out of trouble and invest in a stepwise process of gaining recognition and negotiating a consensus. At the outset, Casamançais went a long way to accommodate local norms and to comprehend why things were different in Catalonia. Their Casamançais experience of having equal access to local open spaces had been reduced to passively sharing the space with Christians celebrating while their own religious practice mostly remained confined to the periphery. This was a fragile *modus vivendi*, hardly resembling a consensus since the negotiations of their desires and needs had just begun. Nevertheless, many Casamançais perceived it to be in flux and possibly changing. Apart from dealing with the unequal power relations between the Christian and Muslim faith as best they could, they nevertheless upheld their own notion that all religious practices should be given equal opportunity and space. Thus as Muslims they did not object to Christian celebrations and aspired to further

negotiate their own position towards equal access to open neighbourhood spaces, the basis on which conviviality could happen.

Approaching change, negotiating equality

Many religious festivities in Casamance and Catalonia were to a large extent organised through religious institutions such as the Muslim and Christian constituencies, the parish, Christian fraternities, or the mosque association and the marabout and his disciples. Furthermore, political discourses were reflected in the efforts and possibilities on the ground to either maintain and live differences – here religious ones – or to tactically pool forces to slowly gain recognition and achieve change. The relative place of these institutions in the social hierarchy played an important role in whether or not an event was successful. In Casamance, many of my interlocutors in Lindiane felt a consensus at work locally which allowed all groups to adhere to and publically manifest their religious celebrations and granted everyone the option to join in. Despite maintaining difference and resulting productive tension, large parts of the celebrations were shared among people of different religions.

In contrast, in Catalonia this sharing of space and practices was far less developed. Casamançais mainly relied on their ability to understand the new social context by translating its history and current configuration to understand their disempowered position as Muslims. Muslim religious institutions supporting their particular claims were far less established than in Casamance. Thus, the process of negotiating their place required time which many were willing to take. Although some Casamançais were sufficiently satisfied with the status quo achieved at the time of my fieldwork, it was a consensus that was indeed minimal and many felt it was nearly non-existent. Religious *convivència* was still in its infancy, yet Casamançais confidently took part in cultural *convivència* which both in its form of staged recognition of diversity and sensuous conviviality assumed an important place in both Casamance and Catalonia.

4.2 Ethnic performances. Staging culture and sensuous conviviality

While religious festivities encouraged me to think in terms of different institutional support and a fragmented presence in open neighbourhood spaces in Catalonia, cultural events evoked different scenarios. In the celebrations referred to below, formal institutions such as the town hall or a neighbourhood association took the first step in organising them and encouraging everybody to participate. In Catalonia, all local residents were invited to share and present 'their culture' alongside others. Both the *Mostra d'entitats de Cerdanyola*, the presentation of neighbourhood associations registered in Cerdanyola, and the individual performances of Casamançais groups in Granollers were valid examples. A structurally similar situation emerged during the *ZigFest* 2010 festival organised by the Ziguinchor town hall. A carnival and opening parade were two of its major events in which ethnic and other associations of Casamance and adjacent regions performed displays of 'ethnic culture' or paraded in support of civic and social interests. During these events, the institutional framework was similar for all groups involved, yet different intentions and processes became apparent.

Organisers, participants, and those not participating had various intentions and interpretations of the staging of diversity. Furthermore, sensuous conviviality which happened outside the official programme was an unintended, yet very important consequence. In the following I focus on two aspects: on the one hand, I enquire about the importance of staged diversity as a political statement embracing local diversity and providing hallmarks of *cohabitation* and *convivència*. The extent to which this marked the outcome of successful past negotiations or was intended to positively influence future developments, remains to be seen. On the other hand, I view all staged events as possible occasions of liminal experience, in which participants take part in practices of conviviality on the edges of official performances and in which they embrace difference in movement, sound and skill.

Below, I firstly explore the *ZigFest* carnival and opening parade and how it was both a staged event with underlying political tensions and an occasion of bottom-up, sensuous celebrations. Then I explore the *Mostra d'entitats* in Cerdanyola during which Casamançais ethnic groups proudly claimed open neighbourhood space and staged stylised features of 'their home cultures'. Their performances were part of festive *convivència* even and allowed religious elements, packaged as culture, to feature. Again, sensuous conviviality was not as widely experienced as in Casamance and remained caught between feelings of excitement and insecurity. Overall, *ZigFest* as well as the *Mostra d'entitats* and other performances in Catalonia were important hallmarks of the representations of *cohabitation* and *convivència*, and they were occasions for the construction of convivial space.

ZigFest. Celebrating and staging diversity

After various rounds of announcements and postponements *ZigFest* finally took place in April 2010. As a political initiative of Abdoulaye Baldé, the then new mayor of Ziguinchor, it stated the following purpose:

> The festival of urban and traditional cultures in Casamance is the first festival to offer a cross-perspective on urban, current and modern cultures, and traditional, secular and ancestral cultures. Organised in Ziguinchor, the festival aims at celebrating and unifying the modern and traditional black cultures which all have their origin in Africa.
>
> Casamance, land of welcome and hospitality, birthplace of authenticity, rich due to its ethnic and cultural diversity, has maintained multiple cultural traditions, which are the pride of its people. (Facebook 2010; Baldé 2010)[122]

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[122] French: Le Festival des cultures urbaines et traditionnelles en Casamance est le premier festival à porter un regard croisé sur les cultures urbaines, actuelles et modernes, et les cultures traditionnelles, séculaires et ancestrales. Organisé à Ziguinchor, le Festival a pour but de célébrer et d'unifier les cultures noires modernes et traditionnelles qui trouvent toutes leur source en Afrique.

This statement laid the basis for the opening ceremony on Friday and the carnival held the next day at the newly refurbished Place Aline Sitoe, named after the Jola priestess from Lower Casamance known for her resistance to French colonialism.[123] The newspapers stated that '65 different facets of African cultures' were represented at the carnival, many of which also were present in the opening parade (Sud Quotidien 2010). On the opening day, groups joined from Senegal and neighbouring countries: Mauritania, Gambia, Kedougou (South-Eastern province of Senegal), Mali and Guinea Bissau. Equally, many more local groups took part. In a highly controlled procession they all presented stylised cultural practices (both ethnic and religious ones) timed so their full splendour was unfolded in front of the tribune of ministers and other high ranking guests, both local and international. The widely discussed political intention was to promote the region of Casamance otherwise mainly known in news headlines for deaths and ambushes associated with the long-lived and violent struggle of the MFDC for independence. People and the media hoped that it would bring Ziguinchor back into the Senegalese national project.

Official representatives of the Casamançais diaspora, politicians, and media expected *ZigFest* to matter along many different lines. Apart from attempting a kick-start for economic development, they also hoped for the promotion of a different image of Casamance to be presented globally. Rather than only getting negative news coverage, they intended the celebrations of the rich cultural traditions of the sub-region to foster appreciation for the Casamançais cultural uniqueness. They also hoped the hospitality given to visiting groups would raise awareness for its cosmopolitan outlook (Badji 2010; Thiam 2010; Sud Quotidien 2010).

La Casamance, terre d'accueil et d'hospitalité, berceau de l'authenticité, riche de sa diversité ethnique et culturelle a conservé de multiples traditions culturelles qui font la fierté de son peuple.

[123] A second part alluded to the discourses of negritude which were present around the 'Festival des arts nègres' in Dakar in December 2010. Under the heading 'back 2 black' it invoked Africa (and the Casamance) as the source of globally spread urban cultural practices (music, dance, costumes, etc.). Other aspects of *ZigFest* like the economic fair, the opening of development offices and the conference held in Cap Skirring to debate local scale development cooperation lie beyond the scope of this analysis (Zig'Fest 2010).

Not everyone joined in on the same hymn of praise. One online commentator was brutal in his assessment: '72 heures de bruit et d'autoglorification, quelques moments de fureur et d'exaspération'[124] (Dabo 2010). The author's main critique was that the carnival reinforced the discrepancy between the political elite celebrating themselves and a population battling for their existence, and that due to the absence of the MFDC at the events, no real political solution of Casamance-specific problems was intended. Interlocutors of mine who did not attend any of the events but had followed the news commentaries were equally critical and believed that *ZigFest* did not contribute to regional development, a claim that had been made prior to and during the various *ZigFest* events. Some additionally criticised the missed opportunity to find a solution to the Casamance conflict since the MFDC had not been invited. Thus, it had been a fake attempt to actually make a difference for Casamance, they said.

Some of this critique was appropriate given how power was inscribed in the staging of cultural diversity during *ZigFest*. Both the opening parade and the actual carnival were physically marked by the presence of police, military, high ranking politicians and some groups uttering political statements. It was confined to a route and timed so as to please the political elite. The thousands of local spectators were kept at bay behind a barrier. When they nevertheless progressively overtook the centre space of the square which was reserved for the press but was also accessible to people with personal connections to particular officers, the carnival faced an interlude of running spectators and furious, anxious officers who beat whoever came within reach of their batons. For a moment, the subliminal tension erupted, revealing the fragility of the order which had been inscribed into the space. This fairly innocent eruption of the power of the masses and the brutal reaction clearly showed how fragile the coexistence of the political elite and the people was.

While newspapers and online commentaries highly criticised *ZigFest* as a self-glorification of the Senegalese political elite, wasting money and masking social and

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[124] '72 hours of noise and self-glorification, moments of fury and exasperation' (from French).

political tensions, others truly believed in its significance of showing another, more attractive face of Casamance which consisted of its cultural diversity and *cohabitation*. Being rooted in ethnic traditions while showing the cosmopolitan face of the region was an attempt to create a lived example of the Senghorian vision of *enracinement et ouverture* – rooting oneself in tradition and opening up to the world. Lay people accepted the official message of acknowledging cultural plurality and linked it to their reading of Casamançais openness to plurality and mixing. The highly frequented pop concerts combining local groups from Casamance with international stars like Fafadi (Ziguinchor), Youssou N'Dour (Senegal), Salif Keïta (Mali), and Magic System (Ivory Coast) further enhanced the carefully crafted political message which was happily taken up by the local population not least because of its long regional history.

Despite the fierce critique of the event, the staging of cultural diversity with a cosmopolitan outlook left a positive impression on the ground. Apart from the staged political message, the festival offered plenty of room for sensuous experiences. During the opening parade on Friday, many Casamançais seized the opportunity to celebrate. Instead of waiting passively for the official start, delayed due to the late arrival of the political elite, the people already gathered celebrated on their own and with those around them. Within the fluidity of moving bodies in the afternoon sun, a couple of Jola dance groups congregated in circles of women rhythmically clapping with wooden clappers and dancing as if they were at a wedding or an initiation ritual. Dressed in indigo batik initiation *pagnes*, pieces of heavy cloth wrapped around the hips, their printed t-shirts stated their affiliation with an association. Their straight upper bodies bent forward, the circle moved in a steady beat encouraging various soloists to claim the centre individually or in pairs. Soloist dancers came from the inner circle or from outside, regularly causing the clappers to double the rhythm in appreciation of their skills. Bystanders like myself and accompanying friends, attracted by the moving bodies and sounds, increasingly moved towards the centre, causing the circle to constantly alter its shape. Nearly as frequently the focus of attention shifted to some other popular performance also happening off-stage in the middle of the crowd. Right next to the Jola women,

Figure 12 Fula dancer, *ZigFest*, Ziguinchor, 2010

by Tilmann Heil

bystanders in a tight circle clustered around some Fula musicians playing the *nianiooru*, a single string violin, and an elaborately dressed dancer (Figure 12). The people, the sounds, the heat of moving bodies, the dust and the voices combined in a rich sensuous experience.

Being one of Ziguinchor's major traffic junctions, the square the day before had possessed no particular atmosphere. Located slightly out of town some distance from the bus terminal and next to the large groundnut processing facility, its character had changed with people replete with excitement for what was happening. On this Friday afternoon people who had come to welcome the politicians had also come to celebrate. 'Il y a de l'ambiance' – there is a [good] atmosphere – a common

expression to describe situations in which people had a good time, was recurrently used to describe *ZigFest*. The sounds of the Jola clappers and the Fula violins mixed with other performances and people's commentaries, conversations and phone calls. Far from being indifferent to what was going on, people showed – if only fleetingly – interest and appreciation. Groups congregated and dissolved, sounds mixed and parted, people sneaked in or fully dedicated their attention to a shorter or longer performance.

This was also the case during the free, nightlong concerts at the Ziguinchor port where local groups as well as international artists performed. People had come in large numbers and slowly moved through the congested streets of the city centre and the port area. The different events varied in formality and the availability of occasions for spontaneously inhabiting space and creating a moment of locality. They had in common that participants stayed in flux and constantly re-negotiated their place, showing both consideration and appreciation for each other.

Without necessarily knowing in detail the various people's origins and cultural practices, people were eager to see them perform, appreciating the numerous variations and the respective skills displayed. Contrary to the time span of staged performances during which people were held back behind barriers, here they sensed and appreciated the various movements and sounds. Some actively praised certain groups for their particular skills, others spontaneously took part in the event, claiming the centre of a group and dancing for a minute or two. This even happened when a Fula performance during the official carnival was playfully joined by a couple of women from a previous group who – animated by the drumming – came forth from the audience and spontaneously danced with the Fula before vanishing into the crowd.

For those people participating in the events, the performances and the excitement defined a liminal space of sensuous conviviality. It constituted an alternative dimension to the staged performance of cultural diversity and offered a different insight into local conviviality. Various analyses have shown how carnivals are liminal occasions from which alternative spaces emerge in opposition to dominant

discourses (cf. Bakhtin 1968; Gardiner 1993; Cohen 1993). While in the media commentary on *ZigFest* the political problems of Casamance and the wasteful spending prevailed – all of which were serious considerations – as a liminal space it left room for an important dimension of *cohabitation*. Engaging in playful, momentary and fleeting ways, people temporarily and sometimes quite unconsciously appreciated each other's performances. In the long run it played a crucial part in negotiating maintained (cultural) differences. The embodied experience of sensuous conviviality was locally as important as the rhetorical reiterations of the cosmopolitan outlook of Casamançais inhabitants.

Throughout *ZigFest*, sensuous celebrations were alternative convivial spaces which temporarily embodied living with difference. Various groups of people appropriated spaces and at the same time incorporated bystanders. Convivial space was constantly re-constituted around certain enduring elements, namely, the key performers. While they all represented essentialised cultural markers which allowed ascriptions to certain cultures, people who differed went through this liminal experience of intensive celebration together. Those who had come to watch were drawn into the dynamics and granted each other respect for their abilities. Both dimensions, the political staging of cultural diversity addressing regional and national audiences and the lived experiences on the ground were equally part of *ZigFest* that contributed to the understanding of *cohabitation*. The latter, which I see as an example of sensuous conviviality, had not been part of the organisers' intentions but appealed to the local residents who thus managed to re-appropriate the festivities, making them their own. As liminal experience, even sensuous conviviality remained temporary and fragile, since the drawing of boundaries, which in *ZigFest* mainly happened between the political class and the local population, could easily bring it to an end. The ensuing Catalan examples of the *Mostra d'entitats* and smaller one-off performances of Casamançais offer some examples where the political discourse was equally important in creating a space for people from everywhere. But here, sensuous conviviality was harder to achieve.

Figure 13 Fula musicians, *Mostra d'entitats*, Mataró, 2010

by Tilmann Heil

Mostra d'entitats: Staging culture

The often defensive attitude of Casamançais Muslims in Mataró was in stark contrast to the vivid presence of Casamançais at the second *Mostra d'entitats de Cerdanyola* held on a sunny Sunday in late October 2010. Nearly forty different associations presented themselves and their work at the Plaça de l'Onze de Setembre. The square, which was usually fraught with negative connotations for many of the Casamançais interlocutors (cf. Chapter Three), changed its image to the greatest extent possible during the festival. Catalan, Andalusian, North African, sub-Saharan African and other associations portrayed their activities in two rows of white canopies placed on the square. At least five associations had Casamançais members, some were ethnic associations, one was Senegalese, and one Senegambian.[125]

The turnout of the Casamançais was high, including nearly everyone I knew – a diverse sample of people. The majority of African men who were not responsible for

[125] Some of their work has been portrayed in Sow (2005) and Sokpoh (2006).

any particular association initially kept to themselves and gathered in the background. In contrast, the dressed-up African women mingled more with the crowd. Children of diverse origins brought movement into the rather static scene of adults standing and chatting. In contrast to the experience of Casamançais Muslims regularly leaving the neighbourhood to pray, at the *Mostra* they were present and confidently appropriated a space in the event. The Casamançais had responded to an invitation by the municipality and Cerdanyola neighbourhood association to join the event.[126] Including performances of the different cultural groups resident in the neighbourhood was an expression of the official Catalan policy of maintaining and encouraging cultural diversity (Generalitat de Catalunya 2009b). While religious diversity was pushed to the periphery, the distinct ethnic and national cultures present offered an opportunity to live differences openly. Both Fula and Jola, who were on the programme to perform, used the full scope to which this was possible. At the same time the staged programme communicated various forms of crossing and mixing.

While development projects in Senegal were the Fula association's stated focus, they performed the 'play' of a 'traditional Senegalese wedding' – actually a Muslim arranged marriage. Under the label of a cultural performance, to which they also had invited two Fula musicians (Figure 13), a daughter was married off to a relative of the family. A Spanish woman performed this role, which was mitigated by the fact that she was married to a Fula active in the association. Her make-up and dress were identical to all others, which as Casamançais bystanders commented, marked them as Fula. Their whole presentation was a complete product of mixing: speaking in Castilian, their dress and make-up marking their ethnic identity, and claiming a Muslim wedding to be traditionally Senegalese. Although the performance was cut short by the organisers, the large number of Fula on stage was clearly the focus of spectators' attention. Quite literally, they had translated between the various identities that were at their disposal without perceiving this as a problem. They

[126] On the relationship between the town hall and migrant associations for both co-development and local incorporation cf. Østergaard-Nielsen (2009).

presented a Muslim marriage locally as a 'play' which cohered with the growing consensus of presenting religious questions in a cultural idiom. In consequence, this allowed them to temporarily claim a central location in the shared open neighbourhood spaces.

Apart from proudly acting as Fula, which was made clear by inviting the two musicians and using selected make-up and dress, the whole performance resembled a Senegalese TV comedy which often humorously critique contemporary social issues. In short, the 'Senegalese wedding' was a carnivalesque performance, playfully engaging with the Casamançais current situation. Gaining the bystanders' sympathy, this caused several of the Senegalese to be amused by the arranged nature of the Fula wedding, the involvement of the Spanish woman and the clumsiness of certain lay actors. Despite these effects, as Muslims they had claimed a central space in the neighbourhood.

Similarly, Mandinka one day inhabited the pedestrian zone of Granollers, a neighbouring town. The Granollers municipality had invited all migrant groups to take part in a cycle of cultural events related to their places of origin. On one such occasion, the Mandinka association from Sédhiou had staged their male circumcision ritual during which the Kankurang – a Mandinka whole-body mask meant to protect the initiates but also a social policing institution (cf. de Jong 2007; Kesteloot 1994) – was involved and attracted much attention together with the drumming, dancing and singing. A syncretic practice in Casamance, it had become a playful performance in Catalonia with an explanatory commentary done in Castilian or Catalan, reduced costumes, unintended disruptions and in this case Spanish-born children who lacked familiarity with the procedures. Some of these interruptions, the vast empty space at the start, the late arrival of the musicians (some of whom were Jola) and the lack of spectators caused some awkwardness at the beginning. Despite this, they celebrated as much for themselves as for others. While the religious aspect was not in the foreground it was undeniably part of the event, as discussions with local bystanders concerning circumcision revealed. Some of the Mandinka performers had come from the neighbouring towns and other Casamançais had come to celebrate. Such performances had become a regular occurrence throughout Catalan towns and only

weeks before, the Kankurang had been dancing in a different neighbourhood on a similar occasion. These were instances during which Casamançais confidently embodied cultural practices to claim the urban space as local residents. To meet local concerns, they incorporated some elements such as commentaries in Castilian or Catalan.

In Mataró, a recently established Jola dance group had also participated in all kinds of events in Catalonia. During the *Mostra d'entitats* in Cerdanyola they performed yet again. They were scheduled quite late in the afternoon and fully appropriated a large share of the square, successfully animating the audience. While the show of children of the neighbourhood was still going on the Jola gathered on the edge of the square to warm up for their grand performance. People had come from outside Mataró to perform. The men were dressed in colourful West African print batik; the women – like in Casamance – wore indigo batik *pagnes* and t-shirts of the Oudiodial association. The group had incorporated at least a few non-Jola women. They approached the stage from behind, circling parts of the square already drumming, singing and dancing. They sang in Jola, women accompanying them rhythmically with wooden clappers. Paying homage to the organisers and non-African neighbours, they also had a Castilian/Catalan commentary to convey in brief words the occasions on which such performances were held in Casamance. Yet the climax of the Kumpo dance developed its own dynamic.

The Oudiodial association had brought the Kumpo, a whole-body mask with a long pole on top, directly from Casamance (Figure 14).[127] The performance of the three-meter-tall Kumpo extended beyond the stage into the square itself. The spectacle was noisy, colourful, and self-confident. It was not like the performances that de Jong (2007: 155-71) describes in Casamance made either for tourists or a disengaged audience at a cultural festival. Instead, mainly West Africans in the audience got involved dancing, singing, joking, photographing and filming. Like in Casamance,

[127] Concerning the role and history of the Kumpo in the sub-region cf. de Jong (2007) and Girard (1965).

Figure 14 Kumpo mask, *Mostra d'entitats*, Mataró, 2010

by Tilmann Heil

West African women from outside the performing group claimed the circle's centre to dance with the Kumpo for a moment before reintegrating into the crowd. Children were all over the place something only possible with a tamed Kumpo unlike those in the Casamance villages which had authority to scare and admonish children and youth. Engaging actively with the performance and the action extending into the square created a space in which difference was embodied (cf. Erickson 2008). A Mandinka next to me acknowledged this as an achievement, stating that the Jola were *forts* – they were good at doing such performances and creating *ambiance*, a festive atmosphere.

During the day of the *Mostra d'entitats* rumours of a prize for the best performance had been circulating. For many of the participating Casamançais this had added competitive ambitions – albeit playfully – to the performances, spurring on the

performers who had put the spectators into a good humour. As proud local residents, Casamançais confidently created locality in a shared open space. What is more, the Kumpo dance accompanied by singing and pulsing rhythms briefly challenged the everyday experiences of my interlocutors' hardships and worries. This liminal experience was not as fully shared among all local residents as in Casamance since, for many, unfamiliarity prevailed over sensuous conviviality. However, it left a mark in the shared open space, productively contributing to Catalan *convivència*, as did the official recognition of the various practices during the *Mostra d'entitats*.

Openly staging and dealing with difference had been the aim of the *Associació de Veïns de Cerdanyola* (Association of Neighbours of Cerdanyola) which included members of all other associations based in the neighbourhood. Some of my informants interpreted this as an effort to integrate the new residents of the neighbourhood, seeing it from the angle of host-stranger relationships (cf. Chapter Six). 'If they say that there is a celebration [and that] we can all go – we will go [there] and celebrate together.'[128] (Keba Deme, 10/2010) This interpretation matches well with all of the groups giving a commentary in the local *lingua franca* while being given room to openly stage their uniqueness. Furthermore, they felt their turnout and participation satisfied their hosts, i.e. the Catalans and Spanish. However, in retrospect many of my informants inquired why there had been few Europeans present. Indeed, the presence of sub-Saharans had been quite overwhelming and they at times had mainly inhabited the space. Nevertheless a number of Catalan groups also performed, and the group called Diables Atabalats (Catalan: Overwhelming Devils) performing fireworks in the evening temporarily appropriated the square not unlike the Kumpo. Many Casamançais had attended all performances, and it seemed as if this event had been embraced more by Casamançais than by other local residents. The Casamançais turnout was little surprise given the popularity of cultural performances in Casamance.

[128] French: 'S'ils disent qu'on a une fête [et que] nous tous on peut [y] aller – on va [y] aller faire la fête ensemble.'

By and large, the active involvement and confident presence of Casamançais facilitated the reinterpretation of the Plaça as a convivial space, even though it was somewhat constrained by the lesser participation of non-African residents. Being present and actively engaging with the invitation to participate, both the Jola and Fula groups had temporarily appropriated a shared space and had also stayed for the other performances. Everyone contributed to living *with* difference, but the performances communicated on different levels. Firstly, contextualising the performances as cultures and including Spanish/Catalan explanations of both the wedding and the dance of the Kumpo, the Jola and Fula groups spoke to the wider audience, translating their performances to the local contexts thus contributing to *convivència*. Often due to the bad quality of the microphones this was more of a symbolic gesture, which, however, was sufficient.

Secondly, both the Mandinka performance in Granollers and the Fula one at the *Mostra* had presented religiously connoted performances as ethnic 'culture'. Although playfully, it was a slow subversion of otherwise quite hostile conditions for Muslims in Catalonia. Through creative temporary appropriations of shared spaces, Muslim Casamançais regained recognition as local residents and for their practices. Accepting this and setting it in an interactional frame engaging the local audience, they proved to be flexible in moulding their concerns in locally acceptable ways.

Finally, the Kumpo and Kankurang performances in particular also created a space in which Casamançais practised something specific to them, hereby appropriating open space. Thus, while adhering to a local consensus by accepting the frame of the organisers, difference was maintained, and openly enjoyed as embodied experience in movement, sight and sound. These were short openings of sensuous conviviality as we had seen in Casamance, however, in this intensive, liminal form it remained mainly confined to the West African audience and performers. Nevertheless, the widely shared consensus of staging cultural diversity constituted a first element in the process of conviviality and already facilitated the emergence of the convivial space of the *Mostra d'entitats*.

Summary

Both in Casamance and Catalonia, cultural events were part of the local representations of *cohabitation* and *convivència*. Institutionally, various groups performing in the events held similar institutional support, although the political elite in Casamance clearly assumed a privileged position. Despite Casamançais critiquing the behaviour of the political elite for not seriously trying to contribute to the peace and development of Casamance, others found the cultural performances at *ZigFest* important. Their appreciation paralleled the experiences of the *Mostra d'entitats* in two ways: Firstly, such celebrations were a point of reference in the political acknowledgment of cultural plurality. Rooted in tradition but cosmopolitan in outlook in Casamance and being diverse in global origins but living together in Catalonia were key political messages locally structuring living *with* difference. Additionally, Casamançais rejoiced in staged *convivència*, celebrating diversity even while experiencing everyday occurrences of racism and exploitation. In combination with the experience of sensuous conviviality and the scope for mixing and re-appropriations that was on-going, the staged appreciation of difference was an important support of fragile everyday conviviality.

Secondly, Casamançais experienced living with difference on the ground during celebrations in Casamance and Catalonia. Many people clustering together, the singing and dancing central in so many of their performances, and the appreciation of the various embodied skills constituted what I called sensuous conviviality. As a liminal experience it was unpredictable as to when it would really happen and how long it would last. The drawing of definite boundaries could cause festive and staged conviviality to break down as in the moment of chaos during the *ZigFest* carnival. In contrast, sensuous conviviality during spontaneous neighbourhood celebrations remained frequent and easily accessible. In Catalonia, opportunities were more rare and the mutual acquaintance at times too limited and awkward for everyone to take part in the liminal experience. Nevertheless, many Casamançais felt that events like the *Mostra d'entitats* were valuable moments of living with difference contributing to

convivència, the political vision of living in diversity while adhering to a shared conception of rights and duties.

In Catalonia, despite the focus on tradition and participants' diverse origins, all the cultural performances were mixed, adjusting to their local context. To sit well with the Catalan context, Casamançais had included commentaries of their cultural productions into their staged performances. Staging religious – including Muslim – practices in events that were implicitly about secular cultures, they at the same time slowly subverted their religious marginalisation. While sticking to their own practices, they translated them into a language understandable and less controversial in the new context. In Casamance, such mixing happened a lot and was often taken for granted by my interlocutors. They continued to perceive difference and labelled it, however, they also developed ways to make them intelligible. This competence had become part of the official commentaries in Casamance and had been subsumed under the heading of the worldly outlook of the region and the shared experiences of all peoples of the subregion. This, once more, shows the transnational continuities in practices of living with difference by Casamançais, and the local adjustments that took place.

4.3 Conclusions. Affirming and experiencing conviviality

In this chapter, I added a new perspective to the process of living with difference looking at religious celebrations and cultural events in Catalan and Casamançais neighbourhoods. Due to their regular occurrence, they formed part of everyday experiences in neighbourhood spaces. More importantly, they were sites for crucial interaction processes which contribute to a nuanced understanding of negotiating and translating differences. On their occasion, people experienced the sharing of open neighbourhood spaces in various ways which relied on a common understanding of conviviality. At the same time they were exposed to the political categorisation and the linked appreciation of differences. People engaged with it in

subverting the political categories of identification and in sensuous, lived experiences. Revisiting both staged and sensuous conviviality, I take the crucial dynamics of relative equality, tension and breakdown, minimal consensus building and liminal experiences forward. Throughout I relate the processes described in this chapter to the basic practices of conviviality: negotiation, translation and interaction.

Sufficient equality between all individuals as well as all formations of groups, be they religious or ethnic, underlay the negotiation of open spaces in spontaneous encounters and larger events like the *Mostra d'entitats* in Mataró and *ZigFest*, or the religious celebrations in Casamance. Perceived equality was in a dialectical relationship with forming a consensus on how to live with difference in a process of negotiation which must have clearly been on-going prior to the event during which convivial spaces emerged. In return, the events were crucial building blocks in this negotiation process. Whenever such a state of mutual agreement, even if only in form of a minimal consensus, could be achieved, Casamançais expressed a sense of belonging, wellbeing and comfort in the locality. As part of this process, the dominant ideologies of religious and cultural *cohabitation* and cultural *convivència* of the political authorities in Catalonia and Casamance made a difference to local experiences of Casamançais.

Claiming equality as local residents was not to say that everybody *de facto* had equal chances to celebrate and to negotiate. In Catalonia, there was no open space for Muslim celebrations in the neighbourhoods, whereas in Casamance both Christians and Muslims had relatively equal access to open spaces, sharing it during the course of the year. Inequalities and fears particularly concerning the permanent Muslim presence in Catalonia were in stark contrast to this longstanding religious *cohabitation* in Casamance and in Senegal as a whole. In Casamance, this was no perfect equilibrium, but a working one which regularly was challenged and experienced moments of breakdown. The relative equality of local residents was challenged by the varying levels of legitimacy that groups, to which they ascribed, assumed in the respective social field.

If participants in events felt that sufficient equality and recognition was missing, it provoked the fragile balance of conviviality to break down. The political tensions during *ZigFest* were an example as was the marginalisation of Muslim religious practices in Catalonia. In different sites in Catalonia, serious conflicts around the building of mosques have been documented, showing how the political project of *convivència* was challenged and everyday living with difference threatened due to serious confrontations and discrimination, increasingly superimposed by social anxieties (cf. Astor 2012; Lundsteen 2011). However, many of my Casamançais participants had chosen a calm approach, one that seemed compatible with the local social field and which meant that they kept their religion as an individual affair (cf. Jeldtoft 2011) or chose a cultural idiom to gain recognition first. The often very nuanced approach of Casamançais in changing social fields sustains thinking about conviviality as an act of translation between differences which remains tightly linked to reoccurring attempts of re-negotiating the terms of conviviality. In this process Casamançais draw from the local and transnational histories of people and places. Concerning staged and sensuous conviviality, the Casamançais history of *cohabitation* was important as were the local Catalan politics of *convivència* and glocal discourses of Muslim and migrant discrimination.

During cultural events, sufficient equality between all participants was by and large achieved. In Casamance this was despite the political elite setting themselves apart, a divide which mattered little for recognising cultural diversity and the sensuous experience of it during *ZigFest*. In both Catalonia and Casamance, Casamançais had critically reviewed this strategy of staging diversity. Besides those dismissing it as a charade, others ascribed importance to the appreciation of their difference. In Casamance, this was about recognising the cultural wealth of the region; in Catalonia, it was about invited guests being given the opportunity to perform their difference. As with carnivals, the appreciation of dominant discourses went hand in hand with subversive political statements and tactical appropriations of open spaces (cf. Cohen 1982, 1993; Bakhtin 1968). Whether intended or not, the Mandinka and Fula clearly gave religious references under the heading of their 'culture' in Catalonia. Their Casamançais audiences appreciated this in part as good

entertainment and in part as the subversive act resisting the marginalisation of Muslim practice. This stood out against other less vocal coping strategies with marginalisation such as the expressed willingness to adjust to local conditions, or 'integrate', the reluctance to partake in activities in open neighbourhood spaces, and the retreat to the private. Raising their voice to choose a locally suitable idiom to maintain their religiosity, however, was the main way of standing up as local equals. Official appreciation of specifically 'cultural' differences and subverting such limitations by mixing and crossing them were equally part of negotiating living with difference.

Ultimately, the expression of differences was greatly appreciated in sensuous conviviality which spontaneously emerged alongside staged acts. In this chapter, sensuous conviviality described the spontaneous, liminal experience of difference through the senses and the resulting joy in it. This momentarily embodied experience added a dimension to the process of living with difference that significantly contributes to explaining how tensions and even inequality could be smoothed. The sharing of food during religious celebration serves as another example of this. On the occasions of sensuous conviviality inequality was temporarily set aside, and the diversity of expression was celebrated without requiring much active knowledge – sharing practices and embodied interactions were the basis on which it happened.[129]

The embodied experiences of sensuous conviviality form part of shared minimal consensuses since the situations in which they emerged were fleeting, momentary and shifting always bearing the potential of breaking down. Seen as a form of sociality, conviviality remains in-process in need of being re-produced. This is achievable, since it is a minimal set of basic practices that it relies upon: negotiation, translation – both on the basis of some form of interaction. In Catalonia and Casamance, they were supported by both dominant ideologies and they formed part of Casamançais' habitual understanding of living with difference.

[129] Another project could also explore the actual creativity and agency in the various embodied practices, for example dance (Neveu Kringelbach and Skinner 2012) and language (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 8).

To conclude, in this chapter I have given an insight into what living with difference is based upon in Casamance and Catalonia. I engaged with religious celebrations and cultural festivals since they had been regular reference points in my interlocutors' representations of *cohabitation* and *convivencia*. While affirming some of the processes of peacefully living with difference, others took issue with the events since they only enacted a partial – or minimal – consensus which they thought to be discomforting. They sought recourse in other forums of sociality, discussed next, in which the focus was neither on open neighbourhood spaces, nor on engaging with diversity. In some instances, Casamançais broke with past practices from Casamance.

PART THREE.

CHALLENGING CONVIVIALITY

Chapter 5.

Living the everyday differently

In the previous chapters I presented ways of living with difference that accommodated diversity in interactions taking place in open neighbourhood spaces and during festive events. In the present chapter, I introduce three processes that challenge important dimensions of conviviality: Firstly, migrant sociality regularly seems to sideline my earlier argument that neighbourhood spaces are in principle open to all. Casamançais spent considerable amounts of time in spaces which were mainly accessed by other Casamançais and migrants. Secondly, radical changes arising from aspirations to a European lifestyle question the continuity of past Casamançais practices of *cohabitation* across the two sites. Individualism, both as autonomy and egocentricity, considerably challenges conviviality, sometimes to the point of breakdown. Thirdly, national homogenisation tendencies potentially subvert multilingual practices and repertoires. Thus, the rich everyday practices of Casamançais in Catalonia and Casamance, and local social configurations and discourses of homogeneity and diversity provide alternative entry points to understanding the lived experiences of difference.

In the first section of this chapter, I focus on everyday socialising among migrants in mixed neighbourhoods, and among Casamançais in their homes and in associations. In migrant homes people who tended to be religiously and culturally alike interacted more with each other. Greater intimacy led to other ways of engaging with one another. The sociality in migrant spaces restricted the time available to engage with long-term local residents. However, migrant homes, which seemingly were the most homogenous of such alternative social spaces, were also marked by contestations and linguistic, cultural and national differences which needed to be negotiated. Furthermore, even while at home, Casamançais showed an awareness of other local residents; they actively discussed norms of living with difference in the new social environment among longstanding household members and newcomers.

The second section explores Casamançais aspirations to a European way of life in both Casamance and Catalonia and its realisation or failure. These aspirations strongly contest the continuing validity of Casamançais sociality including *cohabitation* as it was lived or nostalgically remembered. Casamançais attempted to reach an imagined European economic '*el Dorado*' premised on preconceived notions of individualism in Europe. This matched their (sometimes successful) attempts to overcome 'African solidarity' by way of migration. However, achieving the European dream was difficult. As with many migrants in times of economic crisis, Casamançais experienced isolation and loneliness, they became dependent on migrant solidarity and retreated from other local social relations.

The third section finally addresses the increasingly dominant discourses on cultural homogeneity in Senegal and Catalonia. Drawing on examples of linguistic practices, I enquire into the influence of Wolofisation, Mandingisation and Catalan nationalism on everyday sociality. Perceiving these developments as homogenisation processes I stress how local residents increasingly shared the same linguistic and other cultural features. Senegalese nationalism expressed in Wolofisation and aspirations to 'development' challenged Casamançais diversity and *cohabitation*. In Catalonia, nationalism mainly imposed a common *lingua franca*, with which Casamançais sympathised and playfully engaged. Depending on both their intentions and current structural conditions, they either showed their complicity in the regional project or felt under obligation to integrate. Most of the time, though, they tactically satisfied the political expectations with the least effort possible.

I conclude in three steps, juxtaposing the ethnography to the conception of conviviality and the basic practices of interaction, negotiation and translation. Firstly, the examples of sociality in migrant spaces and Casamançais flats challenge the quasi self-evident focus on open neighbourhood spaces. Yet oftentimes, the flats themselves need to be conceived of as open spaces which in principle are accessible to all and become convivial. Secondly, admiring a European way of life can be generally framed as conceptual translation. However, I argue that local representations, of which European individualism is a crucial one, leave room for individual creativity and interpretations in which degrees of conviviality, open

conflict and non-engagement have to be negotiated. Finally, processes of homogenisation vary in degree and convey the possibility to change practices of conviviality, for example, legitimising a *lingua franca*. However, the ethnography also shows that homogenising ideologies were challenged if they fully precluded the maintenance of difference.

5.1 Going out or staying home. Conviviality in and beyond migrant communities

Keba described his movements in Mataró like a lot of the Casamançais in Catalonia. Asked whether he would spend time outside, he said:

> No, I do not go there [the parks] a lot. *If I leave home*, I go to Abdoulaye, [to surf the] Internet. If I leave from Abdoulaye's, [I return] *home*. That's it. This is all I do. … No, I do not stay long in the parks.[130] (Keba Deme, Mataró, 10/2010, emphasis added)

At the time, Keba had very little work. If he left home at all, he went to see a friend who had internet access, to return home thereafter. Like many of the Casamançais in Catalonia, Keba spent most of his time in migrant homes. The same narrative repeated itself with changing motivations to go out: to call Senegal in a *locutorí*, to go shopping, or to (find) work. Many Casamançais only transited open neighbourhood spaces and spent much time at home, with friends at their place, or in places also mainly frequented by migrants. Social relations at home and among migrants thus crucially influenced their everyday experiences.

In this section, I first address spaces that Casamançais shared with other migrants from all over the world. Explaining why they coincided more with other migrants, Casamançais assumed common concerns and orientations. Second, I address migrant

[130] French: 'Non, parce que moi, je marche peu là-bas. Moi, si je sors de chez moi, je pars chez Abdoulaye [pour surfer sur] internet. Si je sors de chez Abdoulaye, [je retourne] *à la maison*. C'est fini. C'est ça seulement que je fais. … Non je ne dure pas dans les parcs.'

associations that were central for many Casamançais but placed a burden on others. Thirdly and finally, I deal with the dynamics in the homes of Casamançais. Here, they gathered as members of a particular region, as people sharing the same family name, or according to other criteria. Apart from spending much time at home, living with difference also needed to be negotiated among co-residents since they often were from quite distinct backgrounds, which caused internal tension, and since they considered their neighbours' concerns.

(Im)migrant encounters

Being a migrant was both a chosen identification and one that was used by others, often with the significant emphasis on *im*migrants. Shared concerns as migrants and specific services provided to immigrants created common experiences from which convivial space emerged among people from different places of origin. Unlike the street scene in Carrer Rosselló (cf. Chapter Three), migrant spaces potentially excluded those who had resided in the town longer and who did not share the migration experience.

All of the Casamançais encountered other migrants from all over the world in a significant number of places serving their everyday needs. *Locutorís* were places of fleeting encounter where everybody went to call home, bought credit for cheap mobile phone calls, or used money transfer services. Specialised supermarkets, often run by migrants, and offering products requested by them such as large quantities of rice, specific vegetables and oils, were also spaces dominated by migrants. Although such spaces were scattered throughout the neighbourhood of Cerdanyola alongside other shops all residents used, *locutorís* in particular were nearly exclusively frequented and run by migrants themselves. The sometimes tiny shops crowded with people speaking many languages were plastered with signs of calling rates for countries all over the world and left the impression of a place somehow detached from the Catalan reality around it. While contact was fleeting most of the time, at others people gathered at the entrance to catch up.

Casamançais believed they shared the destiny of a migrant life with other migrants, which translated into common practices and the sharing of spaces. Not surprisingly, these were the people they named first when they described their neighbourhood (cf. Chapter Two). Casamançais believed that their shared migration experience created a common orientation, a concern with their places of origin. Different cohorts of Casamançais themselves related to this concern in a number of ways. Yet, on a more general level they felt that all migrants had come to Europe to be upwardly mobile and to support families and projects at home. This did not consciously exclude Spaniards since some Casamançais were aware of the Southern Spanish who had come to Catalonia and the Spaniards who had gone to the rest of Europe. They belonged to a different cohort of migrants though, and no longer shared the same orientation.[131]

Furthermore, some institutional spaces in Catalonia only catered to the needs of international immigrants. The Catalan and Spanish classes in the centres for further education were meeting points for migrants from all over the world. This was in contrast to the reception classes (*acollida*) during which they were clustered according to their regions of origin to facilitate translation. These classes were offered for free and the language classes were highly popular for migrants who did not yet have work, which resulted in long waiting lists. Casamançais involved in the classes told me of the experiences and conversations they had with other people from Europe, Asia and Africa. Some showed me pictures of the parties they had during the course, displaying the diversity of migration backgrounds. By default, interactions were only with other migrants. Spending time with Casamançais in Barcelona, an Eastern European female classmate of a Casamançais interlocutor had come to use their internet access. Saving costs and helping each other out was a recurrent theme not restricted by nationality or place of origin. Even if the contact had ceased afterwards – as was the case for many – the classes had been occasions for encounter and learning about each other. Although the diversity among classmates had been

[131] On the same basis of missing common experiences, Casamançais hardly spoke of retirees who migrated from other European countries to Spain (see Gustafson 2008; King et al. 2000b).

consciously experienced, common migration concerns fostered living with difference and constructed convivial space.

Their (im)migration experience and everyday concerns remained a common denominator. Casamançais regularly felt in need of services that mainly other migrants offered. Moroccan butchers catered for the needs of all Muslim migrants, especially around festivities. Many Casamançais bought their meat at a Moroccan butcher for Tabaski, not being able to slaughter a sheep themselves. Similarly, they often relied on Moroccans who knew the technical aspects and frequencies to receive TV programmes from home to fix the satellite broadcasting, a concern shared among all migrants. Similarly, Boubakar Thiam quoted his specific concerns as a migrant to justify going all the way from a distant neighbourhood to a specialised Moroccan immigration lawyer in Cerdanyola. Many others did so as well, making his office a crossroads for North and West African migrants. In these cases, the negative image of the *moros*, North Africans, (temporarily) ceased to matter. Sharing concerns as migrants constituted a relevant dimension in structuring everyday experiences of Casamançais.

Being offered services as immigrants and sharing a migrant orientation and concerns resulted in interactions in which their migration experience mattered more than being local residents. Thus, alternative forms of local conviviality emerged in spaces in which Spanish and Catalan residents rarely participated. This was also the case in migrant associations that for some Casamançais had a major impact on everyday life.

Migrant associations' impact on everyday life

Migrant associations gained importance in two regards in my research. Firstly, in my discussions associations were given as one constraining reason limiting time, energy and money to engage with people outside of the migrant community. Secondly, discussing their leisure time activities, some Casamançais spoke mainly of their associational commitments. Casamançais migrants were involved in an impressive diversity of regional, ethnic and national associations, most of the time differentiated by gender and their geographical orientation (home or Catalonia) (cf. Heil 2008: 59-

65). A few Casamançais were additionally active in Catalan associations, though none of my close informants were among them. Sow argues that migrant associations in Catalonia are 'a reference where some or all the demands and needs of the migrant community are met' (Sow 2005: 41). Indeed, associations became social spaces in the local (and transnational) field where Casamançais addressed many of the difficulties they confronted. Instead of reviewing associational activities in full (cf. Kaplan Marcusán 1998; Sow 2005), I focus on duties they placed on ordinary members.

Many ethnic and hometown associations had been initially founded by Casamançais as burial societies to support each other in repatriating the remains of those who had died. For the first generation of migrants, regular monthly association meetings as well as additional activities continuously took up much of the spare time but this was rarely perceived as a burden. The monthly contributions of three to twenty Euros, however, meant a burden for some younger and more recently arrived lay members. For both Ansou Diédhiou and Tapha Badiatte, who had poorly paid fulltime jobs, a mortgage to pay and a families to support, the associational commitments restricted both their time and financial means to engage in other local and neighbourhood activities.

Extra meetings were regularly called, often by more than one association. At Easter, a relatively young Muslim woman had died with outstanding contributions due to the Jola association. Thus, all members of the Oudiodial association, Ansou and Tapha included, were called upon to meet and see whether someone would pay her debt to repatriate her. Furthermore, the local mosque association collected contributions for the repatriation of her body in a subsequent meeting. Instead of attending any of their Catholic friends' Easter celebrations, Muslim Casamançais spent hours attending meetings. At Alain Sagna's house, we waited a long time for some Muslim invitees before we started the meal. Once the news spread giving the reason for the invitees' absence, everybody showed full understanding. Used to a vivid associational life from Senegal (Linares 1992), the Casamançais associations structured part of their daily lives; however, this was not the case for all.

Although migrant associations both past and present advocated for migrants rights and had reached out to many Casamançais, their claim to reach all migrants and matters in their lives needs some qualification. Formally being a member of both the ethnic Jola and the Senegalese Planeta associations, many of my interlocutors had neither attended meetings nor paid their contributions regularly. Furthermore, many of the newly arrived migrants either had not heard about Mataró's well-established associations or they did not sought membership. For them, the solidarity of their flatmates and friends appeared to be a more important source of information and support.

For younger cohorts, associational commitments were time-consuming and felt like a financial burden. They resented the social control and restrictions placed on their aspirations to a European lifestyle and personal success. Damé Sambou regretted that such young migrants had gone astray by neither joining any associations nor showing particular commitment to their fellow migrants, while Fode Sadio Faty saw it as the normal course of things. While Fode was very active in the various Mandinka associations in Catalonia, his co-resident nephews hardly showed any interest. More than earlier migrants such as Fode and Damé, the younger generations of migrants were involved in realising their dream of a European way of life, which they had harboured even when still in Casamance and on their way (cf. Section 5.2).

Regardless of the many valuable dimensions of migrant associations, some of which I discussed in the previous chapter, these examples show how they placed a burden on some of my informants' ability to engage more with neighbours and social situations outside their migrant social field. For many Casamançais in their 20s and 30s time and financial obligations were good enough reasons to shy away from associational activities, engaging more in individual pathways to success, often aimed at realising a European dream. Yet many got stuck half way, not active in associations, nor successful in chasing their dreams, but in a waiting position in migrant homes, especially in times of economic crisis. Their only resort seemed to continue dreaming of a European way of life, explored below.

Migrant homes and sociability

Another area in which non-migrant locals were hardly present was migrant flats, where most Casamançais like Keba Deme spent a lot of time. While conflicts could arise between old and new migrants, the reasons for living together were not just cost-related, but also included being social, and having people around to feel good. This did not preclude conflict which showed how power relations and ways to live together needed to be re-negotiated among migrants, even among people from the same places of origin (cf. Heil 2008: 52f; see also van Nieuwenhuyze 2007; Sow 2004: 350-52; Kane 2002). In many flats I visited, people spent their weekend time preparing tea and watching TV. Those without work did so on a daily basis. Casamançais themselves perceived this to be in contrast with the Catalan habit of meeting friends in bars, restaurants and cafés. Most of the migrant flats were spaces with limited possibilities for the unexpected to happen producing a sense of locality. Everybody coming and going was normally at least known to someone living in the house. Nonetheless, Casamançais struggled with the fairly large crowds of people in the limited space available. Thus, migrant flats were also spaces of encountering difference, which in combination with the high frequency of people coming and going could render them into fragile convivial spaces. Others again, were quite homogenous and clearly organised, such as the example of Demekunda.

Demekunda. A save haven

Damé Sambou, a long-established migrant, had bought a flat with his brother in Mataró many years ago. During my fieldwork, he lived there with people who all belonged to the Deme family (including Keba) from the Kalounayes area, north-east of Ziguinchor. Damé Sambou himself had grown up in a Deme family and had brought his wife, a Deme herself. His brother had moved out, leaving the flat to Damé and his wife Mayatta, their six-year-old daughter and new-born son, and four other Demes, two of them unrelated. While one of them always socialised at a friend’s place, other family members and Jola from the Kalounayes region came to socialise at Damé’s, including visitors from outside Mataró. Their common denominators were their Jola ethnicity and their regional origin, while nationality

did not matter at all. Many additionally united under the Deme family name which conveyed strong bonds among the people gathering (see Portrait).

Damé Sambou and the Deme family

For reasons he did not specify, Damé had grown up with the Deme family in Kalounayes.[132] To maintain these family ties, he had married Mayatta. Damé as well as Keba Deme and many others socialising in his flat maintained strong links to their village, which was founded by one of the Deme ancestors (cf. Chapter Six). As the founder family the Demes were in charge of distributing land to newcomers such as the Sambou (unrelated to Damé), now the founders of another neighbourhood. In an undefined past, the family history had not been one of pride alone. Mayatta's brother Sounkar recalled that their family had been bewitched. As a result, they had been few and for a long time no boys had been sent to the *bukut*, the celebrations of Jola male circumcision. However, he said that in the present day they had overcome this period of poverty and childlessness. Today, they were one of the biggest families in their village of origin and many of them had succeeded in migrating internationally. This short reflection on the past legitimised the Deme family pride.

Unless there was a legitimate reason to do otherwise, people at Demekunda stayed home. Apart from the Spanish news and the odd programme in Spanish, Senegalese TV was on, and sometimes they watched DVDs of festivities back in Casamance. This was a pattern widely shared among Casamançais. At home, many sat together, but some preferred to be on their own and study, read, work out or listen to music. Many migrant flats shared this sense of being a space of stability, continuity and mutual support. As for Keba Deme, such a home base made it easy to continue a Casamançais lifestyle which included practices of *cohabitation* outdoors, even if most of the time was spent behind closed doors (cf. Chapter Three). Social relations inside and outside were both highly codified.

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[132] Children growing up within a different family happens regularly in Casamance. Reasons vary and range from practical considerations to reacting to the fears of witchcraft, for example, when women had lost several children in a row.

The terms of living together at home – and indeed in the neighbourhood – were made very clear when Alassane Deme arrived in 2010. Eager to move at a speed that he imagined being European, he quickly learned to be patient. Instead of setting him up to work – a difficult task in times of crisis – everyone apart from Mayatta convened to talk Alassane through what he needed to know about *cohabitation* in the household, Catalonia, Spain and Europe. Explaining to him in Jola and translating to me, Damé Sambou in his role as head of household established that they acted like family, implying mutual support and solidarity. Despite having been a successful carpenter in Dakar, Alassane was living for free until he could find work. If he wanted to go out, he accepted the advice of his flatmates and the restrictions implied. He learned the quickest routes of his flatmates who initially went along with him and told him about the trustworthiness of the people they encountered.

The underlying principle in all forms of living together was that 'il faut respecter', one needs to show respect, Damé Sambou explained to me. Respect thus transcended the boundaries of the flat into the wider social context of the block, the neighbourhood and European society. However, the social situation in which my Casamançais interlocutors spent most of the time and within which these rules were negotiated was that of the household. As a principle very closely related to age hierarchies, respect was omnipresent in Casamance as well as among Casamançais in Catalonia. Being the youngest, Alassane quietly took on a range of duties, mainly helping Mayatta at home. He also patiently waited for the *empadronament* and advice on how to find work. The waiting wore on him, but he kept quiet so as to not off-set the agreed consensus of living together on the basis of respect and shared rules. In other migrant households as well, the youngest showed respect to the elders or the people housing them, their *tuteurs* (cf. Chapter Six). The combination of age, migration experience and legal status combined to establish clear social hierarchies in migrant homes.

The example of Alassane Deme's arrival in the household of Damé Sambou shows much of the reproduction of Casamançais social practices in Catalonia. Clear rules were meant to avoid his becoming like one of the other young migrants, who in Damé's view behaved irresponsibly by forgetting about the purpose of migration –

i.e. to support people in Senegal – and the values they had grown up with replacing them with egocentric aspirations. Thus, Alassane's curiosity about European life was curbed and principles of solidarity, hierarchy, respect and consideration practised. Creating an alternative space that was less European than Alassane would have ever expected, he was being prepared for life outside in open neighbourhood spaces while spending most of his time inside.

Migrant conviviality and circulating between flats

While Casamançais often lived with people of their ethnic or regional origin and religion, the frequent gatherings of 5-20 people were relatively diverse but structured according to a number of factors, age being one of them. Tapha Badiatte and Ansou Diédhiou lived together with their wives and another young Casamançais in Mataró. Lansana Sambou was a regular guest who spent the weekends and his spare time at the flat, although he slept at Idrissa Deme's house. Closer in age to Tapha and Ansou, he socialised with them rather than with the much older Idrissa. Like Lansana, Casamançais often changed physical locations to mingle with their peers or those with whom they shared common experiences. In Casamance this frequently happened with each age set or group of friends having their preferred location, e.g. the front of a neighbourhood shop or the yard of a certain family house.

Most of the gatherings that in Casamance happened outdoors, in Catalonia happened in flats. People came to chat with their peers who, in about half of the sixteen flats I frequently visited, were of different ethnic and national backgrounds. Conversing often in Wolof or Mandinka, the *causeries* circulated the news of home and migration. People who had come to seek advice or discuss a personal issue would retreat to more intimate spaces like a bedroom or the balcony. Often, the people generally gathering were in high spirits, arguing, joking and laughing.[133] Especially on weekends, people were coming and going quite often on a circuit between a number of places.

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[133] Sow (2004) describes these relations as friendships and also states that qualitatively they are more intense than the relations of generalised solidarity felt with every foreigner.

In Sabadell, a group of Mandinka arriving from neighbouring towns met frequently during weekends to engage in quite elaborate discussions about home and migration. Led by Idrissa Samaté, who was comparatively well established and worked in a regular office job, people came to enjoy the pleasant atmosphere of a tiny flat and the food prepared by a Senegalese woman who had run a restaurant in Senegal. Visitors valued challenging discussants like Idrissa and his flatmates who had studied and worked in the formal sector in Senegal and who knew much about life in Europe. The flatmates and many of the visitors were all from the Sédhiou region and were Mandinka of similar age who had grown up together in Casamance. While not being of the same family as in the case of Demekunda, they equally maintained a safe haven. Thus, gatherings ranged from spontaneous and joyful encounters in which people mixed and met casually, to regular event-like gatherings.

A challenge: the mixed flats of Ibou Djitte and others

These situations contrasted with the experience in Kadry Djitte's household in Mataró. Only Mandinka lived here in 2010, although there had also been some Fula from Guinea-Conakry in 2009. Kadry Djitte, the owner of the flat, was doing night shifts and was thus hardly ever around. His flat was open to a lot of people, Senegalese, Guinean and Gambian, mainly Mandinka but also Fula. Already being fully occupied, in 2010 two of Kadry's nephews had come to stay as well, one having lost his job and the other one his flat. Every day, some visitors joined a group of 10-15 people dining together squeezed on sofas around a small table in front of the TV. The coming and going and the *causeries* continued until late at night, so that for those working it was nearly impossible to relax at home.

Although in 2010 they were all Mandinka, arguments were frequent. For instance, one day when the relative superiority of the Gambian or the Senegalese nations and their level of development were discussed, a close interlocutor of mine, Ibou Djitte, claimed that Gambian civil servants earned only a fraction of what the Senegalese ones made, yet a Gambian flatmate disagreed coming up with different examples. It quickly became personal when Ibou and a friend ridiculed the Gambian due to his limited education. Nearly everyone participated in the fierce discussion which only ended when a senior Gambian arrived taking the Gambians away to a side room.

Those who had not participated continually reminded the main discussants to calm down out of respect for the neighbours.

This conflict was embedded in other tensions among several household members concerning the cooking, cleaning, the use of the TV, politeness and respect, the use of space, open and shut doors, or the monthly electricity and gas bills. Despite often sharing the same language and ethnicity, life in crowded flats was hard and many would have preferred a different living arrangement. Ibou and I frequently left to relax outdoors and in some friends' homes. Many people in Kadry Djitte's flat spent their days there, having nothing else to do nor anywhere else to go. Being a bachelor's house with an absent head of household, it was a discomforting place to be in. The social fabric was much more provisional, mirroring many of the Casamançais migration endeavours in crisis-ridden Spain.

Some flats were busier than others, each developing its own character and social constellations which showed a certain continuity and often constructed locality. Whether as hierarchically structured safe havens, as spaces for *causeries* among peers or as contested overcrowded spaces, migrant homes, like associations, constituted an alternative sphere of sociality, tucked away from fleeting and inclusive social relations in open neighbourhood spaces. Similarly, migrant spaces like *locutorís* and specialised shops were points of encounter for people whom Casamançais perceived to all be migrants satisfying particular needs. Migrant spaces were different from open neighbourhood spaces due to the absence of long-term local residents. The ethnography of migrant homes, however, showed that how Casamançais spent their time at home was not a monolithic experience since they substantially varied in social composition. Furthermore, the migrant homes were not detached from the local social field, but were part of it. Frequently reminding themselves of the proximity of neighbours or discussing ways of going about life outdoors constituted links into the social field of the neighbourhood. As a regulating social force the households mediated some crucial aspects of conviviality in Catalonia. This was only challenged in situations in which norms of conduct broke down under precarious

conditions or if Casamançais aspired to a change in lifestyle hoping for more autonomy.

5.2 Conviviality or autonomy. Dreaming of, and living a European way of life

Prior to migration, optimism leaning towards denial prevailed among potential migrants in Casamance. Hamidou Dabo in Sabadell explained that in Senegal he had ignored the possible financial problems he would encounter during migration. His only concern had been to arrive in Europe. He did not even ask his contacts who were already in Europe about what to expect. For him, like for most of the migrants I met, the disappointing reality was that they found Europe to be different from their expectations. Many did not find the stereotypical '*el Dorado*' they had dreamed of, and they did not find themselves as equal participants with the same chances as long-term local residents. Instead, they tackled the daily struggle of life as an immigrant, often without papers to begin with, and thus with restricted opportunities (cf. Chapter Six). Still, Hamidou tried to realise his dream, which under conditions of the current economic crisis was a hard task.

In this section, I address the Casamançais aspirations that glorified a 'European' way of life, which was mainly characterised by greater autonomy and economic success. In the first instance, I revisit the nuances of my informants' aspirations and hopes in both Casamance and Catalonia and the dearth of knowledge concerning social relations in Europe. Secondly, I evaluate the inconsistent attempts of Casamançais to accord with their own aspirations. Trying to escape 'African solidarity' and to gain autonomy, Casamançais broke with practices preconceived by stereotypical Casamançais *cohabitation*. Finally, I reflect on how the dream of '*el Dorado*' was increasingly shattered by the on-going economic crisis since 2008. Social isolation or banking on migrant solidarity were the inescapable effects.

Imagining the lonely *'el Dorado'* Europe

The urge to make it to Europe as well as the disappointment and struggle that came later were both rooted in economic aspirations. Ideas about the social dimensions of life were either non-existent, or influenced by a strong pre-existing expectation of individualism and a decay of mores that Senegalese had already perceived among the French colonisers in Senegal (Cruise O'Brien 1972) and learned about through the various channels of Eurocentric globalisation.

Dreaming of Europe and success

In Casamance a discourse existed in which Casamançais talked about Europe as '*le paradis*', '*el Dorado'*, 'the other place' which is 'too good to be true', or as Kalidou Diagne, a technician in Ziguinchor, put it: 'le miracle de l'Europe' (Ziguinchor, 04/2010). It was the place that the Casamançais perceived as the Other, which was diametrically opposed to the here and now of Casamance. They imagined everything to be *there*, while having nothing *here* in Casamance. This essentialised difference between Europe and Africa relied on two broad themes: economic power and the abundance of wage labour.

In their descriptions of European life, Casamançais talked of luxury, social and financial security, long life expectancy, good health care, and cleanliness (cf. Fall et al. 2012). However, the question of whether as an migrant they would participate, or have access to all of this was often not taken into consideration. Aladji Sonko, a carpenter, was convinced that carpenters in general earned a high wage anywhere in Europe. Whether he would be able to work as a carpenter remained unconsidered and the relatively higher cost of living in Europe was often overlooked. The logic was simple: since there was a lot of money in Europe, everyone had a high salary, and was therefore rich. Kalidou Diagne blamed the young for imagining Europe as a pathway to success without having to work hard. They were trying to earn money 'sans se fatiguer trop', without getting too tired and without getting their hands

dirty. Yet Kalidou explained that the Mandinka saying 'Je ne travaille pas, je suis un *tubab*'[134] was false. He disclosed this to be purely wishful thinking.

Contemporary local representations of the West reinforced this abundance of economic means. The colonial superiority of the French and omnipresent media representation of the wealth of the northern hemisphere had two important local brokers. On one side was development cooperation; the 4x4 land cruisers of development workers equipped with a driver had penetrated Casamance reaching the most remote villages. Westerners' unlimited possibility to travel and the impression of endlessly available money fed into a stylisation of the *tubab* (white or European) world outside of Africa. On the other side, migrants returning for holidays and during unemployment worked hard to keep up a myth of a successful life in Europe to maintain their status as 'urban notables' (Riccio 2005). Sounkar Deme, now also in Catalonia, recalled that when Damé Sambou returned the first time from Spain everything about him had changed: his dress, his hair, his means of transport and his luggage. He expressed admiration for his older brother, who over the course of migration had assumed a higher social standing, acting as a patron and sponsor. Even those who returned gravely affected by the economic crisis and trying to give a realistic picture of contemporary Europe hardly succeeded in curbing the hope for a better place elsewhere.[135] All their efforts were in vain, since after all no one voluntarily returned for good.

In contrast, Europe continued to represent a space of unlimited working opportunities and subsequent success. Solo Taye, who ran a stall in the large market of Ziguinchor, was, like many others, convinced that since he was strong and willing to work, he would succeed in Europe. Saying this, he showed off his strong body. He could not believe that doing physical work in Europe would not guarantee a high salary. Others perceived entrepreneurial and trading opportunities to the same effect

[134] 'I don't work, I am a white person/European.' (from French)

[135] To an extent, teachers and other state employees had re-emerged as alternative role models, something not developed here.

of realising dreams. Various explanations coexisted to explain this utopia. Some thought European state institutions guaranteed the availability of work, others knew of the big industries. Ousseynou Kane in Dakar nurtured such hopes by relating that even when imprisoned as an irregular migrant in Switzerland, he had worked. Since his return to Senegal he had joined his peers who sat and waited for the day to pass (cf. Ralph 2008). Ousseynou desired employed work which was both paid monthly and regulated. The absence of state factories in Ziguinchor was the main factor regularly blamed for the regional economic backlog.[136] Subsistence farming belonged to an undesired past and, unlike the Wolof, many Casamançais proclaimed a lack of an entrepreneurial spirit. As will be seen below, individual and structural factors and their interplay in Europe turned out to be different in reality and often worked against the recently arrived migrant.

Imagining social relations in Europe

A discourse on the economic supremacy of Europe was readily available; on the contrary, in Casamance there was a dearth of knowledge concerning the everyday life of a Casamançais migrant in Europe. Casamançais regularly pretended that without having been to Europe themselves they could not know about social relations there. This precluded the opportunity to utter valid objections against those planning to go. Potential migrants followed this tactic of ignorance to keep-up their morale as long as possible. Furthermore, the widely held belief of the moral inferiority of Europe needed to be ignored to legitimately intend migration.

Among those not wanting to migrate and among Casamançais in Catalonia, the negative image of the *tubab*, the white man or European, often prevailed (cf. also Chapter Six). '*Chacun pour soi*'[137] – this was the theme that people believed to dominate social relations in Europe. This came as no surprise to me. I found in more than one school notebook in Casamance that an extreme sense of individualism and

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[136] On other occasions Casamançais also referred to the missing infrastructure, the conflict, the lack of entrepreneurial spirit, and further factors which they acknowledged to play together.

[137] 'Every man for himself' (from French).

sometimes egoism characterised Europe and other Western societies in opposition to 'African solidarity'. This '"life impregnated with individualism"' (Cruise O'Brien 1972: 260) lacked hospitality, moderation, dignity, tolerance, and showed an absence of family and community life (cf. Riccio 2004: 939). Both racial and religious discrimination enhanced the negative image that dominated ideas about social relations in Europe.

Some young men like El Hadji Sonko in Ziguinchor, however, saw something positive in the autonomy they expected in Europe, free of family obligations and able to save up for themselves. While in Ziguinchor, El Hadji refused to see the reciprocity borne from him contributing to the household, and relying many other times on the support of his older sister and husband with whom he lived. He dreamt of a modern life that many of the Casamançais in Catalonia tried to realise.

Realising the European dream – Chacun pour soi, dieu pour tous[138]

None of the Casamançais in Catalonia had imagined Europe the way they found it. For Hamidou Dramé (see Portrait in Chapter Six) Europe had been his life's dream back in Senegal:

> What I imagined … was a dream. When I was in Senegal I was dreaming … it was not real … I thought that this here [would be] paradise, … [that] even when you're working you wouldn't get dirty, [that] you would work little [but] have a lot of money. But once I got here … I saw the reality: you need to work hard to have something. It is completely different from what I was dreaming.[139] (Hamidou Dramé, Mataró, 10/2010)

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[138] 'Every man for himself, and God for us all' (from French).

[139] French: 'Ce que j'ai imaginé, … c'était un rêve. Quand j'étais au Sénégal, je rêvais, … c'était pas réel. … J'ai pensé que ici c'est le paradis, … [que] même en train de travailler tu ne vas pas te salir, [que] tu travailles, pas beaucoup, [mais] tu reçois beaucoup d'argent. Mais une fois arrivé ici, … j'ai vu la réalité: il faut travailler durement pour avoir quelque chose. C'est totalement différent de ce que j'avais rêvé.'

In Catalonia, many Casamançais realised that it would be hard work to materialise their dreams. And while all had adjusted in various ways to the difficulties of life in Europe, some tried to realise their dreams at all costs often at the expense of the ideals of living together.

In the following I discuss the discourses as well as practices that challenge the solidarity amongst migrants, and in the wider community, i.e. the neighbourhood. I first present how the binary opposition of European vs. African aspirations continued to be the underlying compass of Casamançais for consciously shaping their behaviour in Catalonia. I then turn to two case studies: Alain Sagna, who was most clearly caught between an individual quest for economic success and the fostering of social status within the African community; and Ousmane Ndoye, who pursued his gradual individual success in Casamance, therefore avoiding social obligations in Catalonia. I conclude that the focus on individual economic success partially helps explain why less attention was paid to convivial relations in the neighbourhood.

European vs. African aspirations

Mamadou Diédhiou – a careful, quiet observer living with Idrissa Samaté in Sabadell – expressed his observations about African and European ways of life as follows:

> In Africa … we live in solidarity. With the little we have, we help each other. But here in Europe, I see the difference: every man for himself … also among Africans, there are many who have copied [the Europeans]. … Now I even hear Africans saying … 'hey, really, we are not in Africa, we are in Europe. Here it is the European way of life' … This has changed the African mentality a lot, … for example, in the way of living together, of helping each other, whatever the circumstances may be. … We try … to follow the rhythm that they live, so that we can also live. If I came with my mentality and wanted to impose it on them, this might cause problems.[140] (Sabadell, 11/2010)

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[140] French: 'En Afrique, on vit dans la solidarité. Avec le peu qu'on a, on s'entraide. Mais ici en Europe, moi, je vois qu'il y a cette différence : chacun pour soi … entre les Africains aussi, il y a beaucoup qui ont copié [les Européens]. … Maintenant, j'entends même les Africains qui

As Mamadou observed, many Casamançais pre-empted European individualism upon their arrival in Catalonia. They lacked time for mutual help and greeting. Their role models were people always on the run, the coffee-to-go being an often noticed visualisation of it.

While Mamadou suggested that people changed habits to cohere with a local norm, many also admitted that they feared the obligations arising from social networks they knew so well from Casamance. Furthermore, some were convinced that sticking to an African way of life would shatter their migration endeavour, whereas following a European role model would eventually facilitate their achievement. Their guide to this European quest became 'Chacun pour soi, et dieu pour tous'[141], the reference to god frequently being omitted. The attempt to live an individualistic lifestyle influenced both everyday successes and difficulties such as economic hardship and loneliness in Europe.

Alain Sagna: a quest for economic and social success

Proclaiming that *convivència* in Catalonia was not like *cohabitation* in Casamance, Alain Sagna mainly referred to the absence of neighbourly help that he perceived in everyday experiences in Catalonia. He himself partially limited his socialising patterns as a reaction to his perception of social relations as harmful rather than helpful. However, in practice Alain pursued a double strategy: he both proactively worked on 'Europeanising' his lifestyle while also seeking continuous social recognition among fellow migrants.

Alain Sagna

Before coming to Spain, Alain Sagna, as a Jola from Lower Casamance, had grown up in a village in Middle Casamance and in Sédhiou, and he had lived in various

disent … "hé, vraiment, on est pas en Afrique, ici c'est l'Europe. Ici c'est la vie européenne. … ça a changé beaucoup la mentalité africaine, … par exemple, la manière de vivre ensemble, de s'entraider quelles que soient les circonstances … On essaie … de suivre le rythme qu'ils sont en train de vivre, pour qu'on puisse vivre aussi. Moi, si je viens avec ma mentalité [et que] je veux leur imposer, ça peut causer des problèmes.'

[141] See note 138.

neighbourhoods of Dakar. This had equipped him not only with tremendous language skills but also with a range of experiences from living in diverse places. In Catalonia, he regularised his status around 2005 and was joined by his wife. In 2010, they lived in a spacious, nicely refurbished flat, sharing it only with Alain's brother.

In open spaces in Catalonia, Alain tried to limit his social interactions since he was both reluctant with his peers and looked down upon poorly educated Spaniards, Moroccans and non-practising Christians (cf. Chapter Three). Upon a visit to Casamance he tried to be equally distant with his neighbours. However, Alain also maintained many of the features of Casamançais *cohabitation* and Senegalese *teranga*. He frequently hosted large dinners, appeared as an approachable, sociable person, distributed *ngalax*, a sweet Easter dish, to his Muslim peers, and had diverse networks of acquaintances and friends spanning several nationalities, ethnic backgrounds, language groups and religions.

In conversation Alain often referred to the ideal of *cohabitation* in Casamance of which greeting, solidarity among neighbours, good relations between Christians and Muslims, and between different ethnic groups were part. This, he persistently claimed, was threatened in Catalonia. Despite being a real source of frustration, it also served as one strategy to legitimise his own individualist aspirations.

Many people in his situation continued to share flats in Catalonia. Alain, however, strained his budget by living in a comparatively expensive place. Apart from openly demonstrating economic success by pretending to be able to easily afford these living conditions, Alain enjoyed the comfort of being able to retreat to the privacy of his own home. He compared his current situation to the life of his relatives in Dakar with whom he had stayed. They belonged to the urban entrepreneurial upper middle class and thus afforded a comfortable lifestyle. Alain felt the urge to achieve at least a faint copy of their success.

Large-scale economic success being hard to achieve, Alain invested substantially into alternative, yet also relatively costly ways of gaining social status. To maintain a desirable public persona of being generous, hospitable and open-minded, he

accepted the economic burden of throwing dinner parties at home, organising *soirées* for which he assumed some of the financial risks himself, and being involved in associations and sports. Despite being critiqued by his friends who noticed how he lived beyond his means, Alain believed himself successful in shaping and maintaining a desirable external appeal. His community engagement seemed relatively instrumental which showed how he himself quietly subverted the idealised Casamançais virtues.

Alain's case exemplifies the inconsistencies which many Casamançais encountered when seeking social recognition within the Senegalese community on the basis of having achieved economically, something which was exemplified by living a European lifestyle. Economically he had a hard time shouldering both a European lifestyle and community favour. The latter prevented him from truly realising his individual European aspirations. Yet, he needed it more urgently since his economic success was feeble and did not speak for itself. This was in contrast to Ousmane Ndoye who did not care much for social reputation but for tangible economic means.

Ousmane Ndoye: Goals back in Senegal

Ousmane's economic ambitions were closely linked to his vision of what he wanted to achieve, firstly back home and then increasingly in Europe. His life trajectory and current arrangements in Mataró reflected this purpose.

Ousmane Ndoye

Before turning to migration, Ousmane had been an entrepreneur in the shrimp business which did not yield sufficient success due to the conflict in Casamance. As the son of Fula migrant and a Jola mother[142], he had lived with his wife and children east of Ziguinchor maintaining close contact to his maternal relatives, a network he also relied upon before and during migration.

[142] If we follow Linares (1992: 164), this was the case of a migrant who had been shown to be worthy of a local Jola wife. See also Chapter Six.

Since his arrival in Mataró, he first and foremost pursued his economic ambitions. His housing situation suited his priorities by showing no signs of conspicuous consumption. Ousmane lived in a basic flat that he shared with a friend and another couple of Senegalese. Most of the time, he worked in his own large but windowless room that gave him his private space to work and store his equipment. While he tolerated covering the costs of one unemployed housemate, he expressed his discontent with the other's lack of efforts to find work. The only small luxury was to eat out when he disliked his housemate's cooking. Overall, he kept his involvement with his flatmates to a minimum, sticking to his busy schedule.

At work, he was put in a rather favourable position. Getting a fair wage, he was additionally offered extra working hours generating more income. Furthermore, he had invested in a side business taking photos, doing photo books, and in cooperation with a young DJ, renting out speakers for celebrations. Following various trends within the West African migrant community, he quickly adjusted this extra portfolio to maximise income.

Well-connected and on friendly terms with many of the Casamançais in Mataró, he nevertheless engaged as little as possible with migrant life there. He felt that associations were a waste of time, as were Casamançais gatherings on the streets. He was disinterested in gossip and avoided people he felt were pretentious and false. He observed social dynamics around him from a safe distance, staying out of abusive social arrangements.

This arrangement of selected contacts, various sources of income and avoidance of any large scale consumption in Spain had allowed Ousmane to build a new family home in Casamance and to establish a bakery in the hometown of his Jola mother with the help of a maternal uncle. He also bought speakers and other equipment to set up a family member at home with a rental business, and had various other plans for the future. Ousmane was thus achieving on a comparatively large scale in his personal migration endeavour without having had excessive comparative financial advantages.

Having been an entrepreneur, his calculating disposition was not merely acquired upon arrival in Europe. However, he had taken full advantage of the altered social environment to avoid dependence relations in Catalonia at all cost. He even intended to re-import his altered attitude to Casamance by staying in a rental house in Ziguinchor and thus avoiding the many demands placed on him in his home village. Although his activities were geared towards achieving social status in Casamance, he hoped eventually to go to more prosperous European countries instead of returning home. Onward migration even bore the potential to become permanent if it paid off better than the Spanish experience.

Ousmane Ndoye certainly was an extreme case of conforming to his ideas of a European lifestyle based on individualism and exemplifying what Ousmane Diédhiou had observed as the changed practices among Africans in Catalonia. However, many other of my informants shared some of his practices or aspired to them. Not many that I met achieved to the same extent though, thus they stayed in the loop between aiming for individual success and compensating by investing in social status gained within the migrant community.

Having shed some light on the different ways Casamançais migrants achieved degrees of a quintessentially European life, I have found that the trope 'Chacun pour soi' and its implication framed a view of European life that had little to do with *convivencia* or *cohabitation*. I do not claim that they are mutually exclusive, but in those cases convivial social relations were secondary to economic aspirations and individual success.

Being stuck. Experiencing the economic crisis

While economic expectations of living in Europe were high and some Casamançais put a lot of effort into achieving a European lifestyle, the economic crisis since 2008 prevented most from reaching their goals. Although the economic crisis was not the only reason for many of the problems of Casamançais, it amplified them significantly. Next, I explore three aspects of this situation: 1) Instead of being

abundantly available, work was increasingly difficult to find. 2) To cope with the growing burden, Casamançais relied on a host of coping mechanisms including temporary return. 3) Although some general feelings of solidarity among all local residents could be sensed, the structural situation made the crisis worse for Casamançais than for other local residents. Such precarious living conditions made it hard to either realise the dream of '*el Dorado*' or to engage with local social relations.

Looking for work and losing it

The many Casamançais who were in Catalonia without papers, i.e. a valid residency and work permit, rarely cared much about the local social aspects of life in Catalonia as long as they were bearable. Having arrived with the primary purpose of earning money, Casamançais deferred all other activities in favour of finding work. This had become a desperate quest among both established and newly arrived migrants.

On weekends and weekdays, many Africans took a 40-minute bus ride to an affluent village to wait at a central square for someone to pick them up for casual work. A bus arriving from Mataró brought approximately twenty people dressed nearly uniformly in second-hand clothes and shoes who sat down on a little wall along the street as they waited for cars to drive by and choose their workers. Before the crisis, Alain Sagna said it had been a very reliable way to find work; now this was no longer the case and until the afternoon not a single one had been hired for the day. Getting up whenever a car drove by was a useless exercise since the drivers who stopped had only come to pick up breakfast at the close-by bar. Nevertheless, the majority of the sub-Saharan Africans present relied on such casual work as their source of income. Others, like Aboubakar Thiam, rightly found this process dehumanising, resembling an animal market since the physically strongest were the most successful.

Since the crisis started in 2008, unemployment figures had risen sharply in Spain. A local politician believed that among migrants in 2010 it already amounted to 30 per cent. Under these circumstances, any employer could find someone who had papers to do any kind of work. Because of the economic crisis, many affirmed that they had accepted work under any conditions, unlike in the past when they had requested

decent incomes and could choose between workplaces. In 2010, cuts in salaries were widely experienced, as were delayed payments, discontinued contracts and redundancies. Finding work, staying employed, meeting the prerequisites to get papers and maintaining them had become very difficult.[143] Under these conditions, only a few were in the situation to passively live off a relative's income. The majority continued their routine of looking for work day after day.

Even migrants with long-term work permits and work experience like Damé Sambou had lost their jobs, sharing this destiny with many Spaniards. After twelve years of continuous employment he was made redundant and was unable to find something new. Reflecting on current developments, Fode Sadio Faty confirmed this unlucky story; however, he stressed that Casamançais had a share in it since in the past, when permanent contracts had been available, his compatriots had chosen the freedom to seasonally commute between Casamance and Catalonia over job security. In addition, low skill levels, merely colloquial language skills and their advanced age made it hard to find work, especially in times of crisis. However, the generally weak position of the Casamançais became apparent in generally being employed in the lower segments of the labour market and often knowing little about their legal entitlements.

(Temporary) return as a coping strategy

While I showed above how the European dream was mainly about economic achievement, the challenges to this for both newly arrived and long-term migrants in Spain were massively increased by the economic crisis, increasingly absorbing the energy and time of all Casamançais. As a consequence, their capacity to engage with other aspects of life was reduced and coping strategies diversified.

Many Casamançais moved in with relatives. Among them, the networks of dependencies and open debt were very complicated. In general, all such deals were

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[143] Due to the economic crisis, Spain changed the rules for extending work and residence permits in autumn 2010. To extend one and two year residency permits it was no longer necessary to have a contract, which meant a big relief for many unemployed Casamançais on short term residency permits..

kept quiet, arranged behind closed doors. Nevertheless, the truth about people's problems was often eventually revealed. Maintaining a reputation was crucial and it was undesirable to talk publicly of personal problems, not least due to the vicious spreading of gossip. For those with papers, return to Casamance was a good option to maintain their reputation. In Sakar in Casamance, Boubakar Dramé, like others, received me as if holding court for a grand visitor from Spain. Between ourselves, he and many others reasoned that life was cheaper in Casamance, the time with their families enjoyable and temporarily it was a real bargain. Most of the villagers knew that the current returnees had been made redundant but downplayed the gravity of economic difficulties in Spain. They often both saw it as a legitimate pausing of the migration endeavour and accepted the face-saving role-play.

Kadry Diatta belonged to a generation of migrants who did not believe in the adventurer spirit. He held a five-year residence permit and in 2010 was unemployed in Barcelona. He had come to Spain in 2001 at the age of nearly 40 joining some Balanta relatives. Unable to find work in Barcelona, he decided to spend most of his time in Casamance farming the fruit and vegetable gardens he maintained. As a migrant, he had had some success already, having built a new house at home that included room for a planned internet café. Maintaining his legal residency in Spain, he was able to return to Europe whenever he wanted. Since he had not brought his wife and children to Europe he also preferred to stay at home in Senegal. Last but not least, being in Senegal was better than feeling ashamed – as he put it – for not finding work in Europe.

For most unemployed visitors, however, a return to Spain ultimately came when the renewal of the work and residence permits required it. While many claimed they would rather wait until the economic crisis ended in Europe, they were forced to return. Only a minority of those unemployed travelled as they pleased like Kadry due to their permanent residency or Spanish nationality. Most Casamançais depended on more frequent renewals. Irregular Casamançais were worse-off, *de facto* unable to leave at all because deliberately returning was wasting the capital invested in their migration.

Figure 15 Anti-immigrant campaigning video game, Catalonia, 2010

Source: http://youtu.be/NbxEEHqZvYs [accessed 09/01/2013]

Are local residents all in the same boat?

The economic crisis amplified many of the difficulties Casamançais experienced when coming to Europe in search for economic success. While Casamançais saw the crisis affect everyone in Spain, on the day of a general strike many of them did not participate. Employed or unemployed, they attributed their political passivity to their precarious position. In consequence, Spain felt like the worst mix of 'Europe' and 'Africa', combining their marginality and precarious situations with the economic crisis. Whether joking, sarcastic, disappointed or sad, many Casamançais frequently stated that Spain was still part of Africa and that Europe lay past the

Pyrenees.[144] A general frustration in Spain fostered everybody's aspirations to northward migration.

Although Casamançais felt that most residents recognised their shared struggle with the effects of the economic crisis, some also reported having been held accountable for it. This was an accusation which was sometimes paired with blatant racism, especially at the workplace. The anti-immigrant campaign of the political movement *Plataforma per Catalunya* and the online video game of the youth group of the conservative party Partido Popular, a game about shooting 'illegal immigrants' and their means of transport, showed the endurance of these assertions in political campaigns (Figure 15). The economic crisis thus provided the potential for Casamançais to fully experience their disadvantaged position by neither being economically successful nor connecting with locals. On the other hand, endorsing the Catalan nationalist project presented itself as a tactical choice to Casamançais in order to connect to those local residents who were in a more desirable social position. Next, I will deal with such aspirations to national homogeneity in both Casamance and Catalonia.

5.3 Diversity or homogeneity. National projects and change in Senegal and Catalonia

In both discourse and practice, diverse cultural origins and religious practices are part of the Casamançais regional self-understanding (cf. Heil 2012). Casamançais' cosmopolitan self-conception played an important role in their everyday interactions with people who were culturally diverse. As part of their regionalism, Casamançais evaluated Wolofisation, their inclusion in the Senegalese nation and their relation to the MFDC rebellion. I had briefly introduced in Chapter Two that younger Casamançais in particular could be in favour of Wolofisation and national unity. I

[144] Cf. Nicoué's observation for Eritrean migrants who perceived Southern Europe to be more like Africa than Northern Europe (Nicoué 2011).

argue that such national aspirations challenged people's beliefs in the Casamance region's uniqueness which was based on its multilingual, multicultural and multireligious identity and practices. Paralleling this development, in Catalonia *convivència* had a firm place in political and popular discussions of social integration. However, Catalan nationalism which promoted a national homogeneity discourse risked overriding the equally acknowledged diversity of different national, linguistic and religious origins. Both cases called everyday conviviality – which presupposes the maintenance of diversity – into question.

In the following, I set out to analyse language practices as the most visible aspect of the homogenisation processes. Firstly, dealing with Casamance I observe that currently young people actively embrace Wolofisation, both pertaining to language and popular culture. I argue that in both the cases of Mandingisation and Wolofisation, many Casamançais had an intrinsic interest in belonging to a larger social entity. Despite the separatist movement, this was often the Senegalese nation. I ask whether such homogenisation coexists with diversification and how their interplay affects practices of conviviality. Secondly, engaging with the Casamançais ways of embracing the Catalan language, similar dynamics emerge with one particularity. The Casamançais' ideological support of Catalan regionalism opposed their differentiated evaluation of conviviality with maintained differences. With this in mind, I explore how homogenisation processes constitute an alternative, yet linked trajectory to discourses and practices of conviviality. Resulting productive tensions characterise much of the context of the various tactical moves and situational choices of my Casamançais interlocutors.

Choosing to speak one language in Casamance

In 2010, Casamance was still a multilingual space, however, two influential processes were underway. Firstly, youths in Ziguinchor increasingly preferred Wolof to communicate. Secondly, the long established process of Mandingisation, which had resulted in many inhabitants of Casamance speaking Mandinka and also having adopted other cultural aspects of the Mandinka, was challenged by the diffusion of

Wolof and the maintenance of diverse ethnic affiliations. Both processes, Wolofisation and Mandingisation, changed linguistic preferences of parts of the population. Language questions were linked to, but sometimes contrasted with processes of changing cultural and religious identification. I enquire into these processes of homogenisation, asking how far Casamançais absorbed Wolof and Mandinka as a way of affirming their belonging to larger social fields, and to what extent they were mainly situationally used *linguae francae* (cf. Chapter Three).

It was only towards the end of my fieldwork that I fully apprehended the linguistic preferences of the inhabitants of Samboukunda in Ziguinchor where I stayed at the beginning of my fieldwork. Wolof was not the mother tongue of anyone in the household, but the preferred one among the youngest household members. In one discussion, Sekou Deme, a nephew of Damé Sambou, lamented that Damé's children in Ziguinchor spoke Jola worse than their younger sister in Mataró. Although the responsible aunt and two cousins who had lived most of their lives in a Kalounayes village communicated in Jola, the oldest sister Sally always spoke Wolof to her younger siblings. Sekou explained that she intended to demonstrate her peer group affiliation. Speaking Wolof, she created her own space in the house, passively resisting her aunt and uncles but drawing her siblings in. Throughout the different neighbourhoods where I knew the families and friends of migrants, I observed that the younger generations often spoke Wolof.[145] Wolof, more frequently than French, had previously been used by girls due to their lower level of schooling and difficulty in finding employment opportunities in the formal sector (cf. Foucher 2002a: 185; Juillard 1995; Dreyfus and Juillard 2005). In 2009/10, it was used by both boys and girls. Neighbourhood representatives and school teachers confirmed the youths *wanting* to speak Wolof even if they also shared a local language.

[145] In their study of plurilingualism in Ziguinchor and Dakar, Martine Dreyfus and Caroline Juillard (Dreyfus and Juillard 2005; Juillard 1994) conclude that the level of Wolofisation depends on the distance to the city centre and ethnic composition. Since then, I found that Wolofisation had penetrated all neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor.

Desiring to speak Wolof went along with a preference for Senegalese popular culture, much of which was primarily in Wolof. Indeed, on occasions like ZigFest, the village festivals of male circumcision, and family feasts, 'ethnic' and 'traditional' dances caused a lot of excitement. For example, at the time of fieldwork, smaller festivities and dance performances regularly occurred in the Ziguinchor neighbourhoods in preparation of the *bukut* (Jola male circumcision) of 18 neighbouring villages. In nightclubs and during *soirées* (parties) organised by school classes or neighbourhood associations, however, the younger generations preferred *mbalax* dance and music, a popular music offshoot of the Sabar genre, whose recognisable beats and moves were clearly associated with Dakar and Wolof (cf. Tang 2007). Salsa, once widely popular in Casamance and still danced at the parish fair in Lindiane in 2010, mainly attracted the older generations. Wolofisation in the sphere of popular culture thus had a clear generational dynamic to which Casamançais added political and economic motivations.

The arguments in support of Wolof by the younger generations were manifold: Firstly, a recurrent theme was the wish to be a strong, united and African nation. Convinced of the centrality of Wolof to this project, Papis Massaly, a Mandinka-speaking Balanta and primary school teacher, spoke Wolof to his children from an early age to establish Wolof as their first language. He was certain that they too would eventually learn Balanta, 'their own language,' as he had, though he had grown up speaking only Mandinka. Implicitly critiquing Casamançais nationalism, he had appropriated the European nation-state model which he felt was central to any country's development. He perceived multilingualism and cultural plurality to persist in any case. In contrast, it was mainly an educated, older generation that believed in the language policy of former President Senghor and favoured French as the official language. In 1972, Senghor had officially granted six languages equal status as national languages of Senegal, in contrast to French as the official one. In 2001, President Wade had expanded the 'national' status to all codified local languages which raised the number to currently 24 languages listed as national ones (Diallo 2010: 3, 18, 93). Despite this continuous policy of plurality, youths in Ziguinchor mainly talked of Wolof as 'the' national language and believed in its

uniting force. French as the *official* and not a national language did not figure in this discussion.

However, only a minority believed that due to its importance as 'the' national language, Wolof should replace French as the official one. Having been educated in Wolof in one of Senegal's earliest attempts to include national languages in the curriculum, Ousmane Boye in Catalonia claimed that Wolof was a hybrid, mixed language having incorporated elements of other Senegalese languages. Therefore, it was more compatible with the plurality of African cultures than French and thus more suitable for an African nation.[146] Despite differences in opinion, nobody denied the wide spread of Wolof, and the fact that it was easy to learn and adjusted to local uses. However, I met nobody in Casamance who believed that Wolof would ever be the only language in Senegal and few saw it as the only *lingua franca*. While Wolof was also increasingly used in Sédhiou, it remained the Mandinka heartland.

In Chapter Two it had become clear that culturally and linguistically Mandinka dominated Middle Casamance. Bainuk, Jola, Balanta and others had converted to Islam under the Mandinka and had, to various extents, incorporated Mandinka sociocultural practices and used Mandinka as a *lingua franca* (cf. Chapter Three). Indeed, many Mandinka speakers showed little interest in learning and speaking Wolof. In comparison with the other ethnic groups in Middle and Lower Casamance, they were amongst those most opposed to the increasing Wolofisation.[147] Many openly admitted that they did not know Wolof well and comfortably lived with the expectation of everybody else knowing Mandinka, which in Middle Casamance was regularly met. Their language confidence was supported by the spread of Mandinka throughout the subregion (Gambia, Mali, Guinea Bissau), and their religious supremacy in Casamance as those who had introduced Islam.

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[146] There are many studies that differently evaluate mixed forms of Wolof (e.g. Diallo 2010; Köpp 2002; Dreyfus and Juillard 2005).

[147] Some of my interlocutors convincingly argued that the same was the case for the Fula of Upper Casamance and the north-east of Senegal.

In Sédhiou, Celestine Batendeng was one of the few who opposed the Mandinka dominance. As a Jola who had grown up in Dakar, she sometimes forced people to interact in Wolof at her market stall and in the neighbourhood; neither did she support or comprehend the resistance to Wolof. As an entrepreneurial woman involved in petty trading, she was not impressed by the developmental gridlock in the Sédhiou region, one of the least developed regions of Senegal, which was stereotypically attributed to the reluctance of Mandinka men to work. Furthermore, the economic dominance of the Wolof speaking *nordistes* was increasingly felt in the Sédhiou city centre. Apart from the main market, which was increasingly run by Wolof traders, the largest stores were emblematically situated in the Sourwacounda neighbourhood. Store owners were both Wolof and Fula, but everybody confirmed that the presence of Wolof traders was increasing, as was the use of Wolof in interactions. Yet, youths were primarily using Mandinka, which dominated everyday interactions, and Wolof had not gained the same popularity as in Ziguinchor.

For many Casamançais like Celestine, Wolof was equated with economic success exemplified by the many Wolof traders who had long been present in the economic spheres of Ziguinchor and increasingly also the rest of Casamance. On the one hand, this matched nicely with the cultural attractiveness of Wolof noticed in Ziguinchor. On the other hand, Wolofisation frequently sat unfavourably with the routinized sense of many Casamançais to be disadvantaged in a state that both economically and administratively was dominated by Wolof speakers and Dakar. Nevertheless, both Wolofisation and – even longer – Mandingisation had popular support as a strategy to belong to a larger social group; in the case of Wolof it being the Senegalese nation.

Similarly to the historical process of Mandingisation, the Wolofisation process was only partially perceived to be a choice and the forceful aspects of it were a source of frustration, anger and concern. The older generations in Ziguinchor, among my informants particularly the Jola, found it worrying that the younger generation was losing fluency in their mother tongues. They perceived it as a threat to their identity. Despite Wolofisation, chosen by the young, imposed on the elders, my impression

remained that the multilingual ideology was still widely put into practice both in form of knowing multiple languages and mixing languages in their daily use. This specific configuration arose from the various dynamics at play, mainly the cosmopolitan attitude aspired to and the wish for unity tightly linked to a national development. Multiple processes overlapped, resulting in situational practical choices and representations. The historical process of Mandingisation, however, suggested that multilingualism could indeed be lost. Ethnic pluralism seemed to share this fate, however, it was maintained longer. Thus, both separate ethnic identities and convivial multilingual practices often relying on a *lingua franca* were still alive. In Catalonia, however, a concern for a language linked to the Catalan identity motivated a powerful policy advocating for the maintenance or even revival of Catalan, which was seen as the safeguard for cultural autonomy and distinctiveness. Next, I explore how Casamançais related to this political context.

Catalan language policy

The Citizenship and Immigration Plan 2009-2012 (Generalitat de Catalunya 2010a) and the Statute of Autonomy of 2006 (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006a) left no doubt about the centrality of Catalan as the regional *lingua franca* expecting all local residents, in particular foreigners, to use it in social interactions. They reasoned that demanding everyone to speak Catalan would secure communication among those who otherwise spoke in more than 200 languages. *Convivència* and the respective social integration policies advocated for a multilingual sensitivity alongside Catalan as the 'common public language'. In favour of the latter, the plan earmarked substantial financial means to advance the language acquisition of immigrants, locally resulting in more Catalan than Castilian classes offered for free. The need to speak Catalan was sensed and consented to by the majority of the Casamançais, who coming from a multilingual region and country found it normal to learn a new language upon arrival in a new place. Casamançais embraced Catalan as the common public language, at least with small gestures like greetings and claims to knowing Catalan (cf. Chapter Three).

Some Casamançais like Fanta Diao from Koussi and her husband Aboubakar from a neighbouring village were most outspoken about the validity and utility of Catalan. Having been reluctant to learn Catalan at first, the Diaos had observed three practical reasons for learning and speaking Catalan. On the labour market and in public institutions, Catalans would increasingly assume Catalan as the *lingua franca* and not switch to Castilian automatically, thus limiting the access of those not able to speak Catalan. To participate locally and to achieve one's own goals it was necessary to avoid such situations.[148] Second, knowing that someone only understood Castilian, Catalans could speak about them in Catalan without them knowing it. They implied that this was potentially dangerous and clearly needed to be prevented at all costs. And last but not least, a group of locals would receive someone well if addressed in Catalan.[149] While this applied to all immigrants, it frequently was their high linguistic sensibility that earned sub-Saharan Africans a lot of respect from the Catalans. All three dimensions had been recurrent themes reiterating the importance of Catalan in the region. Those not knowing Catalan risked being excluded and potentially discriminated against. To prevent this, the Diaos regularly attended Catalan classes and did not rely on the snippets everyone else picked up on the street.

What is more, the Diaos had bought into the autonomy narrative of Catalonia with its own culture and language, which for them was a legitimate explanation of the increasing pride of Catalans. Apart from being a sign of respect for regional specificity, plenty of Casamançais sympathised with the Catalan minority concern similar to that of the Casamançais in Senegal, and the role of Jola, Mandinka and other even smaller language groups there.

This was a very meaningful signal because the more general advantage of knowing Catalan was questionable to some of the highly mobile Casamançais, as the Catalan

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[148] This is particularly salient since following the new Statute of Autonomy, the Catalan administration has extended competences in administering migration, such as residence and work permits.

[149] Interviews of a Moroccan and sub-Saharan African published online support this fact (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RkA2CJASaiY [accessed 09/11/2012]).

language remained confined to Catalonia. Although Catalan promised social and economic mobility in the region, in the broader picture Castilian was more effective, both locally with the majority of their southern Spanish neighbours and elsewhere in Spain when on the lookout for work. While in Casamance they felt that they could still more freely choose the language of interaction, in Catalonia not all languages were considered equal, and Casamançais felt obliged to use Catalan in public. The relatively limited linguistic repertoires only consisting of Castilian and Catalan of many of their local neighbours had triggered this feeling of being expected to integrate. Both the unequal status of different languages and the alternative view that a need for integration was legitimate coexisted among my Casamançais interlocutors. This mirrored the equivocal message of the *convivència* discourse.

Massive international immigration and its regulation coincided with the renewed efforts of Catalonia to strengthen its political and cultural autonomy in Spain. Likely, the influx of foreigners amplified the regionalist discourse (cf. Pujolar 2009; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013). In consequence, rising Catalan nationalism led to a situation which was similar to the Wolofisation and Mandingisation processes in Casamance, in which Casamançais were torn between agreeing with Catalan unifying processes while maintaining their diverse cultural practices. In Catalonia, one further way to surpass this tension was the tactic to positively embrace Catalan, while keeping the actual efforts to a minimum in order to satisfy local expectations. This was particularly efficient in minimal interactions, during which it needed little more than deriving the Catalan from the related Castilian and French repertoires. A similarly pragmatic understanding emerged from a number of recent studies which argue that speaking Catalan mixed with Castilian has increasingly become everyday practice among Catalans and migrants alike (Gal 2013; Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Urla 2013; Woolard 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013).[150] Paralleling the endurance of multilingualism in Casamance, Catalan persisted as a *lingua franca*, however not as the only one.

[150] It remains to be seen which influence the most recent independence ambitions of Catalonia will have on the use of Catalan.

Concluding on homogenisation and living with difference

In Casamance, Wolofisation had the most potential to challenge local diversities. It did not only affect the linguistic practices of Senegalese and Casamançais. Speaking Wolof was an increasingly valuable social resource facilitating access to Senegalese nationalism, an urban Senegalese popular culture, the state administration or just the local peer group. Despite the structural dimensions of the homogenisation processes, the choice of language remained influenced by individual aspirations. For some Casamançais the hopes for development and modernity were linked to a culturally homogenous, African nation-state. Wolof increasingly stood for all of this. In comparison, it is debatable whether the results of Mandingisation had remained equally attractive. Wolof was gaining ground and while people in Middle Casamance spoke Mandinka, several had maintained claims to their ethnic distinctiveness. By appropriating the homogenisation tendencies, Casamançais contradicted their past cosmopolitan self-understanding, in which *cohabitation* implied the negotiating of both religious and ethnic differences. However, it seemed likely that the processes of Wolofisation and Mandingisation would coexist with continuously diverse identifications and practices. Being creolised, Wolof had ever changing facets. Thus, the practical choices and constraints of Casamançais and their engagement with difference were set at the cross-roads of homogenisation as well as diversification processes.

In Catalonia, the political commitment to diversity at times resembled a weak construction, given the emphasis on the linguistically framed Catalan national project. Generally being in sympathy with the regional minority project, Casamançais negotiated their own plural linguistic practices and preferences, and the homogenising language acquisition request. Under the impact of European immigration discourses, Casamançais felt a need to integrate learning Catalan. Furthermore, Casamançais learned the language to gain access to and control of the local social field. In general, though, the Casamançais engagement with Catalan was rather playful, aimed at gaining the most with the least effort. Promoting Catalan as a 'common public language' was the attempt of institutionalising a *lingua franca*.

However, by no means did it challenge the living of diversity and *convivència* as much as the Casamançais aspirations to European modernity or the effects of the economic crisis.

5.4 Conclusions. Diverse socialising challenges local conviviality

Taking account of the practices of staying at home, trying to achieve a European lifestyle and engaging with homogenisation processes expanded our understanding of Casamançais everyday lives. I set out asking where Casamançais spent most of the time, which drew my attention to spaces mainly frequented by migrants, and their homes. Staying home and limiting one's socialising in neighbourhood spaces relied on a stereotypical imagination of Europe as the cradle of economic development, but also of egocentric individualism. This was a relevant representation of Europe irrespective of whether people migrate or stay put. Struggling to get one's share of European wealth furthered the Casamançais' intentions to limit social interactions to an absolute minimum dedicating all efforts to generating income. Finally, some Casamançais clearly aspired to the popular tendencies of homogenisation to enter the playing field of those perceived to be successful and/or in the position to set the rules of the game. Accepting some degree of homogenisation, Casamançais nevertheless also maintained the practices of differentiation as it pleased them. There are plenty of examples of everyday practices of Casamançais that nuance the coexistence of practices of conviviality explored in Part Two and alternative ways of living everyday life. In conclusion, I extrapolate three cross-cutting themes of this chapter which relate to the basic practices of conviviality and thus nuance its conception.

Firstly, interacting in open neighbourhood spaces was fundamentally challenged in that a lot of time was spent behind shut doors such as migrant homes or in spaces that were only frequented by other migrants. While constructing locality in flats and interacting in places labelled as (im)migrant ones, we need to acknowledge that in all of these spaces migrants like Casamançais regularly interacted with diverse people

even though long-term local residents were absent. Understanding such spaces as open spaces in which ways of living with difference needed to be negotiated and differences translated was crucial and indeed deserves further investigation.[151] Furthermore, even within homes Casamançais were aware of being embedded within residential blocks and neighbourhoods and showed consideration and respect despite walls separating them from others. Finally, the ethnography has pointed out that migrant homes could actually cultivate the norms and values of conviviality in the neighbourhood, thus preparing migrants to engage with all kinds of people in the local social field. Newcomers learned about how they could adjust their pre-migration experiences and aspirations to the specific local context they would encounter once they left home. Having shown the potential of exploring time spent at home or among migrants in terms of conviviality, some of it only becomes intelligible taking (failed) aspirations to a European way of life into account.

Embracing a European way of life was the second cross-cutting theme. It contested Casamançais' past practices of *cohabitation,* whether lived or nostalgically remembered. As a form of social translation, acting according to their stereotyped European conceptions was the result of reading global media representations of the West and local practices. Trying to achieve economically and gain autonomy from social obligations, as well as engaging with cultural homogenisation can be subsumed under this dynamic. Aspiring to European configurations and representations of sociality mainly was alternative, yet not mutually exclusive with practices and discourses of conviviality. As a result, Casamançais chose to creatively interact with others or not, to negotiate differences or not, and – more generally – to contribute to creating convivial spaces or to withdraw from them risking non-engagement and open conflict. Having stressed the authority of Casamançais to position themselves in the field of conflicting conceptions of sociality, in contrast, some felt the burden of their structural position as unemployed or irregular. Immobile, frustrated and in despair Casamançais ended up in relative isolation. The

[151] See the very interesting work on cyber cafés of Vigouroux (2009).

European dream was barely achievable in Casamance and increasingly shattered in Europe. Enhancing the negative effects of individualism, some retreated from engaging with local social relations due to existential worries and needs. Migrant homes became sites of gatherings of the disenchanted who continued to depend on social relations of solidarity they initially tried to leave behind.

Last but not least, processes of homogenisation in Casamance and Catalonia were crucial to understanding some of the changing dynamics of the everyday life of Casamançais. While Wolofisation and Mandingisation had an effect on most spheres of life, the actual impact of different homogenisation processes and the level to which people adhered to them varied widely. Doubtless, to act like those dominating or setting the rules of the homogenising social field played a crucial role. In consequence, conviviality that productively engages with diversity and thus indirectly secures its survival runs the risk of being made redundant, at least referring to cultural qua linguistic diversity. Together with aspirations of a European lifestyle, Wolofisation challenged the Casamançais configuration of diversity and practices of conviviality from within. However, Casamançais evaluated and negotiated the extent to which they embraced a culturally dominant ideology and continued to act according to their own liking. The example of Catalan showed this clearly, as did the assertions of Wolof being already creolised and adjusted locally. An often resulting compromise was the more or less consistent use of a *lingua franca* which can be perceived as the outcome of negotiation and quite literal translation processes. Inevitably, processes of homogenisation and situational hierarchical relations challenged living with difference, yet it is unlikely that these processes will eradicate the practice of negotiation, one crucial dimension of conviviality. In the following chapter, I will present complementary dynamics taking migration-related categories into account which question the relative equality among all residents.

Chapter 6.

Guests, strangers and immigrants. Power dynamics in two migration contexts

This chapter looks into the power dynamics one faces upon arriving in a new place. Given that both Catalonia and Casamance are regions which have been under a significant influence of migration movements, these dynamics are at the core of some of the differences and inequalities encountered in everyday life. More than a conception of diversity among local residents as seen in the analysis of Part Two, migration-related differences stress inequalities which challenge the foundations of conviviality. This dynamic raises the questions of how much inequality can be sustained in convivial practices and spaces, and how far unequal power relations pose challenges to practising local conviviality. This adds a further perspective to the preceding chapter which challenged living with difference from the angle of alternative practices and processes in the local social field.

Casamançais arriving in Catalonia and comparing both local social fields revealed a large number of dynamics: they spotted familiarities and differences, evaluated advantages and disadvantages, were torn between transnational and local social relations, they felt inclusion or marginalisation, and their aspirations were confronted with real conditions. Some Casamançais in Catalonia felt like strangers who needed to adapt, others hoped to be received as guests, yet many took the hardships of their *aventure*, 'adventure', for granted. Some of these expectations derived from a comparison with the process of a stranger arriving in Casamance. Other aspects such as political discourses of reception, or the marginalisation of 'illegal' immigrants related closely to the local social field, i.e. Catalonia. This was part of the context for locally negotiating living with difference which led me to explore the interaction between the context set by migration and conviviality. I will show the multiple ways of perceiving and experiencing these relations in practice which will depend on contextual factors (both migration and local social field related), narratives of home, subjective experiences and life trajectories. This will

reveal various continuities and discrepancies between the Catalan and Casamançais experiences and contexts.

Mainly exploring the extent to which experiences in Casamance contribute to a better understanding of migrant incorporation in Catalonia, I structure this chapter in three sections. The first considers the two different but interconnected ways of dealing with strangers in Casamance. The second section introduces four Casamançais approaches to local conviviality in Catalonia that closely relate to the experiences of migration. In the concluding part I draw a comparison between the two earlier sections stressing how conviviality is embedded in migration contexts. The ethnography contributes to our understanding of how and why the locally specific processes of conviviality contain certain levels of inequality despite depending on basic practices shared among local residents. I argue that to contain inequality in the processes of conviviality three levels interact: experiences in Casamance and Catalonia, imaginaries of home, and the subjective aspirations of Casamançais. Not surprisingly, discrepancies were inbuilt.

6.1 Living with migrants in Casamance

In Casamance, there exist a number of ways to structure one's relations with those who are newly arrived. As Senegalese, Casamançais speak proudly of their *teranga* and they often explain the incorporation of someone who has come to stay in terms of patronage, that is finding or acting like a *tuteur*, someone acting as a patron or advisor in everyday matters. Not surprisingly, power dynamics play out in such relations and oftentimes they will eventually be re-negotiated. In the first section, I address the general notion of *teranga*, an encompassing version of hospitality; I focus on qualitative differences revealed in the processes of inclusion and exclusion of various categories of foreigners from a friendly reception that *teranga* suggests. In the second section, I address the process of someone arriving in a place in which the role of the *tuteur* is key to their inclusion. Yet again other situations of the arrival of

strangers contradict the discourse of tutorship. In all scenarios, I track processes of perceived change in negotiations of power relations.

Strangers as guests

Speaking of living together in Catalonia, a recurrent theme was that of Senegal as the country of *teranga*. Yoro Tapha Sambou had worked for most of his life in Dakar but was firmly rooted in the Lower Casamance where he held the post of a neighbourhood delegate in Ziguinchor as his father had before. Seated in his yard in Ziguinchor, he described the phenomenon of *teranga* as follows:

> You know, Senegal is a country of *teranga*. Go there: the Senegalese love to do others a favour… to benefit their fellow man. This is within the general framework. Wherever you go in Senegal, you are welcomed everywhere. And Senegalese will defend you. If you live with someone, if another offends you, even if you are wrong, he [your host] will not accept that you are harmed [by another]. … You find this with all the ethnicities. … It concerns not only the foreigner, even I, if I go somewhere, [if] I go to a village, it is *teranga*, I am a stranger there. … This is the strength of Senegal. You may stay in any house: if the time to eat comes, you will eat. … You may walk up to someone and say 'I don't know [this place] – He will accommodate you.[152] (Ziguinchor, 05/2010)

The claim was that *teranga* was the hospitality everyone enjoyed when arriving as a stranger in a new place. Yoro, in this statement, stressed that it applied to both other Senegalese and foreigners like me. As a stranger you would enjoy more than just a

[152] French: 'Vous savez, le Sénégal c'est un pays de *teranga*. vous allez là-bas: le Sénégalais aime rendre service … faire du bien à son prochain. Ça c'est dans le cadre général. Partout où vous allez au Sénégal - partout, vous êtes bien accueilli. Et il vous défend. Si vous logez chez quelqu'un, si quelqu'un vous touche, même si vous avez tort, il n'acceptera pas qu'on vous fasse du mal. … Vous le trouvez chez toutes les ethnies. ... C'est pas seulement pour l'étranger, même moi, si je me déplace, je vais dans un village, c'est la *teranga*, je suis étranger là-bas. ... C'est ça le fort du Sénégal. Vous allez dans n'importe quelle maison. Si l'heure de manger arrive, tu manges. ... Tu vas chez quelqu'un et tu dis "Je ne connais pas [cet endroit]" – Il t'héberge.'

warm welcome: you would be secure, you would be served food, be given a place to sleep, and you would be defended. In our conversation, Yoro Tapha Sambou elaborated that a Senegalese host respected a guest a lot and that it was the responsibility of the local authority, such as the village chief, to tell him all he needed to know. Furthermore, *teranga* would continue until the stranger had 'obtained something locally', i.e. had established himself. Thus, although *teranga* was primarily about the relations with the newly arrived, some elements were very relevant to the ideas of *cohabitation* and *convivencia* in a migration context.

While *teranga* was important to describe their own role as hosts, as guests or new arrivals, Casamançais, even in Casamance, proved to be very cautious. More than once I was told by my interlocutors that they would only eat if a host ate or they would not accept food or drink out of fear of being poisoned. Thus, a high level of distrust showed under such circumstances which contradicted the portrayal of tutorship and *teranga*. Factors beyond that of being a guest were clearly at play. When Alain Sagna stated that he would not eat at his neighbour's he feared envy and witchcraft. His fear was related to local competition and pre-existing tensions among local residents. A number of categories other than the notions of guest and *teranga* structured everyday relations. Being *tubab*, a European or white person, changed my experience as a stranger from Alain Sagna's; a perspective I explore next.

Much of what I learned of *teranga* was in relation to my own role as a foreigner and guest. However, *teranga* interacted with a number of other categories which defined how people interacted with me. First and foremost, apart from being a stranger, I was also a *tubab*. Thus, the colonial past loomed large in influencing our interactions. I only understood the enduring importance of the colonial past when Yoro in our conversation emotionally emphasised that he would always have to show a certain respect to me as a European because of a deep-seated feeling of 'inferiority' stemming from colonialism. He recalled that he believed that the French possessed something that they as Africans did not possess, which allowed the French to dominate. What exactly it was, he could not specify. He reasoned that similar to his relationship with a teacher in school who had taught him something, this respect was obligatory and timeless. This perceived relationship seemed to be central to the

imagination of Europe and its superiority, but also to how I, personally, experienced *teranga* in Casamance. I was met with great respect and I often had the feeling that people offered me more than they could reasonably afford. This, however, was also informed by a number of other factors.

In my case, being a stranger also overlapped with being a friend of a migrant abroad. When I first arrived in Koussi, the village of origin of one of my informants, I was not only a foreigner, but also a friend who had seen the children of the village and had come via that relationship. Thus, a goat was killed on my behalf and an aunt was brought in to help prepare food for me. Out of respect, I learned, I was not invited to eat with the family but ate with Ammul, a brother vaguely my age. This way they tried to secure my privacy, relaxation and assumed standards of hygiene. This also happened when I met people for the first time in both Casamance and Catalonia. In Koussi, however, treating me like a respected stranger was blurred with being close to the family as a friend of the head of household abroad. One of his sons called me dad, I slept in the same bed with his brother, and I was encouraged to take their family name. Nevertheless, I was also a stranger and guest who experienced the highest virtues of *teranga* and finally I remained the *tubab*, which became very clear when after days they still spoke of me in Mandinka as the *tubab*, not using my proper name. Being white and a friend of a son or daughter of the family in Europe superimposed upon the ways Casamançais would deal with any other guest or stranger.

Less subtle than in the migrant homes, I was always reminded while walking through the neighbourhood that I was distinct and *tubab*. The small children reminded me of being *tubab* every time I passed them. In Ziguinchor their chorus was '*tubab* bon-jour, un petit bon-bon!'[153] and in Sédhiou they most often chanted 'tubááboo diwlíínoo ñankataŋoo!'[154]. While it was annoying, it was nicer than having

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[153] 'Hello *tubab*, [give us] a small sweet!' (from French)

[154] '*Tubab* [only eats] peanut oil [and] white rice!' (from Mandinka, approximated)

children in villages run away, crying and hiding because they were scared. And it was easier to deal with than with the demand: '*Tubab,* offre-moi de l'argent!'[155]

Being branded as a *tubab* and reduced to my skin colour and origin to which a range of expectations and prejudices were attached, sat awkwardly with Ansou Diédhiou's account of the impartiality of *hospitalité* (meaning *teranga*) as he said it used to be (see Portrait in 6.2). He explained that his father still would have housed me as a complete stranger withholding any questions. If at all, his father's generation would have only loosely inquired of one's origin. Ansou retold the experience of a visiting *fou* (madman) who passed through their village for years and each time stayed with them unquestioned for a week. Ansou acknowledged that this was possibly changing with the experience of other ways of being received elsewhere and abroad. Clearly, Casamançais compared the way they used to treat strangers with their experiences as foreigners and both mutually influenced one another.

In Ziguinchor, Augustin Sambou additionally stressed that the Casamançais conflict had resulted in locals being suspicious of strangers since there were many cases in which strangers had recently brought trouble and conflict to a village, for example raiding local shops. This was countered with the strong opinion of many that everyday life needed to carry on, including *teranga* and *cohabitation*; even in times of never-ending political conflict. Dedicated to maintaining common practice, many affirmed in a similar vein that the household of the first person encountered in a village would normally host the new arrival or make sure to find a more comfortable place to stay with a richer villager. As a *tubab* this clearly applied to me always being offered a place to stay.

Assuming the integrity of a stranger and not asking his origin was unlike encountering strangers in the street as I described in Chapter Three. There, the impression arose that to establish a relationship of *cohabitation*, some minimal knowledge of the stranger was required. Thus, acquainting oneself with unknown

[155] '*Tubab*, offer me money!' (from French)

people on the street for the first time and being hospitable to a stranger applied to different social situations. Both contributed to forming the Casamançais' understanding of relations among people who were strangers and thus potentially different. While practices of *teranga* generally embraced difference, some strangers were seen in a light which resulted in excluding rather than welcoming them.

Certain people were not well received by the Casamançais population due to their origin. The primary example was a *niak*, someone of the forest said to engage in sorcery. Everyone in Casamance tried to convince me that, like *tubab*, *niak* was a neutral term detailing the geographical origins of a person as West or Central African. However, in conversation, it usually had negative connotations.[156] This cohered with the thoroughly negative reputation of certain nationalities from the same region. Nigerians and Ghanaians, and sometimes the Susu from Guinea were said to be those causing problems robbing shops, abusing women and trafficking drugs.[157] They were neither respected nor welcomed, and were perceived as problematic for local *cohabitation*.

In the western neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor, all of this surfaced in a recurrent story of a Susu gang which the local population eventually cracked down on in the Soucoupapaye School. The narrative unfolded when I was casually sitting along Boulevard Alpha with Seyni Badji who was an interim primary school director in Ziguinchor, his Catholic female neighbour, two of his colleagues and a university student on the Boulevard Alpha. One of the teachers told of how, for weeks, an armed Susu gang had robbed a number of shops, and how the local population had caught some of them while they were dividing their goods in the local school. Those caught eventually denounced all the others, bringing their doings to an end. I heard variants of the same story by others calling the criminals everything from *niak*, to Ghanaian, Nigerian, or Baye Fall (see below). That day though, the discussion

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[156] Some authors confirm that *niak* is a pejorative term for Central and West Africans (Timera 2009: 186) and for 'primitives' coming from the bush (Moodley 2000: 111).

[157] Cf. Ndiaye (2008: 410) for similar dynamics in Dakar.

continued about the Manoj from Guinea Bissau among whom manhood depended on being a good thief, the Nigerians who were criminals per se, and about other bandits willing to kill, like the Susu. Thus, as soon as a stranger fell into the category of *niak*, the local population became suspicious and no longer granted the advantages of being received like a guest.

Another group that some were particularly critical of were the Baye Fall, a sub-group of the Murid whose most visible members in Ziguinchor were those few begging for their marabouts in the street.[158] Curious about rumours I had heard, I prompted the discussion of the Baye Fall with the above group of people. Évelyne Diadhiou was most outspoken about blaming members of Baye Fall for engaging in criminal activities in Casamance. The primary school teachers hesitantly admitted that there were incidences of members of Baye Fall attacking shops, and Seyni Badji drew the wise conclusion that unfortunately quite a number of groups in Casamance tried to take advantage of the Casamançais conflict in hopes that their crimes would be attributed to the MFDC. He thus equated the activities of the Susu group with those of the Baye Fall members.

The frustration with the Baye Fall furthermore could be subsumed under the general anger expressed towards the *nordistes*, Senegalese from north of Gambia. In discussions, a number of my informants blamed Wolof speakers who were seen to dominate both administration and commerce (cf. Chapter Five). Some Casamançais blatantly doubted the legitimacy of the governor of the Ziguinchor region purely on the basis of his northern origin. Furthermore, they believed that the main language at the central market had changed from Creole to Wolof because of the northern Senegalese traders, in particular the Murid *moodu-moodu*, and their 'unwillingness' to

[158] Ibrahima Fall, a first and close disciple of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, founder of Muridism, founded this sub-group. They are visibly different often dressing in patchwork outfits (Wolof: *jaxaso*), a wide belt, and wearing their hair in dreadlocks. Important aspects of their way of life are extreme work ethics, belief in the total power of god and the marabout, imperatively rendering service to the latter, including begging for him. Some do not observe the five prayers or the fast during Ramadan (Sy 1969: 86-9).

speak anything except Wolof (cf. Dreyfus and Juillard 2005: 75, 157).[159] While most of my interlocutors had taken this change for granted, some felt they had surrendered to the unfair advantage of Wolof speakers in commerce and politics due to the overall process of Wolofisation.[160] Quietly, they admitted displeasure over what, at other times, they admired: the higher entrepreneurial spirit of the Wolof. The impression of being colonised by the north combined with intergenerational changes of language use and fears of losing daughters and sons to Wolofisation expressed by both the attraction of Dakar and social change in Casamance (e.g. Linares 2003; Foucher 2005b; Lambert 2007).

The frustration with the *nordistes* also stemmed from experiences of (felt) discrimination of Casamançais in the north. Souleymane Faty, a well-established Mandinka from Sédhiou who moved to Dakar for professional training, got very upset retelling the following incidence of language discrimination: When he came to Dakar the receptionist of his hotel asked him whether he was Gambian due to his Mandinka accent in Wolof. Souleymane enquired whether it was necessary to be Wolof to pass as Senegalese and immediately clarified that this was not the case. He related his experience to being treated as a *niak or* a *kaw-kaw*[161], an (uneducated) villager, up north.

Casamançais abroad and in Casamance claimed to receive strangers as guests under the auspices of *teranga* that was part of a Senegalese imaginary. Indeed this was the case when an absolute stranger arrived. Not many strangers, however, were seen in this way. Most arrivals to Casamance, including myself, had other features which defined how they were locally seen and treated. Being *tubab*, *niak*, *nordiste* or *kaw-kaw*

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[159] The Mandinka in Middle Casamance were regularly blamed in the same way by members of other ethnic groups.

[160] Concerning the feeling of being excluded from politics, Foucher (2002a) offers the explanation that Jola with a high rate of school attendance for a limited number of years had had access to low level ranks of state employment which had particularly come under siege since the 1970's crisis.

[161] Dirke Köpp in her study on language use in Dakar notices that people unable to speak Wolof Urbain are readily called *kaw-kaw* since they are not used to the same forms of code switching as the urbanites (Köpp 2002: 71).

changed the practice of *teranga*, fostering other codes of conduct ranging from extreme respect to caution or outright rejection. Nevertheless, the ideal of a stranger was one that Casamançais felt to be important for two reasons: first, to help explain their expectations of arriving in Europe (cf. Section 6.2), and second, to contextualise the case of people who had genuinely come to stay in Casamance.

Immigrants and hosts

In Casamance, people actively related to the migration movements of the past centuries and a narrative of the continuous incorporation of immigrants existed; immigrants were strangers who had come to stay.[162] This narrative referred to a past which was otherwise known to be violent. For example, the spread of Islam happened in the form of religious jihads (Leary 1970, 1971), while Jola and Mandinka engaged in slave raids (Baum 1999; Linares 1986). Furthermore, the Bainuk were often driven away since they were weak in numbers and sparsely populated the land (Linares 1992: 167). Such accounts were no longer part of the historic consciousness of my informants (or they kept it from me), but the narrative of the peaceful incorporation of strangers or immigrants into a village or neighbourhood was continuously put forward. They hereby only referred to one aspect of complex processes which would determine the outcome of a settling-in process of immigrant strangers in Casamance. This aspect of the reception and incorporation of an immigrant had gained rhetorical dominance in a time of relative peaceful coexistence of the local people in Casamance. Below, I start with the case of strangers wanting to settle into a village, which was frequently referenced among both Jola and Mandinka. Afterwards I turn to a number of examples which stress the importance of negotiating locally specific versions of the terms of incorporation.

[162] Linares (1992) differentiates in the same way, referring to people who came to stay as immigrants (e.g. Jola and Mandinka) and others from further afield as strangers (e.g. sub-groups of Fula). In her analysis, strangers are those who remain outside the social stratification of the local society.

Keba Deme, a Jola in his 40s I met in Catalonia, coherently presented the recurrent incorporation of immigrant strangers into a village. He claimed direct descent of a village founder in the Kalounayes region, north-east of Ziguinchor. The village was mainly inhabited by Jola who, heavily influenced by the Mandinka neighbours to the east, had converted to Islam and appropriated a descent-based, hierarchical social organisation (Linares 1992: Part III). In the past, when a stranger came to settle in a village, members of his branch of the Deme family were the only ones in the position to grant land access to newcomers since they had cleared the forest. Keba Deme clarified that land among the Jola was never owned, with people possessing the rights to its cultivation either by clearing the forest themselves or being granted access by the first-comers. Although neither his father nor he himself currently lived in the village, he claimed to remain in the position to set-up newcomers.

Keba's account was supplemented by the Mandinka and Jola telling that the head of village was in charge of directing (fr. *orienter*) the stranger, providing him with the means of subsistence, i.e. access to land, and knowledge of local ways of doing things. In short, somebody normally powerful would become the stranger's *tuteur*. Linares (1992: 161-6) stresses that the Jola of the Kalounayes had taken the distinction between land owners and arriving strangers from the Mandinka.[163] Quinn (1972: 17) traces this divide to the pre-Islamic social organisation of the Mandinka. This clearly introduced a social hierarchy which at the same time fostered the incorporation of strangers. In Sakar, a Mandinka village with only two households of immigrant strangers, the sociality I witnessed very clearly cohered to this idea. The current village chief was a senior member of the founding Mandinka lineage. The two Jalonké families had been given land after they had fled from the independence war in Guinea Bissau and had decided to stay. In the meantime, they became an integral part of the village which showed in youths being friends and playing football in the same ASC (Association Sportive et Culturelle). Nevertheless, they maintained a

[163] Compare the variations of distributing land in Kalounayes (Linares 1992: 167-71) and the Fogny region among less Mandingised Jola, where granting access to land was less modelled after this system which therefore entailed a lot more insecurity and conflicts over land (ibid.: 129).

slightly disempowered position in the community, living at the edge of the village in comparatively small houses, excluded from the tight kin networks and not participating in the meetings on the main *bentang*, the palaver platform.

The Jola of the Kalounayes and many people in urban neighbourhoods, as my informants showed, understood this division into strangers and hosts to have weakened. In many examples they rather stressed the role of a *tuteur* as a mentor and instructor than someone the stranger had to pay allegiance to and depended on. This was especially the case among the urban populations where legal property titles regulated access to land (cf. Bruneau 1979; Trincaz 1984). However, disputes over host-stranger/immigrant relations clearly revealed the disappointment over broken social contracts.

A case in point was the account of the conflicts that had arisen across the Casamance River in the Goudomp Department where Tukulor, Fula from the north, had settled and gone into fishing, a local means of subsistence. Ousmane Ndoye in Catalonia, who grew up in the area as the son of a Fula immigrant and a Jola mother, explained the situation as such: While the Fula had been granted access to the fishing grounds of the villages, their attempts to achieve higher profit margins in Ziguinchor caused tension when they stopped supplying the village markets. Ousmane and others agreed that this had overstretched the consensus that had governed the relationship of strangers and hosts.[164] Ousmane, who had been in the fishing business selling much of his produce in Ziguinchor, but also in surrounding villages, certainly knew a great deal about both sides of the tension. Yet, he aligned himself more with the Jola, his maternal kin (see Portrait, Chapter Five). The example of the Fula in the Goudomp Department showed how not respecting the symbiotic relationship between immigrants and hosts had resulted in a conflict upsetting the balance of local *cohabitation*. However, Ousmane stressed that eventually a new consensus was established. In his account, Ousmane had alluded to the way host-immigrant

[164] This matches Sarró's account of the tensions between strangers and hosts among the Baga and Susu in Guinea (Sarró 2009). Here, over time the strangers' initial hosts felt to be increasingly dominated by their former strangers.

relations were structured in the Kalounayes. This presupposed clear-cut social roles which entailed certain rights and duties as well as mutual respect. The example of the Fula trying to take advantage of what was given to them shows that the parties involved held conflicting opinions on how to put host-stranger relations into practice, requiring continuous negotiation of which conflict was necessarily part.[165]

Koussi exemplified another case of on-going negotiation well since its inhabitants felt that host and stranger relationships were not applicable. I was told that nobody could claim to be a legitimate first-comer since everybody had settled there simultaneously as labourers under French control during the groundnut cultivating era (cf. David 1980: 446-51). Apart from contested language choices in open spaces (cf. Chapter Three), at the time of my fieldwork this had resulted in a relatively fragile balance between the two main groups of Fula and Mandinka. In other villages, the chief came from the founding lineage or from a certain patrilineage that had gained the position in the past. An administrative position since colonial time, in contemporary Senegal chiefs were chosen, *de facto*, by the heads of households and ratified by the *Préfet* [regional administrative authority] and Senegalese Minister of the Interior (cf. Thiaw and Ribot 2005: 320-2). In Koussi, however, the villagers had settled the dispute over the village chieftaincy by agreeing on alternating Fula and Mandinka chiefs. Additionally, there were sub-chiefs of the respective other group. People in Koussi gave this example to show how living with difference was embedded in a continuously negotiated and adjusted balance of power which was quite unlike the pre-existing notion of patron-client relationships or the historical symbiosis between pastoralists and agriculturalists (Nugent 2008: 928).

Nevertheless, the normative framework of patron-stranger relationships surged in various instances and provoked a variety of accounts. Leading on from the Goudomp example and the experiences concerning the post of village chief in Koussi, I enquired of several of the Casamançais I worked closest with about the

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[165] Cf. also Bellagamba (2004) and her analysis of hierarchical host-stranger relations in historical Fuladu, Upper Casamance.

extent to which immigrant strangers had upset the power balance, e.g. in aiming at becoming village chief. Independently, many agreed that an immigrant stranger ought not to seek such a powerful position. If it occurred at all, some Jola stressed that it would be a sign of their respect to offer such a position to an immigrant stranger. While nobody could give such an example, it showed the strong moral obligations on both sides of this relationship. On the part of the immigrant strangers, accepting a relatively powerless position was eased by the returned respect. The respectful, but somewhat distant incorporation also materialised in everyone seeking to facilitate communication. For this reason, many would familiarise themselves with the linguistic repertoire of the other. This was more important for the Jola than for the Mandinka who advanced and benefited from the process of Mandingisation.[166] However, while practising respect and actually being multilingual was important, even the widely held claim to both manifested the normative framework of patron-stranger relationships. While Goudomp and Koussi were contemporary cases in which power relations were under negotiation rather than falling into this neat scheme, historically the Bainuk case raised additional doubts and a need for a differentiated analysis.

'Les premiers habitants de la Casamance c'étaient les Bainuk. Le reste, ce sont des étrangers.'[167] Benedict Mansaly, himself Balanta, started his account of the inhabitants with this differentiation into first-comers and strangers. For the above described imaginary of stranger-host-relationships the fate of the Bainuk presented a startling conundrum. While everyone acknowledged that they were the first inhabitants of Casamance, equally everybody knew that they had nearly fully disappeared mainly through a (forced) assimilation into other groups in the Middle and Lower Casamance (cf. Mark 1985: 18-9). More specifically, Casamançais knew

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[166] It remains an interesting question, in how far Jola, by keeping their language to themselves, also were able to keep their secret societies intact. More than one of my informants were proud that they had versions of Jola which were fully unintelligible to foreigners offering them a way to protect their secrets (cf. parallel cases of the Baga in Sarró 2009).

[167] 'The first inhabitants of Casamance were the Bainuk. The rest are all strangers.' (from French)

that Sédhiou and Ziguinchor were originally Bainuk settlements, which they only acknowledged in passing.[168] Indirectly acknowledging that they had assimilated or expelled the original Bainuk landowners, Casamançais kept the Bainuk fate separate from assertions of their legitimacy as contemporary hosts and thus expected new arrivals to accept them as such.

Dwelling on the Bainuk case in the Sédhiou region, Benedict Mansaly stated that they were the first victims of Mandinka-led 19th century jihads resulting in their forced assimilation. To legitimise their disappearance, many Casamançais referred to the myth of the Bainuk being cursed by their last king. Victim of a plot to overthrow his rule, the dying king predicted that the Bainuk would be dispersed and never ruled by a Bainuk again.[169] In Ziguinchor, people were also aware of this Bainuk fate. Rather than accepting it as a stand-alone explanation, the neighbourhood chiefs of Lindiane reasoned that the land-owning Bainuk had given away and sold their land to an extent that they themselves were bound to disappear. Indeed, the remaining Bainuk settled in a few dispersed, peripheral villages while many of their family names were widely spread among the Mandinka, the Jola and the Balanta to the south. This, however, allows for the alternative reading of Paul Nugent (2008) who states, for the Mandinka-Bainuk relations in neighbouring Gambia: 'Because many Mandinkas today concede that their forebears were in fact Bainuk, it is extremely difficult to distinguish conquerors from conquered, or settlers from autochthons.' (ibid.: 928)[170]

To leave the host-stranger discourse intact, neither the 'disappearing' of the Bainuk nor possible trajectories of their incorporation were directly compared to the situation of foreigners in Casamance at the time of fieldwork. Only Abou Sonko, a

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[168] This said, there are still Bainuk villages in Casamance, even in relative proximity to Ziguinchor and Sédhiou: e.g. Tobor (one close to Ziguinchor and one to Sédhiou) and Bakum (north of Sédhiou). Yet, I did not do research there. Cf. also Mark (1985: 15).

[169] Cf. also Matt Schaffer's (1976, 1980) work on the Pakao and his translations of the founding myths of Bakum, a Bainuk settlement (Schaffer 2003: 126-7).

[170] Cf. also Mark (1985: 19) and the example of Jola patronyms in the Boulouf, Lower Casamance.

Jola born in Ziguinchor, who had been to Europe and returned, related the fate of the Bainuk to his fellow Jola's complaints about the *nordistes*. Contradicting the discourse of Jola as good hosts, Abou disclosed that the Jola claim to Ziguinchor was founded on their wish for everyone to speak Jola. Since Ziguinchor used to be Bainuk this claim was illegitimate, he argued. He implied that what happened to the Bainuk could naturally happen to the Jola under the influence of Wolofisation. The assimilation of the Bainuk thus did not fit well with the appraisal of regional diversity which was perceived to be at risk due to homogenisation emanating from the Mandinka, and certainly from the Wolof. It, however, conformed to Abou Sonko's argument that Jola were claiming autochthony in Lower Casamance. Both processes subverted the social imaginary which promised a continuous, regulated incorporation of strangers. Contemporary as well as historical examples of settling strangers showed that in actual fact the categories stranger and host were bound to blur and that social interaction changed as part of a continuous process.

Nevertheless, the social imaginary of host-stranger relationships influenced the lived experience of Casamançais in at least two ways: it remained an important reference in Catalonia, and it affected the way large groups of refugees from Guinea Bissau were received. The latter was salient one afternoon when I was sitting with a group of teenagers behind Djittekunda in the neighbourhood of Santa-Sou in Sédhiou. My notes reveal:

> Asking about *cohabitation*, they just pointed towards the different houses of the neighbourhood and explained who was living where. The house just behind us inhabited by Christians from Guinea Bissau was a particular example for the normality that they saw in local *cohabitation*. They retold that when these Guinean Christians came as refugees, it was only natural that they were given space to establish their households. People at the time had enough property to just give land away. While ownership titles initially remained with the first-comers, the Bissau Guineans later bought the land or moved after being given reasonable notice (a year maybe). Sometimes they just stayed on creating a *fait accompli*. (Notes, Sédhiou, 03/2010)

Santa-Sou in Sédhiou, a neighbourhood not unlike Lindiane in Ziguinchor, was one of the larger neighbourhoods of Sédhiou in which many newcomers tended to settle both in the past and at the time of my research. As a result it grew towards the outskirts of Sédhiou, and a lot of construction was under way (see Map 5, page 58). In Santa-Sou, Djittekunda was close to the city centre though in an area with few plots left. The little street we were sitting on gave access to eight houses, one of which belonged to the Christians from Guinea Bissau. Giving them access to land upon their arrival seemed as natural to my young informants as was the presence of people speaking different languages, preparing different foods and even keeping pigs. Vaguely knowing about the history of the neighbours and how they came to settle in Sédhiou also strengthened the host-stranger relations. However, speaking of Montagne Rouge, a distant, lesser known neighbourhood with plenty of immigrants, negative stereotypes prevailed, e.g. their 'inedible' cuisine, messy yards and generally poor hygiene. Most of the time, residents in their neighbourhood were spared such accusations.

One evening I went with Birama Touré, a Balanta school teacher from Santa-Sou to Montagne Rouge to eat 'small fish' prepared by a Mancanya family with whom he was friends. We went in the dark due to one of the regular blackouts. At the Mancanya home we did not only get small fish prepared with a lot of onion and lemon juice, and served with bread, but also palm wine which Birama – a Muslim – happily consumed. Birama had been hosted by Mancanya in the first village where he had been posted as a teacher thus creating this familial relationship. As a stranger in the village they had treated him well. The dominant commentary I got on my exploration of Montagne Rouge was clearly that the way people there prepared their dishes made them intolerable, and that they loved the 'small fish' – something quite inexplicable for most of my other informants. In a discussion with a couple of primary school teachers in Souleymane Faty's house, I learned that people imagined the standards of hygiene to be low partly due to the presence of pigs and dogs in the place where food was prepared and eaten. Not unlike other occasions, the discussion then shifted to an underlying current concerning the sharing of food between Muslims and Christians. To respect Muslim reservations, Christians would often not

prepare food for Muslims on the occasion of their festivities but would just offer them the ingredients to prepare for themselves or have a Muslim woman prepare food for the Muslim guests at a wedding or baptism. The sweet dish, *ngalax* shared before Easter by Christians with all their neighbours alike, was a big exception (cf. Chapter Four).

The commentaries on my visit to Montagne Rouge and the *cohabitation* between first-comers and Bissau Guinean refugees, as well as between Muslims, Christians and traditional believers offered a whole range of tactics of how to locally live together while maintaining differences. Sitting with the teenager group, their commentary of the sharing of the neighbourhood with Bissau Guinean refugees was straightforward and unfiltered since at the time I had already established a good and honest relationship. Their way of describing first-comer/newcomer relations fitted well with the picture of everyday *cohabitation* I presented in Part Two, in which spatial proximity and equal access to shared open spaces were main factors. As a result of the conviviality process, clear-cut boundaries between newcomers and hosts could neither be drawn in terms of the physical distribution of land nor the access to open spaces. Furthermore, granting access to land in the first place was part of lived first-comer/stranger relations. Yet, when it came to the sharing of food, social distance and prejudices remained for a lot of people. For Birama it was different since he had been their stranger and guest. Nevertheless, all local residents of Santa-Sou in Sédhiou had found a level of consensus that facilitated peaceful coexistence at the time of my fieldwork. This did not preclude that in many ways some of the local residents were more integrated than others through which certain differences were maintained. For example, many of my informants perceived Bissau Guineans either as newcomers or as distinct due to their cultural practices and preferences and due to their keeping of Christian or traditional faiths.[171] Such unequal relations were part of the local consensus of living with difference.

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[171] This complements generalised representations in the literature on the Bissau Guinean refugees from the 1960s and 1970s in Casamance that they mostly returned (Gould 1974: 416; Adepoju 1982: 34). On numbers see Zartman (1970) and Chabal (1983: 197).

Summary. Guests, immigrants and conviviality in Casamance

In Casamance, a couple of dominant discourses concerned the treatment of strangers and immigrants. One referred to the idea of *teranga* while the other one relied on the hierarchical incorporation of immigrant strangers into a place by way of patron-client relationships. Both combined in the same process, although it varied for different categories of strangers and the stage of migration. Thus, a lot of parallel migratory movements interacted with the local social imaginaries of guests and immigrants. This manifested in everyday practices of negotiating forms of living with difference.

In the first place, Casamançais raised the claim that, above all, every stranger would be treated as a respected guest receiving all the comfort available. However, Casamançais acted towards most strangers in light of various alternative categories as well. Some of them triggered a highly negative attitude such as *niak*. It helped explain why and when strangers were kept at a distance. In my case, being *tubab* offered an alternative explanation for the respect and reception offered. While the virtues of hospitality raised expectations of the Casamançais concerning their reception in Spain, those foreigners falling into the negatively perceived categories due to certain actions attributed to them were seen as disrupting local *cohabitation*. All these dimensions of categorising strangers, which complemented practices of *cohabitation* and *voisinage,* contributed to forming a Casamançais habitus, a set of embodied practices and reactions towards strangers.

Incorporating immigrant strangers – people who had come to stay – was directly concerned with local *cohabitation*. Similarly to *teranga*, Casamançais had a general sense of how immigrant strangers would be incorporated in villages. They would receive the means of subsistence by their tutors who also provided explanations of everyday sociality. This clearly was a hierarchical incorporation with quite loose boundaries to allow for a stepwise process in which negotiation could lead to gaining more of an equal standing. This did not preclude that first-comers could be overthrown by newer arrivals, as the Bainuk case proved. Furthermore, these clearly structured relationships between newcomers and hosts, for most of my informants, seemed to belong to the past, albeit recent. Today, they were weakened, and urban

conditions in Sédhiou and Ziguinchor also contributed importantly to altering the power relations in place.

In recent times, tutorship, on the one hand, was maintained stressing the connotation of the tutor being someone to provide assistance rather than categorical domination. In Catalonia this was a widely observed practice among Casamançais and simultaneously it raised the question of why Catalans did not act as tutors (see below). On the other hand, at the time of my fieldwork the incorporation of strangers only really happened to the point of maintaining relatively peaceful convivial spaces. Many Bissau Guineans in Sédhiou continued to keep to themselves as the others maintained their prejudices, albeit not addressing those living in the immediate proximity. Mostly being marginalised, some of them nevertheless had attained social standing. All that was achieved in the fragile process of conviviality was a working minimal consensus governing social situations of contact. Complementing the explanation that Bissau Guineans in Casamance dwelled with kinsmen when they arrived in the 1970s (Lyon 1980: 161; Zartman 1970), in plenty of my interlocutors' accounts they were perceived to be different and strangers. Their incorporation thus could not be explained only by the fact of similar ethnic groups on both sides of the border. Rather, it was the outcome of stranger-host relations in which hierarchy was maintained but conviviality facilitated.

In this section we saw from different historical examples and current developments that Casamançais lived, remembered and imagined relations between strangers and hosts in various ways. As part of the process of a stranger arriving somewhere, slightly unequal power relations played an important role. In a peaceful contemporary context these relations were clearly negotiated and agreed upon but also framed as a historical continuity. Part of this agreement was that unequal power relations on one level could be compensated on another, which is typical of patronage relationships (Linares 1992: 169-71; Weil 1971: 253f). Often this discrepancy had a religious connotation, which was nicely summed up by Linares for Muslim Casamançais:

> [The patronage system] encourages the constant renewal of useful networks of nonetheless asymmetrical patron-client relations by basing them on the legitimating fiction that all men are equals and brothers under the eyes of the Prophet. The idea that men who are brothers under Islam owe each other favors and are bound by rules of reciprocity operates both ways. (Linares 1992: 170f)

Such patronage relations were increasingly less self-evident in neighbourhoods of towns where residents often assumed more autonomy and equality than in villages in which founders still maintained legitimate power. In this respect, various neighbourhoods in Ziguinchor resembled the situation of Santa-Sou in Sédhiou. Many informants stressed that the free market of land titles resulted in a random composition of neighbourhoods. They remained socially relatively mixed and everyone continued to be interested in securing peaceful *cohabitation*. The civil relations of respect and consideration relied on the feeling of formal equality as residents of the same place. This, however, did not eradicate distrusting attitudes such as refraining from eating/drinking foods prepared by neighbours. Still, the practices of sharing food at feasts, drinking tea together and greeting were widespread which constructed convivial spaces.

6.2 Casamançais migrants in Catalonia

The previous section addressed the discrepancies in the Casamançais ways of portraying host-stranger relations. There is a mismatch between contemporary local practices and discourses referring to an idealised past. This incongruence was enhanced by the migration process to Europe: migrants remembering home were even more prone to idealise relations among strangers and hosts there. It remained, however, a relevant backdrop of the lived experience in Catalonia, which I am turning to now.

In this second section, I follow up on lasting and changing Casamançais practices in Catalonia. Various narratives existed to understand the migration experience.

Locally, they saw themselves as strangers that needed to adjust to given conditions, yet they missed 'their' Catalan *tuteurs*, hosts that would advise them in everyday matters. This reinforced their experience of not being respected by the local population. Casamançais explained the resulting difficulties by relying on a couple of reoccurring narratives. One was about the belief in one's destiny and chance while the other one dealt with the 'adventure' of being a migrant 'à la recherche', on the lookout for something, which prepared them for anything.

As strangers we have to adjust

Mataró, October 2010

> Once I am here, I feel like a stranger. What should a stranger do? He must behave well. Because you are in a place where you don't know anyone. Your father isn't there, nor your mother, your grandfather nor grandmother. If they are there, perhaps [if] you do something [and] people beat you, they will intervene. But in this case the opposite is true. You're there, you're alone. If you must defend yourself, you're going to defend yourself all alone. So you need to behave well with people.[172] (Hamidou Dramé, Mataró, 10/2010)

As a Casamançais who had been relatively fortunate in Catalonia (see portrait), Hamidou Dramé idealised the past and home. He remembered home as a secure space where he had a lot of 'time to play', something he extensively made use of. While this in part tells us about the difference between being a stranger or a local, it is also mediated by the process of becoming an adult and his personal aspirations. Behaving like a wild boy was no longer opportune, neither as an adult nor as a stranger. The security and freedom at home was juxtaposed not only to the primary necessity of work in Europe, but also to insecurity, loneliness, hardship and

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[172] French: 'Une fois ici, je me sens étranger. Un étranger, qu'est-ce qu'il doit faire? Il doit se comporter bien. Parce que tu es dans un endroit où tu ne connais personne. Où ton père n'y est pas, ni ta maman, ni ton grand-père, ni ta grand-mère. Parce que s'ils sont là, peut-être, tu fais quelque chose, les gens ils te frappent, eux, ils vont intervenir. Mais dans ce cas, c'est le contraire. Tu es là, tu es seul. Si tu dois te défendre, c'est toi seul qui va te défendre. Donc il faut se comporter bien vis-à-vis des gens.'

uncertainty. Exemplifying this, he spoke at length of his mortgage, stressing how he felt exposed to the arbitrariness of a system that he did not grow up with and thus lacked knowledge of.

Hamidou Dramé

Hamidou Dramé was from village in Middle Casamance at the border with Lower Casamance. Before migrating to Europe irregularly, he had lived in Dakar for three years. His uncle, a marabout, had paid a substantial part of his trip. After passing through Morocco, the Canaries and Murcia in Spain, he came to Mataró and was regularised in 2005. In 2010 he was one of the few who had a permanent job as the housekeeper of an elderly couple that paid him a standard Spanish wage. He was better off than many other Casamançais. He spoke both Catalan and Castilian, and in the first year had studied to pass the Spanish baccalaureate; he tried to be upwardly mobile and gave much weight to language and education. Since he had recently gotten married in France and had a baby, he planned to move there. He envisioned the French state as providing more family support. Once in France, he hoped to be able to undergo vocational training with his Senegalese secondary school diplomas.

In Cerdanyola, Mataró, he had family members and friends, yet he felt like a stranger in Europe. Throughout Catalonia, Hamidou was well connected with politically active Senegalese, some of whom had acquired profound knowledge of migration issues.

Feeling like a stranger, Hamidou found it normal to 'integrate', placing high expectations on himself and his fellow migrants. Apart from the political reference to the perennial European integration request, Hamidou and many more shared what Souleymane Faty expressed outright to me in Sédhiou: if people went somewhere they had to cohere with local customs, e.g. not make noise, be dressed cleanly, and to wash themselves regularly to mention but a few things particularly pertinent to him. Having been to Europe himself, Souleymane Faty knew both the situation of strangers in Catalonia and current host-stranger relations in Casamance. Souleymane approved of *civisme*, a sense of civic responsibility, which he implied was missing in

Senegal and among some of the Senegalese migrants. For Souleymane *civisme* indicated a situational hierarchy in which the European space and culture outweighed the African one.

In contrast, many of the Casamançais interlocutors shared the same perspective on how to behave in Europe, but reasoned with their ethnic or religious upbringing instead, feeling superior to Europe. To disentangle the various influences was hardly possible; however, when feeling an urge for good conduct combined with a perceived need to integrate, Casamançais rather referred to European *civisme* than to their previously learned norms. Like other Casamançais migrants and locals alike who had progressed in the educational system, Souleymane adhered to high developmental hopes for their country, which he felt needed to be 'modern like the West'.

Not sharing the cultural capital of Souleymane Faty and rooted in locally transmitted ideas of host-stranger relations, other Casamançais nevertheless came to a similar conclusion: it was the stranger's turn to seek to improve their social standing. The interim head of a primary school in Ziguinchor, Seyni Badji, firmly summarised this widely held belief: if the stranger entered a society openly, he would be received the same way. Such an approach disguised potentially limiting structural factors which constrained the host-stranger interactions. It created the need to negotiate the actual social hierarchy. Nonetheless, this short formula suited many situations well, especially that of the migrants in Catalonia. Hamidou Dramé in Mataró knew that to achieve something in the short run and in a foreign locale in which rules of stranger-host relations were obviously different, all depended on his own efforts. It was unlikely for the structural conditions to change in the short run.

Trying to 'integrate', as Hamidou said, he initially dedicated a lot of effort to continuing education. When he first arrived in Catalonia, he studied languages and more to meet the prerequisites for vocational training. While we had seen that he thought of languages as the most important aspect of a stranger's integration, he took it beyond the essential to become upwardly mobile and excel in the *aventure*. He thus adhered to the larger rules of the game of social mobility in Europe, and it mirrored

the tactic in Casamance which placed education centre stage (cf. Foucher 2002a). Hamidou had understood that many of his fellow immigrants suffered from not having locally recognised qualifications. Education had been his strategy in migration until he decided to get married and move to France.

Many Casamançais shared a feeling of precariousness, which resulted in protective social practices: limiting time outside, keeping quiet in the flats, accepting mosques at the periphery, or avoiding to bother neighbours. Casamançais perceived these aspects to be part of the necessary adjustments to the Catalan local social field. Often they perceived their self-restriction as a part of Catalan *convivència* and their obligation as strangers or late-comers to a place.

Much of these adjustments remained on the level of everyday life. Ansou Diédhiou clearly observed that many Casamançais did not have a sustained interest in Catalonia or Catalan culture as such. Accompanying me to one of the large scale parades of the Semana Santa in the city centre, the Processó del Prendiment[173], Ansou was one of the few black spectators. Explaining the absence of blacks, he believed that most of them were not used to getting interested in things by themselves. Indeed, he expressed longing for someone who would direct (Fr. *orienter*) him – a *tuteur*. Given my own lack of knowledge, Ansou Diédhiou went to ask elderly bystanders about the event. While having neglected most of the local cultural activities, he clearly maintained a very practical knowledge of the town and its inhabitants that was key to getting along and finding his way around. Observing the local habitus and the roles various people maintained in the local social field was something Ansou and many others took for granted and expected of any immigrant.

Despite the absence of tutorship, many Casamançais spoke of the Catalans as good hosts. They appreciated having access to public services and enjoying certain standards of interaction that they did not experience in transit. While the services were mainly offered by the town hall or other public institutions such as the

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[173]Procession of the Arrest (of Jesus) (from Catalan).

reception classes, language classes and the health system, the standards referred to interactions with employers such as the wealthy people in suburbia where many Casamançais worked as gardeners. Especially the latter aspect was contested since despite some slightly improved economic conditions in comparison with Senegal, my interlocutors missed truly respectful interaction. Positive experiences with employers included loyalty to certain workers who would be called when more work became available and who were paid on the day. Appreciating such gestures, Casamançais even played down their darker flipside: the fact that work was not always available, that if they were hired irregularly they could be let go at any time and that they earned 5 Euros/hour or less. For many of them, it was conducive that employment conditions in Senegal had been the same or worse. The main frame of reference being Casamance, this resulted in not being overly critical of the widely spread practice of irregular employment in Catalonia, which was the local way of doing things only with immigrants. Furthermore, they felt their situations to have initially improved and social relations to be at least acceptable most of the time.

On the other hand, with increasing time spent in Catalonia dependent on social networks, many Casamançais were at odds with their economic options, and the way they were treated dismantled the idea of Catalans as good hosts. Aladji Sonko had tried to be a street vendor when he first arrived but had stopped very soon. While there were people who enjoyed the negotiation of prices – something essential in the Senegalese commercial interaction – and others showed their solidarity by 'buying to help', many people shouted at him 'in all sorts of ways'. Aladji was offended by this negative and dismissive response lacking mutual respect. This was comparable to the humiliating experience of seeking work in suburbia described in the preceding chapter, in which people would arbitrarily hand-pick those they would employ among the group sitting along the street.

For people like Ansou Diédhiou, this very fact of having remained in the unskilled sector and doing work nobody else wanted to do was a real source of concern. Unable to do anything about it in the short run, they all at least wished to be treated respectfully and fairly in return for their willingness to adjust to local practices. The threshold of what was acceptable and what was not varied among my informants.

Newly arrived migrants tended to take worse conditions for granted while the level of frustration rose among those having stayed for longer. They felt that returns for their efforts of adjusting were largely not satisfactory, for example due to missing local *tuteurs* other than their fellow Casamançais (cf. Chapter Five). However, all experienced their situation subjectively and singular encounters or relationships made a difference.

Tuteurs: Advice in everyday matters

'Les Catalans, ils sont nos tuteurs, ils sont majoritaires dans le quartier.'[174] – Repeatedly laughing after what he had just said, Ansou Diédhiou was disappointed with his encounters with Catalans. In our interview as well as in many informal discussions, I learned that while he had hoped to find at least one Catalan *tuteur*, he had found none. This quest for supportive tutors had been a defining feature in his life course (see portrait). He was disillusioned by his experience in Catalonia so far and admitted that no white person had ever been interested in him. Souleymane Biaye who in general was more positive about his situation in Europe stated the same: the Catalans 'no vienen hacia nosotros'[175]. This he saw as one part of the interaction between Catalan and Casamançais, the other one being that most Casamançais also made little attempt to get to know Catalans. Many of my informants expressed their frustration with not receiving what the host-stranger relationship implied apart from their obligation to adjust. While finding a tutor was a high goal to strive for, the experience of many Casamançais seemed to be that Catalans did not even show the slightest interest in them.

Ansou Diédhiou

Ansou grew up with his older brother in a Jola village at the border of Kalounayes and Fogny in the Lower Casamance. He registered at the primary school. For lack of

[174] 'The Catalans, they are our tutors, they predominate in the neighbourhood.' (from French)

[175] 'They do not come towards us.' (from Castilian)

a *tuteur* in town who would host him towards the end of secondary school, he embarked on a short career in the military, a phase during which he got to see much of Senegal. After going to Dakar, he also missed the relevant patronage networks there. Thus, he worked as an unskilled labourer, e.g. in security firms. Being frustrated with Dakar, he decided to emigrate. Passing through most North African countries on his way to Europe, he arrived in Mataró where in 2010 he lived with his wife and child sharing an apartment with a befriended Casamançais couple he met in Dakar. Lacking economic means and crucial networks everywhere, he took years securing the means to arrive in Europe with many steps in-between.

In Mataró he did night shifts in a factory, a job which earned him a steady but low income. He despised the job and hoped to be upwardly mobile and start doing something that he would actually enjoy. Yet he felt trapped since he was a migrant without suitable qualifications. This influenced his experience of missing respect (see below).

The tutorship system was a central element of Senegalese migrations and structured the life trajectories of most of my interlocutors. Paralleling the experience of those who went to secondary school or university outside their home town, some longer established migrants in Catalonia helped the newly arrived ones to find their way into the new local context. Often, though not always, the *tuteur* would host the new arrival. In the context of immigration to Catalonia, this practice continued among Senegalese, but it also raised the expectation with some that the local population should act as hosts.

My own travels were a dynamic element in their argument: 'Est-ce que tu as vu comment nous, on traite l'étranger?'[176] This implied the second question of whether I was aware of how this was different to the way they were treated in Catalonia. Remembering how their families and friends had received me, Casamançais rightly thought that the contrast was self-evident since I was treated very respectfully as a

[176] 'Did you see how we treat the stranger?' (from French)

stranger-cum-guest. In all cases, to receive me was the first priority and implied a huge effort on the side of the hosts. Like Damé Sambou in Ziguinchor, they unhesitatingly assumed the role of my *tuteur*. In Catalonia, the argument of Casamançais implied that a stranger-cum-guest always assumed a relatively high social standing. They readily equated the social categories of stranger and guest, and expressed the hope to be seen as such and not as immigrants. From the comparison of how strangers were received in Senegal and how they experienced their reception in Catalonia as immigrants, Casamançais in Catalonia painfully learned that being an immigrant in Europe did not mean being received as either a guest or a (immigrant) stranger.

The Catalan policy discourse of *acollida*, reception, of migrants to the local towns, did not satisfy the Casamançais expectation for two reasons: firstly, it was an institutional reply to immigration leaving the task to receive foreigners to the town authorities and not to the fellow local residents of the neighbourhood. Secondly, the reception of immigrants was only rhetorically tailored after the norm of receiving guests. Although Casamançais appreciated the institutionalised services, quite a few had expected something else of reception and hospitality of Catalan *tuteurs*. Failing to act as hosts, Casamançais often judged Catalans negatively as uneducated, ill-behaved or even outright stupid. They attributed this missing capacity to the low educational levels of the Spanish, even in comparison to other European nations. They felt this was exemplified by the limited spread of Spanish in the world, the small number of local Spanish and Catalans who had travelled extensively, and the vulgar and insulting language repertoire of their Spanish work colleagues in the low-pay sector. In such instances, the Casamançais' partial knowledge combined unfavourably with their negative experiences with the Catalan and Castilian population. Furthermore, the common experience of all Casamançais triggering this negative perception of reception was that they were mainly perceived as African immigrants – or even economic refugees – rather than anything else. Casamançais quickly learned that this was a label with strongly problematic or even negative connotations in the European imaginary. While immigrants felt they were not held in high esteem, they reacted by also showing little regard for their counterparts.

Earning respect

Experiencing mutual respect and recognition was a central concern of Casamançais. This was normally the case in tutorship relations and while true Catalan tutors were rare, many Casamançais actually had someone who they felt had the potential to be a good *tuteur*. Relying on them in questions concerning the local social field, such relationships were very meaningful social contacts (Heil 2008). Even the fiercest critic of Catalonia, Aboubakar Thiam appreciated his current employer Juan, an Andalusian, who 'was like an African'. Instead of stating clearly what it was, Aboubakar asked me to observe Juan for a while. As the owner of a *chiringuito*, a beach bar, Juan appeared to me as an open-minded, generous person who treated everyone the same. For Aboubakar, this was exceptional and also meant that he was not racist. For example, his kitchen staff, a Senegalese and a Gambian man and a Gambian women, had their lunches sitting in the comfortable customers' area, and he also allowed the immigrant beach vendors to pause in the shade of his bar where he often interacted with them.

In having me meet his employer, Aboubakar Thiam gave me the example of how he wished his relations with Europeans to be, something he normally did not experience. This did not imply, however, that all his African acquaintances and friends were like Juan. The dichotomy between African vs. European only held discursively, and the people Aboubakar classified as being 'like an African' were those who acted in a way that for him was the necessary precondition for interacting respectfully. His economic situation was not comfortable in Catalonia, but he was better off than other migrants. There was no pressure from home and he relied on a number of Senegalese tutors in Spain. Thus, he could afford to be openly critical of local social relations (see portrait).

Aboubakar Thiam

Aboubakar Thiam was a Fula born in Kaolack but had grown up since his teenage years in Ziguinchor where he worked in a stall at the market. Several of his friends whom I met at the market in Ziguinchor had also tried to migrate in 2006. Aboubakar

was one of the few successful ones. Unmarried and his parents in Senegal not needing any help, Aboubakar only had to look after himself, which was difficult enough since he rejected poor working conditions and his legal documents were still being processed. He relied on a fellow Muslim, a North-African lawyer, to process his case. In Mataró, he was connected to plenty of Casamançais and Fula from elsewhere in Senegal; some of them were his relatives, which provided a working security net. Apart from his mother tongue, Fula, he spoke Wolof with his peers who all had different ethnic backgrounds. Wolof in his eyes was important as a language and not as an ethnic group.

His perspective on the migration endeavour was very clear cut: he would stay in Catalonia as long as he could live off of the work he did. He did not want to depend on other people as many of his compatriots did at times during the current economic crisis. He had clear ideas about what work he would do and he was very concerned about being respected and treated like an equal human being. Less respectful and condescending social relations in Catalonia bothered him as much as being relatively unproductive and only progressing slowly.

Not finding local *tuteurs* turned out to be only the tip of the iceberg of disappointing and even offensive local social experiences both with Catalans and other local residents. Ansou Diédhiou told me the story of feeling disrespected and accused for no reason when his wife was blamed by a Moroccan neighbour for having dropped dirty nappies on the neighbours' clean washing. The Moroccans accused her without evidence, and even worse, the president of the apartment block accompanied the Moroccan husband when he accused her a second time in Ansou's absence. Ansou neither felt respected nor regarded as equal since his family was the only one suspected. Ultimately, the inquiry identified the real origin of the nappies as the top floor of the apartment block, where a daughter visited with her newborn and by accident the nappies had fallen down. Unsatisfied with the way the neighbour and president of the block had proceeded, Ansou found peace, at least temporarily, in appealing to the local police and claiming his rights there.

Discussing with Ansou Diédhiou about his relations with the various inhabitants of the neighbourhood, he clearly stated that he did not like to rub shoulders with North Africans since he perceived strong differences between approaches to living together concerning mutual appreciation, reception and personal integrity:

> I don't like to mix with Moroccans. There are plenty of differences between us: how to appreciate each other, how to behave and how to receive the other. It's different. We are different. … I have already been to the Arab countries: Mauritania, Algeria, Libya, Morocco. And we meet here. Almost wherever we work, we work together. … Integrity, for me, they lack it a lot. But I see this is something we cannot change in them. Either you accept it or [not]. … It is not all of them. There are very good ones, very good ones ... In our block there are very good ones. … [but] I tell you, most people I've known are not reliable.[177] (Ansou Diédhiou, 11/2010)

The incident of the nappies was one clear example of how he formed his opinion of Moroccans, which joined his everyday experiences of difference and the incidences of discrimination in North African transit countries (cf. Pliez 2004; Hamood 2006). While he perceived the Moroccans as other immigrants who should be on equal footing with him, he was most upset about the misconduct of the block president who, in his eyes, represented a local institution of neighbourly self-organisation, and who should have been impartially trying to solve the conflict. Instead he perceived the unfounded accusations as lacking respect. In the absence of *tuteurs* he had familiarised himself with local forms of *convivència*, which in his experience did not hold their promise of achieving peaceful living together. Other informants in Catalonia also recalled how they were first met with racism, negative stereotypes and a lack of respect. However, they managed to settle their problems through communal

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[177] French: 'Les Marocains je n'aime pas les côtoyer. Il y a plein de différences entre nous : la façon de s'estimer, la façon de se comporter et la façon de recevoir l'autre. C'est différent. On est différent. … Moi, j'ai fait les pays arabes déjà : Mauritanie, Algérie, Libye, Maroc. Et on se croise ici. Presque partout où nous travaillons, on travaille ensemble. … Honnêteté, pour moi, ça leur manque beaucoup. Mais je vois que c'est une chose qu'on ne peut pas changer chez eux. Ou tu acceptes ça ou [non]. … Ils ne sont pas tous comme ça. Il y a de très bons, de très bons … Dans notre bloc-là il y a des très bons. ... [Mais] je te le dis, la plupart des gens que j'ai connus ne sont pas des gens fiables.'

mechanisms in place such as the block president, acquainting themselves with the locals, or at least with local norms.

Such accusations and experiences of racism seemed to Casamançais to be the flipside of absent *tuteurs* and a lack of interest in 'strangers'. Apart from the given examples, many Casamançais in Catalonia perceived the absence of greeting as another indicator of what had gone adrift in Catalonia (cf. Chapter Three). While many had ascribed it to a new local consensus and translated their understanding of living with difference to the new context, others clearly struggled at finding their way around. This everyday struggle was part of their conception of being a migrant who had embarked on an adventure which was bound to involve hardship.

L'aventure: être à la recherche[178]

While the Catalan discourse of *acollida* advocated *de facto* residency as the basis for relative equality among local inhabitants (cf. Chapter Two), in practice this equality needed to be negotiated. In addition, the many adverse factors justified that Casamançais spoke about their migration projects as *l'aventure*. Apart from complaining about the absence of *tuteurs* and stating the need (and will) to 'integrate', seeing migration as an 'adventure' was another response to the difficulties they encountered such as dreadful labour conditions, xenophobia and racism. Like in Ibou Djitte's case (see portrait), it helped them explain some of their struggles without being overwhelmed by feelings of powerlessness and defeat.

Ibou Djitte

Ibou Djitte from Koussi, Sédhiou, was a quintessential migrant *à la recherche*. Like most Casamançais, he had come in search of economic success in order to earn money to support his family. Before leaving for Europe he had trained and worked in an international development project as a craftsman. When the project ended, he

[178] The adventure: to be in quest of [something] (from French).

had his own successful business which he left with a younger brother. Helped by a relative in France, his migration to Europe was straightforward. Rather than staying in France, he came to stay in the overcrowded flat of his nominal uncle in Mataró (cf. 5.2). He believed his chances to be better as an irregular migrant in Spain.

Still irregularly employed in 2010, Ibou compensated for earning less by working longer hours and on weekends. Without a work permit, he depended on his employer who had fallen several months behind in paying Ibou; he nevertheless defended him as a good 'patron'. Promised a contract and given the chance to earn extra working hours, Ibou Djitte accepted his boss's defects at the expense of his well-being so that he became thin, nervous and restless over the two years I knew him.

Nonetheless, Ibou invested into local social relations. He socialised with friends in Mataró, joined weekend *causeries* in Granollers and Sabadell with fellow Mandinka and was active in a Senegalese cultural association. Additionally, he went clubbing in Barcelona, where he temporarily went out with a Catalan woman. In comparison to others, he was more serious about this relationship which was not purely for the widespread attempt to 'goûter la femme européenne.'[179] Yet heavy disagreements, particularly concerning religious practice, resulted in their split-up.

While his main purpose for being in Europe was to be economically successful, Ibou also had the honest intention to engage with social and cultural aspects of European life, yet his exploitative working situation hardly left him time to spare. He sustained this situation, maintaining hope for a better future once he received his papers. Over time, he increasingly doubted that he would go back to Casamance and fully envisioned his future in Europe.

Apart from his employment situation, Ibou Djitte also endured a difficult housing situation living in one of the many migrant flats which were inhabited by increasing numbers of people with little personal space. Outdoors, however, it was Ibou's

[179] 'taste the European woman.' (from French)

irregular status that put him and his fellow migrants under additional stress. Although Casamançais knew how to act in public to stay out of trouble, closely passing two police officers when we went to take part in the town's yearly celebrations (*Les Santes*) had an immediate effect on Ibou. As in most cases, the police did not show any interest in us or ask for documentation, yet in police presence it was not uncommon for undocumented immigrants to fear losing control over the situation, which could have an unpredictable outcome. This reaction in combination with his inhumane working hours made it really hard for Ibou to invest in local social relations as he did. Most others in similar conditions only stated such ambitions. Furthermore, to minimise time spent outdoors was part of the recurrent recommendations given to new arrivals without proper paperwork.

Despite such stress and insecurity, Casamançais boosted morale and justified their lives in Europe by believing in their migration 'adventure'. In Catalonia, they repeatedly smoothed over that which seemed unexplainable, unfortunate or unwanted by expressing the conviction that a better future was possible, ending on *Insh'Allah*, or *S'il plaît à Dieu* – God willing. Preserving an attitude from Casamance, Casamançais in Catalonia tolerated their current situation. In Casamance, speaking with older relatives of migrants in Catalonia and conveying some of the problems their sons, nephews, brothers and friends were going through, most stated their belief that eventually the migrants' turn would come. Only a minority suggested that if unsuccessful in Europe, the migrants should come back. While some firmly stated an expectation that if they only waited long enough their turn would come, others rather spoke of the chance of being successful and that this was more likely in Europe. Hence, while some believed in chance others believed in destiny, which added a religious dimension. Frequently, speaking of chance and destiny were variations of maintaining hope in migration.

Whether perceived as chance, destiny or both, having accepted uncertainty at the outset had prepared Casamançais to handle adverse circumstances which also bore the possibilities of quick success. Migration became a rite of passage which Casamançais had entered expecting a positive outcome gaining social recognition upon securing positive results. Casamançais offering such a reading were prepared

to face hardship and suffering which were crucial elements of any form of initiation. While the dreaming of life in Europe, which I discussed in the previous chapter, was overly positive, conceptualising their time in Europe as an 'adventure' showed that they were realistic about what awaited them.

Perceiving migration as a liminal experience, many Casamançais intended to try a great variety of things. Exemplary for many of the men in their 20s, 30s and 40s was the urge to 'taste the European woman'. This was an important reason to go to promising clubs in Barcelona. For many, however, being in relationships with European women was often an intermittent experience after which they brought their Senegalese wives, whom they had been with prior to migration or had married *in absentia,* to Europe. In the meantime, this trajectory did not preclude the hopes of some of finding a European wife and forming a family with a European partner (cf. Rodríguez García 2006, 2004). Independently, Casamançais' hopes were to negotiate gender roles anew in Afro-European relationships, avoiding the many preoccupations that existed between men and women in Casamance. Many men believed that European women would place fewer demands on them, both concerning family planning and the number of children, and economic means; both were often confirmed by their experiences of mixed relationships in both Europe and Senegal. Finally, Casamançais liked to believe that European women could be tricked more easily and honesty was a smaller concern.[180]

To come to Europe and live the 'adventure' was described as enrolling in a life of apprenticeship. Setbacks as well as novel experiences were both part of it. As a consequence, Casamançais endured unfavourable conditions rather than accept failure. Only very few perceived the possibility that an 'adventure' could fail and in consequence could be brought to an end by their own decision rather than by

[180] Mixed relationships between Senegalese men and European women, and vice versa, involve unequal power relations, varying levels of demands and expectations that on both sides are evaluated distinctively. This results in contradicting conclusions concerning the quality of the relationship. Many different arrangements exist. Cf. Venables (2009a) for male prostitution in Casamance, and my analysis of mixed romantic relationships in Catalonia (Heil 2008: 100-6).

structural forces such as repatriation or incarceration. As irregulars, admitting failure and subsequently returning would confirm the loss of both the real and idealistic investments made to enable migration. So far, return thus had only been an option for those with legal documentation which would secure their re-entry into Europe at a later stage. Hence, they also did not have to admit the failure of their migration adventure (cf. Chapter Five).

Coping strategies with the vagaries of the 'adventure' were varied in times of crisis. Legal status, family status, personal approach to migration and the previous history of success all influenced the chosen path. Those having bought into the adventurer spirit were often younger, had not yet achieved much but feared to lose it all. However, in comparison to older, more established men, the risk they took was containable and alternative options to gain social status while eschewing family control were few. They fostered their strength by believing in both chance and destiny as giving them access to a brighter future.

Summarising responses to migrant marginalisation

As migrants in Catalonia, Casamançais lived through a situation in which countervailing forces influenced the constraints and choices they were exposed to and which they had to make the best of. They had four interlinked ways of addressing their situation in Catalonia. First of all, they felt the need to 'integrate' since according to one common interpretation of the situation in Casamance, the quality of social interactions in a new locale depended mainly on the effort of the arriving stranger. While they saw this as their obligation, Casamançais secondly noticed that they could not rely on local *tuteurs* in Catalonia since the locally valid version of *acollida* relied on formal institutions and neighbours showed little to no interest in them. Noting this, Casamançais expressed their dissatisfaction with social relations in Europe. Third, under these adverse circumstances many of my informants continued to strive for respectful interactions. They were not always successful which resulted in distancing and negative perceptions of their co-residents. Finally, as a widely spread coping strategy, Casamançais combined a deep

conviction that eventually their turn would come with a realistic perspective of embarking on an 'adventure', and being *à la recherche*. Apart from being a coping mechanism, the 'adventure' perspective sometimes tended to idealise the difficult situation as a rite of passage from which they would arise stronger, having gained social status and economic wealth.

Depending on the individual migration trajectory, a specific combination of the above helped explain how and why Casamançais reacted in varying ways to the marginal position they found themselves in as migrants in Catalonia. For some who had expected *tuteurs*, who struggled with irregularity or who felt ashamed due to their limited success in Europe, this significantly restricted their capacity to participate in local activities such as public festivals, and to spend time outdoors and engage in everyday neighbourly relations.

Others limited their local social relations since they had extensively developed an adventurer habitus. They tended to live life without fully committing to any place and maintaining a safe distance from negative outcomes such as xenophobia and racism. It paralleled the perennial statement of most migrants that eventually they would return home. Many things appeared in a different light since Casamance remained their frame of reference. By local standards questionable employment conditions, for example, were better than some they had experienced in Casamance. This reduced the perceived necessity to demand justice. Also, being a migrant was sometimes seen as a legitimate activity, preferable to staying immobile at home (cf. Vigh 2009; Jónsson 2008). However, this was only convincing from a Senegalese perspective, since many of the Casamançais in Catalonia remained as passive as their peers at home waiting for their chance to come. The only difference was that they now waited in Europe.

In part, the above observations help explain why only a minimal consensus of living together could ever emerge among all local residents in Catalonia. The combination of how Casamançais dealt with situations in which they were treated as immigrants and felt like such should be understood as a mix of unfavourable structural conditions and tactical responses of the Casamançais which in different ways both

led to rather limited – minimal – forms of mutual engagement. From a Casamançais perspective, it was not an overly positive, but nevertheless, a working process of local conviviality.

Under these circumstances, evaluations and narratives of living together were almost always contradictory. Casamançais offered competing views which were situational and subjective. While the consensus they shared with the local population was minimal, the contradictory accounts clearly showed how dynamic the process was. The comparison between multiple contexts was part of this process. The attempt to understand a new social situation (Catalonia) by way of looking for familiar processes from a previously lived situation (Casamance) was a crucial element in it.[181] How both contexts interacted and informed one-another is part of the following concluding analysis.

6.3 Conclusions. Containing migration-related inequality in local conviviality

Speaking of local ways of living with difference had motivated an analysis of sociality among local residents in the preceding empirical chapters. I had explored my field sites in both Casamance and Catalonia as local social fields only touching upon the migration experience. However, some aspects of local conviviality directly refer to the migration experience, which was the focus of this chapter. The foundations of conviviality were unsettled whenever experiences of migration caused levels of inequality that could not be contained in processes of interaction, negotiation and translation. In conclusion, I will draw up some of the main comparative aspects from both sites and their implication for the study of living together with difference. The comparison sheds light onto the observation that conviviality always remains in the making. Addressing the comparison of

[181] Obviously, this does not preclude that within the transnational social field influences are in both directions.

Casamance and Catalonia, I firstly revisit the discourse of *teranga*, the reception of strangers. Second, I turn to the acceptance of some migration-induced inequalities between hosts and guests. Third, I deal with the processes of urbanisation and Casamançais aspirations to individuality. They constitute challenges to the structured immigrant incorporation in Casamance as well as in Catalonia, thus strengthening the relevance of conviviality. Finally, I stress how different practices which have to do with immigrants and strangers are combined in Casamançais experiences of living in Europe. I suggest that this chapter has offered an angle on basic practices of living with difference that depended on the history of migrations, in both Casamance and Catalonia.

One major difference between Casamance and Catalonia can be analysed in terms of the experiences of strangers versus those of immigrants. At first glance, immigrants in Europe do not fall into the category of guests who would experience hospitality as do strangers in Casamance. My reception in Casamance as a *tubab guest* experiencing *teranga* blatantly contrasted with the *acollida*/reception of Casamançais as *immigrants* in Europe, people who were distrusted rather than not. Despite Casamançais migrants and their family and friends addressing these issues with a bias to *teranga* and respect in the first place, they had a fair point of dissatisfaction. This was the case, though they assumed quite a positive social reputation in Catalonia, more than North Africans and many South Americans. Still, they experienced situations of earning neither recognition nor respect, but found xenophobia and racist attacks; of missing tutors and remaining disadvantaged others instead of being considered as equal local residents.

In Casamance, however, the situation was also a lot more differentiated than people had suggested. Many strangers were classified in ways triggering other, quite non-convivial forms of behaviour towards them. While the discourse of *teranga* was encompassing, the practice was not; neither were the *niak* openly received, nor the Baye Fall, nor all of the Guinean immigrants. Clearly some categories of difference fell outside the framework of local conviviality. Casamançais avoided people they perceived to be in these categories and remained suspicious and vigilant rather than seeking to freely interact with them. This situation, which bore some resemblance to

Bissau (cf. Vigh 2011), maintained a sense of uncertainty which co-existed alongside representations of peaceful *cohabitation*. This showed the mismatch between actual social practice and the Casamançais nostalgic remembering of the past 'at home' or indeed the selective, but prevalent representations of a stranger's incorporation. Instead, practical challenges troubled strangers in Casamance as much as Casamançais struggled abroad, and some of those who had come to stay continued to be marginalised. These challenges seemed to be larger in Casamançais urban neighbourhoods rendering them more similar to Catalan ones. Looking at everyday practice it quickly became clear that a certain inequality was perceived to be normal and co-existed relatively easily with local perceptions of successful, if fragile conviviality. The latter continued to materialise in emergent convivial spaces which remained part and parcel of everyday life.

At the time of my fieldwork, accepting some moderate level of inequality between strangers and hosts in Casamance was widely recognised whereas before it was attributed to the Mandinka and Mandingised populations alone and their way of incorporating immigrant strangers. In addition to *teranga*-controlled reception of strangers, this hierarchical element of Casamançais sociality was a second important backdrop for immigrant incorporation in Catalonia, lending itself to being translated to the new situation. Instead of expecting *teranga* and respect, Casamançais who shared such experiences expected a certain dependence, subaltern status and exploitation as part and parcel of the migration-induced, patronage-like sociality. This made a certain burden or hardship of the migration *aventure* intelligible, thus acquainting themselves with some crucial local conditions such as institutionalised services partially replacing local tutors. This was not necessarily a smooth process. For many, the ways of dealing with immigration in urban settings both in Casamance and in Catalonia had changed to a less structured and more uncertain situation.

A final set of continuities between Casamance and Catalonia showed in the form of African urban lifestyles and the impact of continuous diversification and individualisation. In growing and heterogeneous immigrant neighbourhoods in the Casamançais towns of Sédhiou and Ziguinchor, defining first-comers and latecomers

was frequently impossible. Rather, people perceived one another as local residents who were bound to negotiate ways of living together. This was the situation in which the process of conviviality most clearly showed.

Perceiving each other as local residents matched the attitude of many Casamançais in Catalonia. However, Casamançais regularly had doubts that such a local residency provided enough of a basis for equality although the policy of *empadronament* suggested it. Therefore, they also understood their situation by drawing on the practices and representations linked to the status of strangers and immigrants. Casamançais' everyday translation between Casamance and Catalonia depended on their migration trajectory, relative social position, structural constraints and migrant subjectivities. In consequence, individual informants assuming various tactics could bear with inequality or not, liked or disliked individualism, perceived Catalan employers as either patrons or racist exploiters or both, and they saw the absence of tutors as a major shortcoming or as something to be expected in an individualist society. Translation processes thus had various outcomes but were a crucial practice of living with difference in changing social fields.

This chapter has shown the multiple discrepancies between what was actually going on in Casamance, the narratives of Casamançais about home, experiences in Catalonia, and the ways individual informants of mine related to the various levels of acting and understanding. Taking the first three dimensions into account and leaving aside the overarching fourth one, I identified various influences in the migration contexts: practices and discourses of hospitality, patronage-like relationships and relative equality due to absent first-comers. Taking the narrative dimension into account often helped to explain the discrepancies between the various Casamançais ways of dealing with their immigrant status in Catalonia. For example, demanding to be treated like a stranger in Catalonia but at the same time only showing limited interest and contenting themselves with minimal interactions was one of these internal contradictions of Casamançais lives. The first aspect cohered with a normatively perceived goal while the latter reflected a widely shared practice which had formed under the impact of Catalan situational constraints and which even had counterparts in urban Casamançais settings. Taking such

complexities into account has provided yet another angle on questions of foremost local conviviality. Furthermore, it offered a possible explanation why Casamançais contented themselves with minimal sociality, continued to accept differences, and nevertheless were dissatisfied with certain experiences.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that conviviality, which in principle was based on notions of local equality, was complemented by encounters that were defined by the migration situation and resulting inequality. Not surprisingly, migration thus had a lasting effect even on phenomena that initially seemed only local in reach. Taking this angle raised awareness for a set of practices of living with difference which prominently depended on the history of migration in both West Africa and Europe. This shows that migration is not only transnational but has lasting local repercussions which in this case study raised awareness for social inequalities and both habitual and tactical responses. Pursuing these issues contributed to further understanding how and why the process of conviviality most of the time only resulted in minimal consensuses. Furthermore, it offered some explanations for the quite frequent Casamançais expectation of moderate levels of inequality which in both Casamance and Catalonia were part of everyday neighbourhood life. Finally, some migration related practices like an openness to adjust to new contexts directly translated into convivial ones. In the following chapter which looks at the process of conviviality in Casamance and Catalonia all of this will be revisited drawing links to the earlier empirical chapters.

PART FOUR.

REVISITING CONVIVIALITY

Chapter 7.

Some basic practices of conviviality

This chapter combines evidence from the last four chapters to address the question of how the Casamançais' representations and practices of social relations at home and abroad interact in the process of conviviality, or everyday living with difference in diverse localities. The comparative approach focuses on commonalities and differences between Casamance and Catalonia. The various perspectives of Casamançais hold in common that they revolve around some basic practices which are at the centre of living with difference: interaction, negotiation and translation. The representations of *cohabitation* and *convivencia* frame the ethnographic comparison of everyday life in open spaces which in principle are accessible to all local residents. After describing and interrelating the configurations and dominant discourses of open spaces in the two local social fields, I engage with the three recurrent basic practices of Casamançais concerning living with difference: 1) negotiating differences and inequalities in open spaces, 2) interacting with people who maintain their distinctiveness, and 3) translating between languages and practices in different social fields. Obviously, the three are interlinked but each one of them will allow me to review some central aspects of the foregoing ethnography. Not intending to cover all aspects of the ethnographic chapters, here I focus on those dimensions that are conducive to a conceptual reflection of conviviality that will particularly merit further thought and study. I will conclude that from my interlocutors' perspectives processes of conviviality can be described as the re-working of locally valid, minimal forms of shared understanding among residents, something I have termed locally specific, malleable and fragile minimal consensuses of living with difference peacefully. The outcomes differed depending on the local social field, yet I suggest that the basic practices of living with difference maintained a surprising continuity across the different sites of the comparison. Above all, some reminders of the conceptualisation of the thesis seem appropriate.

From the outset, the transnational migration of Casamançais linking their practices and discourses in the Casamançais and Catalan social fields motivated this comparison. Acknowledging that Casamançais live across various social fields constitutes the framework in which continuities, differences and changes were explored. Reviewing the basic practices of conviviality, I will aim to disentangle the various resulting influences on everyday sociality. I will consider both the structuring forces of social fields, habitus and dispositions, and people's tactics, creativity and subjectivity.

My comparative approach and study of living with difference in connection with migration emphasised the need to acknowledge the plurality of human practice (de Certeau 1988) in two ways: firstly, in a field of experiences that spans extremes from the practices of xenophobia, racism and exclusion on the one hand, to ethnic networks and solidarity, bi-national partnerships, and the celebrating of diversity on the other, I was keen to focus on conviviality as minimal sociality. Banal practices in the process of conviviality, in my view, account for the better part of many people's everyday lives. Drawn from distinct practices such as civil encounters, avoidance, vigilance and neighbourly help, the variations in what constitutes the minimal consensuses of conviviality, have become apparent in the ethnography. Taking the plurality of human practices and experiences seriously in yet another way, as important receptions of de Certeau's work suggest (Napolitano and Pratten 2007), I am committed to a differentiated understanding of varying tactical, pragmatic and normative practices of people in complex social situations.

Having this broad conception, my account was limited in two important ways: due to restricted access and therefore limited engagement with women, they are virtually absent from my account with the exception of some female relatives of migrants. I am aware that much of what I have described would have been more complex if I had had the chance to develop a gendered analytical perspective. Secondly, in Catalonia, the absence of local residents apart from Casamançais in my account is a limitation, as is the omission of those local residents in Casamance who did not have family or friends abroad. Nevertheless, I believe that I presented diverse and overlapping perspectives on the process of conviviality, having taken into account

the views and actions of people who identified with different ethnic groups and religions, and who belonged to various age groups, had experienced different migration routes and were dissimilar in their socioeconomic and educational background.

To arrive at a differentiated understanding of the process of conviviality, I will first engage with the significance of open spaces. Secondly, I review the practices of sharing and negotiating open spaces in key examples people gave of conviviality. Thirdly, I address minimal interactions of diverse people as a crucial practice of conviviality. Finally, I explore translation mainly using the example of diverse language repertoires but extending it to cultural translation between various systems of meaning. While summarising key processes, I also stress emerging contradictions to do justice to the momentary, partial and fragile process of conviviality.

7.1 Locating the process of conviviality

I have referred to potential spaces of encounter in everyday life as open spaces. These spaces are in principle accessible to all local residents, independent of their origin, legal status, class or educational background and contrast in my field sites with alternative forums, such as migrant associations, which first and foremost tended to be reserved for members of a clearly defined group. While many Casamançais often perceived these open spaces negatively, everyone was disposed to engage with the others they encountered in such spaces, even if in seemingly banal ways. In urban contexts those people randomly encountered were extremely diverse. Here, I review open spaces in regards to the diverse configuration of people accessing them as potential sites of conviviality.

Diversity in Casamançais and Catalan neighbourhoods

Globally, urbanisation and on-going migrations have led to increased diversity (cf. Vertovec 2007b) making living in close proximity to people who are different from

oneself commonplace, even if divided by physical barriers such as is the case in segregated global cities (e.g. Caldeira 2000). Nowhere is this more present than in urban open spaces, if they exist. In my field sites no physical boundaries prevented encounters of people aligning with, or being perceived as belonging to, different cultural groups, social classes and legal statuses. Open spaces as spaces of encounter between diverse people were widely available.

Without pronounced residential segregation in either Catalonia or Casamance, the diversity of people differed in degrees across the neighbourhoods in which I worked. Yet conceptually, the encountered diversities had similar dimensions across the various field sites, such as linguistic, ethnic, religious, national, socioeconomic and legal ones. Furthermore, Casamance and Catalonia share a certain regionalism which claims distinctiveness from the national states in which they are embedded. One major difference is, however, that while Casamance is an area of longstanding diversity due to migration movements, massive immigration has occurred in Catalonia only since the early 2000s, overlaying the important Catalan-Castilian divide.

On the level of the Catalan neighbourhoods I worked in, the Catalan-Castilian tension was of interest since the neighbourhoods had developed due to internal migration in the 1950s and 1960s. Though Wolof are generally classified as the most significant 'other' of Casamançais comparable to Catalan-Castilian relations, hardly any lived in the most recently settled neighbourhoods which comprised my field sites in Casamance. Despite direct interaction with Wolof in the neighbourhoods being virtually precluded, the impacts of Wolofisation were part of the lived experience, as was the presence of Castilians in Catalan neighbourhoods. Furthermore, religious diversity was salient in both local social fields, as was a diverse racial composition. Both featured in the process of conviviality alongside omnipresent socioeconomic differentiation and resulting inequalities.

Most importantly, however, in both Catalonia and Casamance *de facto* local residency was an important political concept. Although in terms of legal status people differed much more in Catalonia as a result of the large numbers of irregular migrants and

others holding only temporary residency, the *empadronament* (registration with the town authorities) granted the status of *de facto* local residence which was a meaningful category for many of my participants. This corresponded nicely with *de facto* residency of neighbours in Casamance, which in urban neighbourhoods under the availability of legal land titles mattered more than the claims of first-comers to the soil. The social configurations in Casamance and Catalonia were such that a comparison of local everyday practices of living with difference was a fruitful undertaking in regions and neighbourhoods with substantial socio-cultural and religious diversity of local residents.

Open spaces as spaces of encounter

Throughout the ethnography, I focused on spaces and events in mixed, peripheral neighbourhoods. Asked about living with difference, cultural diversity and mixing were key to the way Casamançais described their neighbourhoods, which referred to an area with which they were familiar and which was within walking distance from home. Although some Casamançais in precarious legal and working situations in Catalonia preferred to limit the chances of meeting strangers, most of them regularly passed through open neighbourhood spaces since such spaces were not frequently policed and Casamançais – like everyone else – felt like local residents. Analytically, I thus conceive of neighbourhoods as the assemblage of open spaces in which difference is encountered on an everyday basis since they are in principle accessible to all local residents. This proved to be the most basic assumption I could make in terms of sites where conviviality could happen.

Classifying the spaces of encounter as open spaces analytically fitted my study better than the notion of 'public space' which offers too many readymade connotations to sit well with all of the different spaces in Casamance and Catalonia in which diverse people met. Apart from streets and public neighbourhood spaces (squares, pedestrian zones, street corners, boulevards, parks) in Casamance and Catalonia, diverse people were co-present in the yards of family houses during the daytime in Casamance and in the hallways of apartment blocks. Although not accessible to all,

houses and flats shared by people from a number of different origins at times resembled open meeting spaces. Open spaces thus included the whole spectrum of what is, broadly speaking, perceived as the private, the parochial or communal, and the public (cf. Lofland 1998).

In Casamance, open spaces were quite widely available. The peripheral neighbourhoods of Ziguinchor and Sédhiou were mixed spaces in which people from all over the region and beyond lived alongside each other. In Catalonia, the peripheral neighbourhoods of the towns I worked in were those with the largest immigrant populations and so were culturally mixed. Socioeconomically, they were worse off than the city centres, however, they were still quite heterogeneous. In peripheral neighbourhoods like Cerdanyola, Casamançais experienced everyday life in two different ways: on the one hand, they encountered difference in all kinds of open spaces which they reduced to a manageable level of complexity in which the stranger-host dimension mattered a lot. On the other hand, living in relative proximity to people from home (which could mean the village, the region, the country or even the sub-region of West Africa) facilitated socialising among peers. But even then, difference was encountered and needed to be negotiated since most of the time some sort of differentiation became salient.

Neighbourhoods in both Casamance and Catalonia reflected the overall diversity of the regions described in Chapter Two. Open neighbourhood spaces were the sites of encounter of people who were potentially different from oneself. Moments of mutual engagement, resulting from interaction, negotiation and translation, temporarily transformed open spaces into convivial ones. Sometimes they also just contained pockets of conviviality. In the following sections it will become clear how encounters as well as diversity itself are continuously re-translated and re-negotiated in everyday life. Furthermore, I will argue that convivial space and the practices of minimal sociality, that is conviviality, mutually constituted one-another. Next, I engage with the process of negotiation as one crucial aspect of understanding Casamançais accounts of living with difference.

7.2 Negotiation. Facing differences and inequalities

Although inequality was rarely openly addressed, it was actually negotiated alongside as well as under the heading of cultural difference. To explain this process, Casamançais regularly referenced sometimes big, often staged events that were intrinsically political. In a first part I will revisit how the four events discussed in Chapter Four (the Tabaski Prayer, Easter Procession and *ZigFest* in Casamance, and the *Mostra d'Entitats* in Catalonia), apart from staging conviviality, marked positive outcomes of past and current negotiations of difference. Furthermore, negotiation was an immanent aspect of spontaneously accessing everyday open spaces and the habitual appropriation of spaces, which I briefly revisit in a second section. In a third section, I will ask how power discrepancies and inequality determined people's abilities to negotiate access to, and use of open spaces. I foreground how certain power constellations (e.g. between migrants and non-migrants, hosts and strangers) were embedded in the sharing and temporary appropriation of open space. While the first and second sections review my participants' positive account of politically successful past and on-going negotiations, the third section investigates more problematic experiences of having to actively negotiate differences in processes fraught with tension.

Festive or staged conviviality

Casamançais foregrounded religious celebrations as sites of *cohabitation* in Casamance, stressing the practices of mutual engagement such as the sharing of food during Easter and Tabaski. Casamançais regularly twinned the two events, however, Muslims in general showed far greater reluctance to the sharing of food since they were more concerned with its preparation. Yet, all local residents compared how both religious celebrations took place in open neighbourhood spaces, which revealed locality-specific past negotiations. In discussions, the various aspects of religious celebrations were played off against each other, while a general agreement prevailed

that everyone needed to be able to practice their religion. Negotiations were set in a context of mixed families of Muslim and Christian believers, diverse religious practices of both Muslims and Christians incorporating some aspects of traditional religions, strong claims to believing in the same god and the Senegalese politics of Muslim-Christian dialogue. Furthermore, the numerical imbalance between Christians and Muslims in Senegal and the global discourses of troubled Christian-Muslim relations were relevant, sometimes disruptive backdrops. Despite the disquieting potential of unequal power relations between Christians and Muslims, I witnessed successful negotiations which, over the course of the year, manifested themselves in both Christians and Muslims using available open spaces for their celebrations.

The events being perceived as part of the everyday suggested that the negotiation among the different groups – one key basic practice of conviviality – had resulted in sufficient equality among the residents of all denominations in mixed neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the events remained political since some interlocutors continuously pointed out differences in appropriating open spaces, to which they objected. Thus, things that seemed settled could be brought up for discussion again. Presented as working examples of *cohabitation*, religious celebrations were temporary states of peaceful conviviality. They were the outcome of a negotiation process, which was specific to a set time and space. Some Casamançais acted as if such religious conviviality was a part of their disposition; others left no doubt that it was their tactical choice in order to secure peaceful living with difference. Thus, negotiating celebrations in open spaces was an on-going social process which did not lend itself to static interpretations.

Conceptualising negotiation as a basic practice of the process of conviviality, I suggest that it was of lesser relevance which specific differences were at stake. Rather, various differences were interrelated in fragile conviviality. This became clear in the example of the *Mostra d'Entitats* in Cerdanyola in Mataró, which aimed at staging cultural *convivència*. Firstly, independent of the qualitative differences between religious and ethnic celebrations, the message that diversity was legitimate remained the same. This was affirmed by the bystanders' appreciation of the reifying

performances of difference. Secondly, although culture was foregrounded in the *Mostra d'Entitats* due to the specific discourse of *convivència*, religious aspects were nevertheless inherent, not least in the staged Fula traditional wedding. Religious difference thus was tightly connected to, packaged as, and lived in ethnic, regional or national cultural practices and self-identifications. It helped that for many Casamançais, religion and culture were not necessarily separate aspects of life. Since Casamançais Muslims in Catalonia specifically experienced religious discrimination, for some, the cultural recognition in the form of staged *convivència* could compensate such religious marginalisation. It was perceived as a success since the negotiation of difference at least established relative equality on one level. This had the potential to temporarily smooth over more serious confrontations arising from Islamophobia, racism and economic exploitation in favour of getting along. Needing to be sustained by continuous activity, how long currently valid outcomes of negotiation processes would be supported remained unpredictable.

First and foremost, staged conviviality was a political message marking successful past and on-going negotiations of difference. While they could be quite monumental events suggesting endurance and stability, much of the on-going negotiating clearly communicated that even then conviviality remained fragile and in process. I will now turn to how negotiations were often prosaic, i.e. a practice of everyday life.

Everyday manifestations of negotiation

The negotiating of group-related configurations of difference discussed above had their counterpart in everyday life building towards locally valid consensuses of sharing open spaces. When they left their homes, many Casamançais naturally accessed open spaces and temporarily appropriated them on the basis of being local residents. Local residency, at least in Catalonia, was a politically intended category. However, only sitting in parks or supervising children on playgrounds provided evidence of it being put into practice. Who felt and acted as a local resident and who did not, was a result of overlapping negotiation processes, I hold. This clearly manifested itself in instances when people did *not* have a share in these processes or

disagreed with their outcome. The recurrent discourse in Catalonia, to not go outdoors, as well as the problematizing of neighbours' vigilance and gossip-mongering, and generally rather wanting to avoid interactions can be read in this light. Casamançais acting this way did not feel they were local residents, or perceived negative things going on within open spaces with which they did not want to be associated. They rejected what they perceived to be the currently valid local consensus. Those hanging out, however, had entered the process of negotiating shared uses of open spaces in constructing convivial ones.

In Casamance or Catalonia, having tea at a street corner, celebrating a baptism outdoors and barring the street (Lindiane, Casamance) or a crowd of Casamançais chatting in the afternoon (Carrer Rosselló, Catalonia) marked the outcomes of on-going negotiation processes. It is safe to say that all of these social situations were potentially in somebody else's way. In Catalonia, this was well exemplified by the 'Casamançais street scene' in Carrer Rosselló and the reconfiguration of open space with the disappearance of one of the seats on which Casamançais liked to hang out. Trade-offs between the various demands were part of the process of adjusting the fragile local power equilibrium. In Carrer Rosselló, this seemingly resulted in a situation of getting along. While tensions could lead to social breakdown and outright conflict, this did not happen. Everyday practices embodying the shared uses of open spaces thus had to rely on past negotiations and their maintained validity. Coinciding in and temporarily appropriating open spaces, which had been critiqued as mere co-presence (cf. Amin 2002: 976), were thus manifestations of convivial space, albeit disputed ones. This was particularly the case when not only difference but unequal power relations needed to be contained in the process of conviviality.

Migration, power relations and inequality

Having described instances of Casamançais actively partaking in negotiation processes, it is worth understanding why in both Casamance and Catalonia certain people preferred to confine their time spent outdoors to a minimum. A number of Casamançais across ethnic groups, legal statuses, educational background, age and

lengths of stay in Catalonia challenged the openness of neighbourhood spaces and therefore the possibility of everyday conviviality. Unable to reiterate all the relevant dimensions influencing Casamançais' perceptions and practices, here I restrict myself to two crucial ones: firstly, the question of being an (im)migrant or stranger in any local social field and feeling insecure in view of the non-engagement of Catalans; and secondly, fearing the social control of co-residents in both sites and the negative potentiality deriving from the presence of strangers.

From the outset I argued that both Casamance and Catalonia are regions in which diversity is migration related, although in different ways. Apart from acting and speaking as local residents, Casamançais *migrants* shared experiences as immigrants in Catalonia and familiarity with situations of receiving guests and incorporating immigrant strangers in Casamance. As someone who 'comes today and stays tomorrow' (Simmel 1950 [1908]: 402), a stranger remains an outsider while at the same time being part of the locality. Simmel implied that the host-stranger differences were emphatic but contained in a local social system. Having taken account of power discrepancies between hosts and strangers raised the crucial question of how (much) inequality could be successfully negotiated and contained in the local social system under the impact of conviviality. Asking when cultural difference needs to be addressed as inequality, was a related conceptual concern.

In discussions, the reception of strangers was a popular way of comparing personal experiences in Catalonia with Casamançais ideologies. The latter nicely correlated with Simmel's notion of a stranger since both *teranga,* an extended version of hospitality, and the hierarchical incorporation of strangers reiterated the ambiguity of host-stranger relations. At the core of *teranga* was the perceived obligation to receive a stranger well through showing him considerable respect. Yet, as strangers, guests could be kept apart. At the same time, hierarchical incorporation defined power discrepancies as well as legitimate difference. Furthermore, certain stranger categories did not qualify to be treated with *teranga* (e.g. *niak*, *kaw-kaw*), which justified the uncertain outcome of engaging with strangers in open spaces. This is because *teranga* – being respectful and receiving – was curbed by the attempt to limit one's own vulnerability in fear of the negative potentiality of hosting strangers

whose loyalties could not clearly be discerned, for example, in view of the Casamançais conflict.

In Catalonia, the closest equivalent of *teranga* was the notion of *acollida* – reception of foreigners. It differed largely from *teranga* since it was mainly left to the local authorities and not widely shared among local populations. Nevertheless, *acollida* filtered back into the life of neighbourhoods in the form of public campaigns creating expectations on the part of Casamançais which were rarely met by Catalans and Castilians. However, the *Mostra d'Entitats* in Mataró, held in the name of *convivència*, was one instance which matched the Casamançais' habitual way of understanding host-stranger relations: Casamançais had followed their hosts' invitation to take part in the event. Furthermore, the *Mostra* had shown that local residents (for some perceived to be divided into hosts and strangers) shared a consensus of living with difference.

Many Casamançais still felt that since their Catalan/Castilian neighbours generally did not act as *tuteurs*, local social relations were unfamiliar to them and potentially unfavourable. This resulted in feelings of insecurity and disengagement with the locality. Regularly, tutorship, as a crucial aspect of the hierarchical incorporation of strangers, remained important in the reception of new-comers both in Casamance and Catalonia. In Catalonia, the need for a tutor was met most of the time by locally resident Senegalese or West Africans instead of Castilians or Catalans. Such tutorship was often a great resource, yet younger migrants, despite depending on it, had started to contest the role of their tutors.

Frequently, the movements of newcomers in open spaces tended to be mediated or even controlled by the *tuteur*. If possible, Casamançais striving for independence in both Catalonia and Casamance avoided tutorship and its extensive control. Casamançais increasingly navigated urban contexts individually. Such individual aspirations had their counterpart in the structural situation in urban Casamance, since first-comers and late-comers could no longer be discerned, clear hierarchies thus were established with difficulty and hierarchical incorporation was

considerably weakened. As a consequence, neighbourhood spaces were in principle open to all.

However, complementing the control of active tutorship, in open spaces Casamançais feared the vigilance and ill intent of neighbours and co-residents. In Casamance, this situation was aggravated for returning migrants and in Catalonia Casamançais particularly feared the social control of their co-migrants (e.g. Alain Sagna who tried to stay home in Catalonia and did not dare to eat at his neighbours' in Casamance). While in principle open to all, the ethnography clearly showed how spaces were socially constructed and controlled.

In Catalonia, the fear of social control was joined by Casamançais individually experiencing their precarious situation, legally, socially, economically, or religiously. Indeed, at the time of my fieldwork, *acollida* and *empadronament* created sufficient local equality to raise a sense of local entitlements among Casamançais. Part of this was accessing and negotiating open spaces as in Casamance, which constructed convivial space. For other Casamançais, however, the constant potentiality of running into trouble with either Catalan authorities or neighbours resulted in a limited engagement with potentially open spaces that I set out to explore. The precarious economic situation of many Casamançais aggravated this situation. Indeed, contemporary society might be increasingly made up by strangers (Amin 2012), yet the inequality between different categories of strangers in both Casamance and Catalonia were thoroughly experienced as posing major challenges to conviviality.

Linking inequalities with differences

Negotiation processes, which led to staged conviviality and revealed how differences were part of everyday neighbourhood life in both Casamance and Catalonia, often also successfully contained some level of inequality. Inequalities on one level could be successfully embedded in the negotiation of difference on another one. In Catalonia, for example, economic, legal and religious inequalities were temporarily moderated by staging cultural diversity. Sometimes, however, negotiation could also

be read as the silencing of certain differences imbued with inequality which bore the potential for local consensuses to eventually break down.

In Catalonia and Casamance, feeling and sustaining relative equality was overshadowed by the ambivalences implied in being strangers and immigrants. At least three different processes can be discerned: Firstly, the continuous support for a patronage-like incorporation into a locality most clearly justified certain inequalities among hosts and strangers that could be contained in conviviality. Access to open spaces remained generally available. Secondly, as (often undocumented) immigrants in Catalonia, some Casamançais had a troubled relation with open spaces due to the uncertainties awaiting them there. In these cases, structural inequality had a crucially limiting impact on the potential of Casamançais to negotiate their place in open spaces preventing conviviality. However, the *empadronament* and its postulate of equality among local residents made a difference for some and contributed to containing certain inequalities in conviviality. Thirdly, specific categories of strangers in Casamance fell outside the framework of *teranga* and were portrayed as disruptive forces of *cohabitation*. This resembled an exclusion from the local social field and thus fundamentally challenged the foundations of conviviality.

In conclusion, the multiplicity of representations and identifications of Casamançais as guests, strangers and immigrants on the one hand, and local residents on the other, constantly reformulated the challenge of containing social inequality in living with difference. Contextualising the multiple processes at play fostered my understanding of how power constellations were potentially changing over time and in various social fields. The alternatives in framing access to open spaces and negotiating difference in urban settings in both Casamance and Catalonia revealed a continuous uncertainty and evolution of living with difference on the basis of negotiation.

7.3 Interaction. A sine qua non for conviviality

In the last two sections I firstly located the process of conviviality in open spaces and I reviewed a first set of basic premises for having access to and negotiating such spaces, allowing them to be socially constructed as sites of conviviality. I reiterated how a couple of dimensions, i.e. various forms of migration-related social inequalities and several forms of social control, resulted in Casamançais feeling that they had limited access to those spaces and refraining from navigating them. As a consequence, my interlocutors spent different amounts of time in open spaces, yet certain minimal interactions, like sequences of greeting, frequently reoccurred which made them crucial elements in the process of conviviality. Furthermore, sensuous conviviality during festivities marked a less obvious form of interaction.

In the following, I will discuss two dimensions of interaction which surfaced in the foregone ethnography to show how Casamançais thought of the interaction or mutual engagement of local residents as a *sine qua non* for conviviality in both harmonious and tense social situations. In fact, I will argue that basic interaction was part of any concept of *cohabitation* or *convivencia* of Casamançais who thoroughly doubted that living *with* difference could otherwise be possible. Firstly, I consider greeting practices as they were continued and interrupted in different localities of Casamançais' lives. It will become clear how certain elements of the previous section directly contribute to the following discussion in terms of the differences between social situations emplaced either in Casamance or Catalonia and the negotiation of social (in)equality and cultural difference. Secondly, I will include bodily practices that were present at the margins of staged occasions of festive conviviality. Here, spontaneous interactions, particularly in Casamance, mark a sensuous conviviality in politically tense circumstances. This will lead on to a final section of this chapter discussing multilingualism and *linguae francae*, and, in more abstract terms, practices of cultural translation.

Exchanging greetings and respect

The expectation to greet was one of the strongest affirmations of *cohabitation* in diverse neighbourhoods in Casamance. If people coincided in a physical space, this normally implied some sort of mutual engagement that required the gift of time as a sign of respect for those encountered. This basic social expectation needed to be satisfied if the social situation was to become meaningfully convivial. Noncompliance with this norm tended to trigger accusations of disrespect upon the next possible occasion.

To the contrary, in Catalonia greeting was mainly enforced among Casamançais, and even here I witnessed people breaking away from this shared understanding arguing that it was due to the lack of necessary time or the desire to cohere with 'modern', 'Western', or 'European' norms. Even proclaiming a lack of time related to the Casamançais' aspiration to individualism. They reduced the overall level of mutual engagement or interaction. To disentangle the processes at stake concerning greeting and its relevance for conviviality, both normative views and tactics of Casamançais in the respective local social fields mattered.

In Casamance, the ethnography showed clearly that greeting was the expected norm among local residents. However, many teenagers and men in their twenties, trying to distinguish themselves from 'traditional' society – the same ones who objected to tutorship – followed two tactics marking their distinctiveness: passively abstaining from greeting at all, and mocking this extensive, time consuming practice. Neither of the two tactics was consequently carried through which resulted in a discrepancy between embodied practice and discursive engagement. Augustin Sambou, who in so many ways was a role model of *cohabitation* by being multilingual, considerate, respectful and interested in others, may stand as a good example of the slow subversion of greeting practices: being a harsh critic of 'people's backwardness', he still greeted in fleeting encounters, accepting this as a crucial form of *cohabitation*, and as a civil and likely religious obligation. Yet he wished for a time when such normative expectations would have changed.

In Catalonia, people in similar stages of the lifecycle as Augustin Sambou (i.e. not yet, or just married) often were the ones most attuned to observing a 'European' comportment in open spaces. Idi Bodian in Mataró or Fode Sadio Faty in Granollers were exemplary cases. Fode had explained that greeting practices in the hallways of residential blocks in Catalonia were different from those of Casamance since the ways of achieving good neighbourly relations had changed; however, aspiring to good neighbourliness had not. This being a first recollection of cultural translation, here I want to stress that it was not interaction or conviviality *per se* that was abandoned but Casamançais-specific forms that apparently did not fit the Catalan local social field. For many, to do it the Catalan way, i.e. to live up to the expectations of *convivència*, implied interactions in the form of mutual consideration or minimal engagement, rather than being prepared to enter long greeting rituals at any point.

In situations, however, in which no interaction took place at all, Casamançais felt that conviviality was non-existent which would lead to uncertain social situations with unknown social consequences. To greet reduced this uncertainty by helping people to find out about each other. Non-interaction suggests that local residents act as if they were able to choose not to participate in the same social field. To the contrary, this was not the case if conflictual interactions could be observed. For example, mutual accusations of not cohering to social consensuses which some perceived to be valid revealed a disquieting facet of conviviality, yet in a context of relative equality sparked-off negotiations. Casamançais accusing each other of breaking with the exchange of greeting either re-constituted the former consensus or eventually formulated a different one. Conviviality understood as social process inevitably encompassed such conflictual interactions as well.

The extent to which conflictual interactions are part of conviviality can only be fully comprehended in light of the other two practices discussed here: negotiation and translation. Inquiring and learning about differences in interaction was potentially conflictual, yet it triggered negotiation and, conceivably, accommodation in translation. Upon arrival in Catalonia, Casamançais learned about different everyday practices in encounters with other local residents. Differences in inhabiting open spaces was a case in point. I suggest that the situation in which everyone followed

different but relatively compatible ways of inhabiting open spaces resulted from an on-going negotiation process. Having developed an understanding of how and why practices differed revealed the Casamançais translation efforts, however, the level of tension or conflict in the process of conviviality was limited. Similar to my discussion of the limited capacity of conviviality to embrace social inequalities, convivial everyday tensions exclude conflicts resulting from physical violence or caused by fundamentalist beliefs. Casamançais steered clear of both. I suggest that this was the case since physical violence in encounters precluded minimal respect, while fundamentalist beliefs were incompatible with negotiation and translation. Both foreclose the forming of consensus in the process of interacting and negotiating, and of making differences mutually intelligible by way of (cultural) translation.

Recurrently, Casamançais stressed respect as a crucial dimension of *cohabitation*. This was reflected in the felt need to maintain greeting and other forms of minimal interaction including conflictual ones. Such universalism was not shared among all, who – at least discursively – challenged this widely supported morality. The resulting activities then can be understood as the product of weighing subjective aspirations *and* rules of interaction set in the various social fields. Greeting was no longer necessarily part of a moral compass (more so in Catalonia than in Casamance) but can be read as a tactical response to keeping afloat in a shared social field.

Conviviality thus can be approached from both a normative and a tactical dimension which Casamançais combined in many ways. One recurrent observation that clearly spoke to both dimensions can be seen in many Casamançais who were readily prepared to greet in Catalan. Presented as their moral duty, which most of the time was a serious claim, Casamançais in practical terms achieved a subject position different from other immigrants who failed to see the relevance in actively showing some proficiency in Catalan. Similarly, to enquire into someone's name and origin upon a first encounter was initiated out of respect, but probably just as likely it satisfied Casamançais' personal anxiety in wanting to know who was around. Taking both dimensions of tactics and morality into account and tracing their interplay, I suggest, offers a different understanding of Casamançais ways of dealing with difference.

Greeting as a form of interaction has raised the question of how engaging with difference could be conceptualised. It clearly exemplified how conviviality was predicated on reciprocity and an abstract form of exchange. Indeed, to greet implied an expectation of response and to be respectful implied that one should be respected. In Casamance, being respectful contributed to heightened social status and incorporated the moral order with the sometimes quite instrumental approach to exchange. To live with difference thus can be situated in a framework of social fields in which people's practices formed a fragile balance of both tactical and moral considerations that maintained sufficient social equality and mutual respect in interaction. This social construction, however, was not immune to being overthrown.

Having re-considered greeting as one of the most basic interactions in both Casamance and Catalonia (and likely everywhere around the globe), looking into liminal experiences of interactions during large festive events reveals crucial differences between the two sites.

Sensuous conviviality in festivities

Convivial events can be understood in various ways, as a politically relevant affirmation of diversity in festive conviviality, as a manifestation of formalised host-stranger relationships, or indeed as a social situation in which spontaneous, embodied interactions and admiration for performances form sensuous conviviality at the periphery. While Casamançais marked differences during staged manifestations of festive conviviality, in the practice of celebrating many boundaries were crossed in the event of participants interacting who would otherwise perceive each-other to be different. Rather than tactical or normative, sensuous conviviality stresses the embodied, lived experience of spontaneous sociality (cf. Erickson 2008, 2011), however, including an element of carnivalesque critique.[182]

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[182] While sensuous experiences are certainly part of most practices of conviviality, they most clearly manifested themselves during festive events.

Conviviality as sensuous experience is crucial in politically tense circumstances that structure living with difference unfavourably. In Casamance, *ZigFest* was a debated event due to the staging of a carnival for invited leaders of the Senegalese state with the effect of embracing Casamançais 'cultures' but marginalising the political demands of the MFDC. Independent of the political tensions, at both the opening ceremony and the carnival, local participants informally interacted, temporarily immersing themselves in clearly ethnicised activities. Sometimes groups followed their activities side-by-side, at other times they mutually appreciated the expertise, knowledge and beauty staged in each-other's performances. In contrast to the strategic intentions of politics, *ZigFest* participants spontaneously interacted and experienced conviviality through their senses and in bodily practice: sounds, colours and movements.

At *ZigFest* interactions were spontaneous, curious and high-spirited while at any celebration in Catalonia Casamançais interacted less spontaneously with other local residents, the whole atmosphere being rather stiff. Local spectators and actors at *ZigFest* engaged in a local context familiar to most of them and with relatively well known diversities even though some groups from neighbouring regions took part. At the *Mostra d'Entitats* in Catalonia everyone involved was local, but the configuration of global diversities and their representations were novel and unfamiliar to many participants. However, the format of cultural performances corresponded well with the Casamançais capacity to stage dances and masked performances. Yet, the spontaneous sensuous conviviality was not as widely experienced as in Casamance.[183] Casamançais mainly acknowledged the *Mostra d'Entitats* as a manifestation of conviviality for its staged aspects of equal recognition of cultural productions. However, alternating feelings of excitement and insecurity accompanied the on-going negotiation and translation processes which embraced difference and cultivated conviviality. Sensuous conviviality in Catalan neighbourhood spaces was more uncertain and attentive, local interactions less

[183] My findings differ from those of Erickson (2008, 2011) who stressed the embodied aspect of *convivència* in another Catalan town.

spontaneous and less established, yet co-presence and minimal interactions were ongoing – a combination which transformed open neighbourhood space into a local, transient convivial one. Its fragility was sensed more by some than by others.

Sensuous conviviality alludes to the layer of festive occasions which conveyed a state of moving temporarily in and out of clearly bounded groups or entities; it refers to liminal experiences in festive events. While my interlocutors described the events as the readily available instances of tangible outcomes of negotiation processes of *cohabitation* and even *convivència*, they hardly commented on the sensuous and liminal character of lived experiences. Nevertheless, the interactions at festivities – more in Casamance, less in Catalonia – conveyed how celebrations constituted a space in which people positively engaged with, and negotiated difference. This was momentary and possessed a carnivalesque element which implicitly critiqued power structures and resultant marginalisation (cf. Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 8; Bakhtin 1968; Gardiner 1993). At the *Mostra d'Entitats*, the overwhelming presence of Casamançais was a statement of engaging in local *convivència*, making it their own and opposing it to their marginalisation on other occasions. Political critique was also visible in some of the political statements at *ZigFest*, which was pre-emptively kept in check by police forces controlling the space and sensuous conviviality among participants. Conceptualising festivities including the liminal experience of participants fosters an understanding of why even sensuous conviviality remained a temporary, fragile and continuously changing endeavour seemingly on the edge of breaking down if people were to fully withdraw into segregated, non-interacting groups.

Comparing the dynamics of festivities with everyday occasions, it seems reasonable to generally conceive of conviviality as liminal experience. Due to being continuously situated in-between, which is importantly caused by the diversity in certain open spaces, conviviality describes a process with indefinite outcome. Similar processes and motivations in both Casamance and Catalonia can be discerned in the attempt of making this fragility intelligible. Personal aspirations to economic success, family obligations, group-related power differentials, the role of the national government, and legal, racial, religious and ethnic categorisations were variously at play and

challenged simple conviviality. The stories, images and sentiments of conviviality depended on the respective local context, whereas the analytical framing of the practical dimensions of living with diversity in Casamance and Catalonia remained the same. This was possible since Casamançais – despite adjusting locally – regularly read certain ways of living with difference in Catalonia as they did in Casamance. Thus, my analysis aimed at understanding the kinds of negotiations and interactions that constituted locally specific convivialities.

Normative, tactical and sensuous interactions and conviviality

A focus on interactions in everyday encounters and festive events has suggested important qualifications of the concept of conviviality as it is based in the Casamançais' emic notions of *cohabitation* and *convivencia*. The analysis of interaction built upon the findings from the preceding sections which stressed that conviviality may happen in open spaces to which access is constantly negotiated. Focusing on interaction, Casamançais accentuated normative considerations explaining that living with difference was grounded in mutual respect as exemplified in making time for the exchange of greetings. Mutual respect was ingrained in Senegalese politics of difference (cf. Smith 2012) and continued to be relevant in the Catalan locality. In both Casamance and Catalonia, normative considerations were paralleled by tactical engagements with local configurations of difference and power trying to both increase individual autonomy of expression and subvert dominant discourses. Interaction therefore necessarily encompassed both cooperative and conflictual elements. Such a reading of Casamançais' lives increased our understanding of local discrepancies arising from contradictions between discourse and practice. Finally, spontaneously interacting in the realm of festive occasions revealed the importance of also understanding conviviality as a sensuous experience and appreciation of difference. In festivities sensuously engaging with difference clearly appeared as liminal experience, a qualification that holds explanatory value for the overall process of conviviality. Although there was a strong normative basis for it, the tactical and sensuous aspects stressed the importance of understanding conviviality

as a process in which various structuring influences are at play with individual and collective responses. Similar dynamics can be discerned in the following considerations of diversified language practices and cultural translation.

7.4 Translation. Handling diverse language practices and cultural differences

Having anticipated the importance of (cultural) translation a couple of times so far, I will revisit it now by bringing together the instances and claims of multilingualism[184] and of linguistic-cum-cultural homogenisation, and inquire into the phenomenon of 'knowing enough' of each-other to sustain conviviality. In both Casamance and Catalonia, contestations were part of the ways diverse language practices and cultural differences were handled since ideological, normative and tactical approaches competed. I will stress the importance of communicating and translating for conviviality which was facilitated by a combination of multilingual practices and the use of *linguae francae*, agreed common languages. Casamançais aspired to multilingualism, claiming to be open-minded, worldly people. It marked a stark contrast to Casamançais fears of losing their mother tongues to dominant cultural flows. This initiated awareness for language ideologies promoting the cultural homogeneity and linguistic dominance of certain national or ethnic communities (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000). Taking all these processes into account, we will see that language and translation were key entry points to understanding the process of conviviality.

In the following, I start by reviewing the discourse and practice of Casamançais multilingualism, questioning why, how and when it was practised by whom. Secondly, I ask how far multilingual practice opposed dominant language ideologies

[184] Alternative terms for a critical constructivist use of (truncated) multilingualism (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005: 199-200) could be heteroglossia (cf. Rampton 1995, 2011) or polylingualism (cf. Jørgensen 2008).

in Senegal (Wolofisation), Casamance (Mandingisation), Catalonia (Catalan) and Spain (Castilian). I only take account of the most relevant language dynamics dominating interactions among diverse populations in open spaces. Multilingualism incorporating *linguae francae*, I hold, was an instance of continuous translation. Thirdly, I discuss the importance of 'knowing just enough', i.e. developing a register needed to sustain minimal interactions, and how such truncated multilingualism (Blommaert et al. 2005: 199-200) facilitates phatic communion, which I defined as a situation in which people communicate using minimal, mutually intelligible semiotic resources. I conclude that both linguistic and cultural translation facilitated interaction in the first place, therefore assuming a crucial role in my conception of conviviality. Translation here means the capacity to connect multiple systems of meaning, make them intelligible and move between them (cf. Hall 1992: 310; Hall and Chen 2005: 394).[185] Casamançais were simultaneously situated in local and transnational social fields, each with their respective language configurations. They therefore developed the multilingual practices to translate between, and to address, such polycentric contexts (cf. Irvine 2001: 22; Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 13).

Multilingualism. Instances of continuous translation

One of the most crucial observations in both Casamance and Catalonia was the prevalence of multilingual practices – existing or claimed – among my interlocutors. Language was important for at least two reasons. On the one hand, it was tightly linked to cultural identification. This became clear in Casamance in discussions of whether a Balanta who used Mandinka as his/her main means of communication could still be considered Balanta or whether s/he had become Mandinka in the process of Mandingisation. Depending on the speakers and their argument, the discussion outcome would vary, already exemplifying the extent to which language ideologies competed with practised multilingual communication. This also featured

[185] Compare also the notion of crossing (cf. Rampton 1995, 2010).

prominently in Catalonia where the Catalan language ideology fostered the conviction that those speaking Catalan had become Catalans.[186]

On the other hand, just about every Casamançais agreed that diversified language usage was crucial in everyday life, equally referring to the work place, everyday neighbourhood life and official institutions. To cohere with the expectation to be able to translate, it was widely taken for granted that everyone should possess a locally specific, sufficiently diverse linguistic repertoire (cf. Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Thus, language was both a marker of, and a means of bridging difference(s). People's diverse linguistic repertoires contributed to this bridging – or translation, as did the regular use of some *lingua franca*, whose local dominance most of the time was relatively little contested, yet limited to certain forms of interaction. In practice, Casamançais' diverse repertoires depended on their life trajectory, the exposure to specific local social fields and their individual creativity.

Available language choices on the local level were neither straightforward in Casamance nor in Catalonia. Both language ideologies pursued by various strategic actors and the recognition of linguistic diversity by local residents were at play in local social fields. Most of the time, Casamançais used national and ethnic labels to describe their linguistic repertoires, while their everyday practices revealed internal variation, mixing and changing language uses that resulted in variously truncated multilingual practices. In Casamance, people's numerous mother tongues and locally dominating *linguae francae*, Wolof and Mandinka, co-existed and Casamançais had often lived in multilingual settings. As '*the* national language', Wolof increasingly gained importance whereas French mainly remained in use among the educated (this more likely being men (cf. Dreyfus and Juillard 2005)), in administration (mixed with Wolof) and sometimes with strangers.

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[186] This is implied in Catalan policy (cf. Generalitat de Catalunya 2006a, 2009b) and was supported by immigrant experiences (see note 149, page 222). However, new research has shown that in practice the link between language and Catalan nationalism is increasingly weakened (e.g. Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2013; Urla 2013; Woolard and Frekko 2013).

In Catalonia, the language configuration on one level was ideologically structured by the juxtaposition of Catalan and Castilian (glossing over working-class and Andalusian varieties). On another level, the linguistic diversity of immigrants from all over the world constituted a growing potential for new linguistic practices in neighbourhoods (cf. Woolard and Frekko 2013). With increased immigration, migrants' linguistic repertoires gradually inhabited neighbourhood spaces as we saw in the 'Casamançais street scene' in Mataró. Casamançais in Catalonia reproduced familiar linguistic dynamics from Casamance by incorporating some particularities of the Catalan local social field to stay afloat in translation processes, thus facilitating conviviality.

The Casamançais most attuned to multilingualism were not necessarily those with the highest level of formal education. Having passed through places in which different language varieties were at play positively influenced the capacity of people to embrace new linguistic configurations, as did the actual exposure to different languages in the work place, the neighbourhood and within someone's social networks. Those having come directly from an ethnically homogenous Casamançais village, living in a monolingual flat and staying home most of the time, tended to have a more restricted repertoire than those having lived and worked in various urban places in Senegal, in transit and in Catalonia. Such trajectories often resulted in some familiarity with many language varieties. Another important mediating factor was the attitude towards linguistic diversity and language ideologies to which I will turn below. In support of a lived, if truncated multilingualism, Casamançais proposed a reading of their past and present that combined two aspects: firstly, they pragmatically reflected their subject positions in the respective local social field and perceived a need to adjust. Secondly, they playfully engaged with, and translated between, the polycentric linguistic repertoires at hand.

The focus here being everyday or continuous translation, many Casamançais creatively engaged with diverse linguistic repertoires to act upon the situation in which they found themselves. In Casamance, the art of 'knowing enough' of a language became clear in the continuous playful interactions which I witnessed at street intersections, markets and other openly accessible spaces. Convivial space

emerged from the readiness of people to facilitate communication by sharing linguistic registers and repertoires. In a first encounter between strangers, Casamançais would frequently rely on a widely shared register (e.g. Wolof or French in Senegal and Castilian in Catalonia), only to switch to others more familiar to, or preferred by one or all interlocutors. It could cause tension if there was disagreement over this procedure. Actual communication in convivial spaces therefore relied on the full scope of someone's linguistic repertoires and on their creativity and flexibility in using it.

Approaching (truncated) multilingualism has revealed a variation in the capacity of Casamançais to engage with diverse configurations. As people who had grown up in mixed neighbourhoods and moved through various places which linguistically differ starkly from one-another, Casamançais utilised diverse linguistic repertoires as a capacity to translate and thus facilitate conviviality. Furthermore, the claim to multilingualism and an eagerness to translate were even stronger than the actual multilingual practice. The Casamançais' ways of embracing diverse linguistic repertoires in the everyday was in stark contrast to language ideologies which promoted essentialised national or ethnic languages.

Negotiating 'languages'. Language ideologies at work

While many Casamançais strongly supported multilingualism, their choice of languages depended on locally distinct linguistic configurations. Having focused on contexts of cultural diversity, language ideologies matching languages onto bounded groups played a crucial role. As we have seen throughout the ethnography, Casamançais evaluated their preference of certain languages over others. Tactical considerations alternated with normative ones, and ideological orientations competed with everyday practice. I briefly exemplify this, reiterating the tensions in local power structures between 'national' languages and mother tongues before revealing some tactical considerations of Casamançais resulting from the impacts of migration and personal aspirations.

Discursively, Casamançais compared the relation of Catalan and Castilian versus Wolof/Mandinka and other (regionally specific) mother tongues sustaining minority languages and multilingualism. Sometimes with a clear reference to Senegal's first president Senghor, who had favoured French as the official language alongside national languages, adult Casamançais often maintained a strong plea for their linguistic particularities instead of limiting themselves to Wolof as 'la (seule) langue nationale', the (only) national language, a view supported by many youths. Similarly, many felt it was legitimate that Catalans wanted everyone to use Catalan in the region historically 'belonging' to them. This embracing attitude was easily sustained incorporating some Catalan into the Casamançais' existing multilingual repertoires. In consequence, Casamançais ensured that their children would speak their mother tongues while learning Catalan (and Castilian) in school, as well as some French, Wolof and more languages in passing. Many Casamançais frequently assumed a counter-hegemonic position which supported Catalan and their mother tongues that had come under siege in the process of Wolofisation and Mandingisation in Casamance and Senegal overall. In practice, multilingualism was inclusive and in favour of a linguistic plurality that granted both majority *and* minority languages equal legitimacy in recognition of their relevance in various spheres of life.

In slight contrast to the above, a number of respondents accepted or even supported unifying and hegemonic language ideologies in a growing number of social situations. Both Wolofisation and Mandingisation in Casamance had been long lasting processes affecting language and various other spheres of life, such as religion, social organisation, commerce, politics, popular culture or indeed *cohabitation* (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000: 47-59). Additionally, from a migrant's vantage point, some language (and cultural) choices were tactical considerations such as the preference of Castilian over Catalan, and Mandinka or Fula over Wolof (and vice versa). I selectively revisit these dynamics to add a further dimension to the process of conviviality and the basic practice of (linguistic) translation.

Previously we saw that in open spaces Wolof was often used among strangers and acquaintances, and increasingly among youth in both Casamance (especially Ziguinchor) and Catalonia. This was justified in various ways. Those favouring

Wolof felt that – like European nations – an African nation needed a single African language to gain importance and strength; maintaining linguistic diversity and the use of French were counterproductive to this end. Additionally, Wolof could be tactically used in both market situations and politics, and to relate to wider Senegalese networks (e.g. Murids). As a result, the Wolof language and cultural resources were widely available as the language retained the image of being easily learned and quickly adjusted (hybridised). Independent of cherishing or enduring the spread of Wolof, Casamançais used it as a means to communicate in open spaces, something it had in common with Mandinka.

Historically, Mandingisation described a process in which diverse people in Casamance increasingly adopted Mandinka religious, cultural and linguistic aspects (cf. Linares 1992; Thomson 2011). In Sédhiou in particular – but even in Mataró and Sabadell in Catalonia – Mandinka thus was one of the first choices for casual and fleeting encounters in open spaces. Widely accepted as *linguae francae*, Mandinka and Wolof both facilitated communication across cultural differences from which convivial space emerged. For many Casamançais, the potential of Wolof and Mandinka was either questioned when they felt that their own languages were at risk, off-setting the balance between the different linguistic and cultural resources, or when tactical considerations other than facilitating convivial space loomed larger as was the case in the context of migration. Language choice that often seemed to just serve *cohabitation* and *convivencia* was actually part of a wider negotiation of locally significant power relations.

Seeing language as a tool to communicate widely, Casamançais preferred to mobilise specific skills which could challenge Catalan, local mother tongues and even Wolof. Contradicting those sympathising with the Catalan language ideology, Casamançais migrants who were constantly moving and *à la recherche* preferred Castilian since it could be used wherever they went in Spain to find work. For them, Catalan was the imposed language, one of limited reach (cf. Gal 2013: 2). Wolof, despite being a resource in itself, was similarly contested by Mandinka and Fula speakers, arguing that it was limited to Senegal and Gambia alone while Mandinka was intelligible throughout the sub-region and Fula was a continental language of trade. Factors of

various levels of abstraction featured in the preference of some languages over others: Casamançais considered, on the one hand, national power relations, access to resources and an international strategy going far beyond the neighbourhood or the region, and, on the other hand, the composition of neighbourhoods, the perceived need to get along and the specific social situation in which languages were used. Ideological, normative and tactical evaluations of their migrant life situation justified differences in language use both as local residents and as people adhering to certain cultural and national groups.

Having explored the relevance of Casamançais multilingualism and the various dimensions influencing the emergence and support of the situational use of *linguae francae*, I return to dynamics in open spaces. Next, I pay attention to the processes in which convivial spaces emerge from basic communication and translation, i.e. knowing and understanding 'just enough'.[187]

Phatic communion and cultural translation

So far, we explored the premises on which Casamançais language practices were based. Even in view of locally quite strong language ideologies (e.g. Mandinka and Catalan) most of my respondents maintained a favourable opinion of multilingualism, which to a greater or lesser extent was reflected in everyday practice. We saw that their multilingualism referred to repertoires which varied in degrees of diversity but resulted from 'creatively appropriat[ing] the voices of others across language boundaries, while [potentially only] possessing a very limited knowledge of the languages being appropriated' (Blommaert et al. 2005: 199). While some had gained quite sophisticated linguistic knowledge, in this final section I argue that 'knowing just enough' of particular languages and further cultural practices in social fields 'learned in passing' were a crucial part of the process of

[187] This could also be conceptualised as a speech community which extends beyond, and embraces distinct language communities (in the case of Catalan, cf. Erickson 2011: 121; cf. Silverstein 1996).

conviviality in both Casamance and Catalonia. To show this, I qualify Malinowski's notion of 'phatic communion' (Malinowski 1994 [1923]: 9-10) as a form of ritualised interaction which involves truncated multilingualism and cultural translation.

Most of the time, nothing particularly surprising was said in encounters in open spaces in either Casamance or Catalonia. Even the showing of interest in the neighbour's wellbeing prescribed by *cohabitation* in Casamance most often resembled more ritualised practice than real concern. In Catalonia, encounters tended to be frequently reduced to a mere 'Hola'. However, many Casamançais read such minimal forms of politeness and recognition as signs of respect. Using phrases with which those encountered were familiar or which pleased them, created phatic communion and was a central part of the minimal consensuses of local residents. Malinowski observes:

> A mere phrase of politeness, in use as much among savage tribes as in a European drawing room, fulfils a function to which the meaning of its words is almost completely irrelevant. … There can be no doubt that we have here a new type of linguistic use — *phatic communion* … [T]his is in fact achieved by speech, and the situation in all such cases is created by the exchange of words, by the specific feelings which form convivial gregariousness, by the give and take of utterances which make up ordinary gossip. (Malinowski 1994 [1923]: 9f, emphasis in the original)

Malinowski' stress of mere speech interaction, I hold, needs some qualifications. The literal meaning of words indeed was basically irrelevant for Casamançais, yet language ideologies prescribed a need to utter them in (one of) the language(s) accepted or preferred in a given social situation. Furthermore, fragmented multilingualism was connected to other forms of partial knowledge of local semiotic resources of phatic communion. To recognise such locally specific forms of interaction was part of the process of cultural translation, i.e. the successful translation between multiple systems of meaning, making them intelligible and moving between them. Casamançais had started to develop this disposition by both the close observation of local sociality, their socialisation in Casamance, and the information gained from co-migrants in Catalonia.

None of the aspects facilitating phatic communion in a local social field could be taken for granted. For many Casamançais, cultural translation and sustaining the local style of address were in general a morally correct tactical choice. However, normative evaluations of social, cultural and religious collective and individual aspirations, and of local configurations of language ideologies challenged its feasibility. Some Casamançais struggled with differences in what constituted phatic exchange. For example, rushing social encounters or reducing them was hardly translatable for Casamançais who believed in the importance of making time for encounters as part of Casamançais *cohabitation*. Additionally, educated Casamançais interacting with working-class Andalusian neighbours struggled with translation due to class differences; they were emotionally trapped between feeling appalled by unpleasant working-class small talk and being disrespectful themselves in mocking their neighbours' repertoire.

Phatic communion on the basis of the exchange of words was furthermore challenged when language ideologies came into play. The imposition of a language like Catalan, Mandinka or Wolof could prevent relative equality among interacting parties. This was often the case in spaces claimed by some local residents who thus intended to impose their language preferences on others. However, conviviality could only be maintained if local residents successfully negotiated shared terms of access and use of open spaces. More often than not, this resulted in phatic communion and fragile convivial space for either normative or tactical reasons, or both.

Multilingualism and phatic communion in convivial space

The foregone examples nicely reiterated how the process of conviviality happened in the interplay of various dimensions of difference reflected in both the configuration of social fields and people's practices of translation. As strong supporters of multilingual repertoires, Casamançais normatively justified the equality and co-existence of multiple languages in a local social field, yet at the same time frequently accepted a *lingua franca* in certain social situations. For many Casamançais, both

contributed to embracing linguistic and semiotic differences in translation, thus facilitating interaction. Together they resulted in phatic communion and temporary convivial spaces. Negotiation was needed in cases in which interaction or translation was not easy, possibly due to substantial differences and social inequalities. Cultural differences encompassing both ethnic (including language ideologies) and religious distinctions were closely related to, and masked questions of power. Their situational salience, however, was reduced if a minimal exchange took place in a mutually intelligible way supported by, and relying on (truncated) multilingualism, cultural translation and negotiations. All of these practices had in common that they addressed various dimensions of difference and needed to be on-going for conviviality to not break down. Exploring multilingualism that incorporated various *linguae francae* and phatic communion proved to be another productive way of understanding encounters between local residents who remained different yet created convivial space.

7.5 Re-working changing conviviality

In this chapter I assembled some of the main strands of the ethnography to argue that the basic practices of interaction, negotiation and translation featured prominently in the Casamançais representations and practices of living with difference. As a fragile process from which minimal sociality emerged on the basis of locally valid consensuses, conviviality is of relevance in diverse neighbourhoods with little spatial segregation and no physical barriers dividing people based on sociocultural categories. Although the configurations of diversity differed in the two sites, it was possible to understand neighbourhoods in both Casamance and Catalonia as social fields in which open spaces were in principle available to all local residents of diverse backgrounds and statuses. This resulted in the opportunity for interaction and the need for negotiation and translation to achieve conviviality.

Access to open spaces and co-presence were variously negotiated. Casamançais presented both festive conviviality and everyday appropriations of open spaces as

examples of successfully forming a consensus among local residents. This was frequently bound to long-standing political processes of negotiating equality among diverse local residents. I argued that staged cultural *convivència* and *cohabitation* can be read as instances of successful negotiation which frequently embedded profound inequalities persistent in other spheres of everyday lives. As a result, the Casamançais conflict only played a tangential role in conviviality, as did Islamophobia in Catalonia. To the contrary, critically exploring the question of when Casamançais felt that no negotiation was possible and their access to open spaces restricted, revealed how migration-related categorisations in Casamance and Catalonia profoundly challenged conviviality. Social and legal marginalisation disrupted the level of sufficient equality and precluded negotiation. The balance between negotiation and (sufficient) equality was mutually constitutive in conviviality under the influence of disparate factors from both Casamance and Catalonia. Therefore, it seems reasonable to describe conviviality as process rather than trying to describe its tangible contents.

From this perspective, interacting seemed to be social process and normative content at once. It was a widely shared conviction among Casamançais that local residents needed to interact to create the opportunity for *cohabitation* or *convivencia*, the regionally specific, normatively loaded concepts promoting peaceful living with difference on the basis of mutual respect and reciprocity. Sensuous encounters during festive events strengthened the understanding of conviviality as embodied experience of habitually living with difference. However, conviviality in interactions, I hold, was a liminal experience in both festivities and everyday life. Diversity in open spaces recurrently resulted in feelings and practices of being in-between social categories and known configurations, keeping conviviality in-process. Conceptually, interaction encapsulated both cooperative and conflictual encounters. Examples of the latter stressed how interaction was necessarily linked to the need for negotiation, for example when greeting was not performed to the counterpart's expectation or accusations rather than cooperation defined the exchange. Both normative and tactical evaluations and choices were at play.

As the final basic practice of conviviality considered here, translation was an equally complex practice engaging with the multiple differences at hand. In both Casamance and Catalonia it was outstanding how Casamançais supported multilingualism. How far they had developed truncated or more elaborate forms of multilingualism depended on both the contexts in which they had lived and personal factors ranging from creative processes to tactical choices. Competing language ideologies supported both hegemonic languages as well as people's mother tongues. Furthermore, Casamançais positioned themselves between, on the one hand, local social fields and everyday aspects of living with difference and, on the other, broader tactical considerations concerning their migration trajectories and individual futures. As a result, conflicts of interest and contestations over language uses were frequent and required negotiation. Nevertheless, translation occurred in open spaces where diverse people met at eye level. Despite the discrepancy of Casamançais assertions of multilingualism and their – sometimes – more limited linguistic practice, many Casamançais moved between various systems of meaning, translating between semiotic repertoires. They were sensitive to exchanging the right words to create phatic communion. As a form of ritualised exchange Casamançais multilingualism could indeed be truncated, while translating between differences in practice was writ large in convivial space.

The complex language practices in both Casamance and Catalonia, the various processes of embracing socially salient power discrepancies and encountering one-another despite sustained differences have shaped the Casamançais experience of conviviality as temporary, fragile and contested, mostly resulting in minimal mutual engagement and locally specific, but changing consensuses. All of the dynamic aspects discussed here have revealed the basic practices of negotiation, interaction and translation which Casamançais constantly re-worked but which remained crucial dimensions of their take on the process of living with difference.

Conclusion.
Conviviality as everyday living with difference

From many Casamançais' perspectives, to sustain a process of conviviality was a feasible way of living in diversity and with difference. This was despite and in contrast to the fear and protectionism fostered in debates of autochthony and homogeneously imagined national communities. It is a point well taken that much of contemporary political discourse is about diversity, or rather diversity management, the impact of which is being studied (cf. Vertovec 2012). Questioning both homogeneity and diversity ideals, the Casamançais perspectives I discussed offer a reading of everyday life and practices that form conviviality as a mode of sociality that builds on difference, rather than trying to erase or subjugate it. This is intriguing, firstly, in that it focuses on immigrants' perspectives on the society overall which, secondly, has strengthened the analysis of commonplace or banal occurrences of living with difference. Due to lacking grand openings, conflictual closures, or disastrous outcomes these perspectives and the process of conviviality tend to be easily overlooked.

To conclude, let me briefly put forward the following cross-cutting themes of the ethnography at hand. In a first instance, I will review Casamançais migrations to Spain and their potential for the study of conviviality. Subsequently, I will address both representations and practices of conviviality. Answering how Casamançais migrants make their way in diversifying Catalonia in view of Casamançais *cohabitation*, I will reiterate aspects of maintaining difference while sharing a dynamic local consensus in Casamance. Afterwards, I will turn to the challenges of comparing the two regions and review some continuities and changes in Casamançais everyday lives. Finally, I address why Casamançais perspectives varied significantly. I conclude by turning some of the limits of the current ethnography into future research questions.

Casamançais in Catalonia

Why was I interested in the lives of Casamançais in Catalonia in comparison with Casamance in the first place? Indeed, the independence aspirations of both regions were *not* the motivation for this comparison. In brief, although Casamance had seen French and Portuguese colonisers, I encountered a lot of Casamançais in Spain, or rather in Catalonia, places without colonial ties and which did not match commonly assumed language competencies. By the time I went to do fieldwork, migration networks and Spain's economic boom that ended in 2008 were among the explanations for the Casamançais' presence in Catalonia. This said, answering the question of how Casamançais could 'endure' living in Spain brings me right to the point this ethnographic case was trying to make: to go to Catalonia was not unthinkable to Casamançais; to many, living with new diversities in a different place was largely banal, of course not without problems, but something they had been accustomed to from early on in their mobile lives linking culturally heterogeneous places in Casamance and West Africa. As a consequence, most of them had been socialised into neighbourhoods in which ethnic, national, religious and linguistic differences were continuously at play. Furthermore, Casamançais had been migrating to urban centres and other parts of the subregion for generations. In discussions at least, they thus stressed that learning a new language relevant to a new place, and translating between their own and new ways of living with difference, was commonplace. In short, they expressed a readiness, and had everyday ways, to live *with* difference instead of avoiding it at all costs.

However, this was not the prevailing narrative of Casamançais migrants. Europe, of which Spain had become emblematic, was a place of yearning for many Senegalese. Barça, Barcelona's football club, was widely known and supported in Senegal. At the height of irregular migration to the Canaries in 2006, one of the migrants' slogans had become *Barça ou Barzakh*, that is 'Barcelona or death' (cf. Ba 2007) which has since become the dominant narrative of academics and the popular media (e.g. Guiro 2008; Pasqual i Escrivà 2011; Garreta Bochaca 2011). Not having focused on the tragic stories of 'economic refugees' arriving in the Canaries here, this fatalistic statement is

closely linked to the '*el Dorado*' Europe generally discussed among Casamançais in Casamance and Catalonia. The latter motivated not only their migration but it also had an impact on Casamançais' tactics in the local social field as they tried to find the economic fulfilment to which they aspired. It also contributed to explaining some of the changing ways of living with maintained differences, the field of study to which this thesis contributes.

Living with maintained difference

Acknowledging the histories of the diverse configurations of both Casamance and Catalonia and the transnational lives of migrants, this ethnography presented a so far overlooked relationship between sending and receiving spaces of migration focusing on everyday conviviality of local residents in diverse neighbourhoods from migrants' perspectives. I asked whether encounters of diversity in migration-receiving societies can be understood as a continuation of previous experiences of social and cultural difference in the migrants' places of origin. Tracing representations, understanding people's actions, seeking the origin of certain expectations, and following up on narratives of change in practices allowed me to qualify conviviality as a process of which both cooperative and conflictual situations are part.

Talking of *cohabitation* in Casamance revealed two sides of the same coin: embracing the diversity among residents who still shared a local consensus of how to live together in everyday life, even if it was minimal. *Cohabitation* was maintained despite the on-going Casamançais conflict. In neighbourhoods like Lindiane, Ziguinchor, Casamançais continuously crossed path with people who they identified as different. Relating to this, many local residents in Casamance had a relatively clear idea of, and an interest in securing, peacefully living *with* difference. However, we saw that greeting or celebrating outdoors, or rather doing too little of the first and too much of the latter, remained contested. In short, the tangible contents of *cohabitation*, that is the local consensus it relied upon, were changing over time and between contexts. In consequence, the process of conviviality resulted most of the time in peaceful neighbourliness but always contained the potential for conflict and change. As a

minimum, I suggest that the basic practices of conviviality remained the same even if they manifested in malleable ways. Furthermore, some continuity also stemmed from the widely endorsed conviction that showing respect for co-residents was crucial; if it was lacking, it was a predictable source of tension entailing the breakdown of *cohabitation*.

As a consequence, mere unengaged co-presence, mutual avoidance and harmful conflict which had an impact on everyday actions fell outside the discursive framework of *cohabitation*. However, in everyday encounters many more nuances of living with difference were perceptible showing, apart from respect, consideration and a certain easiness with difference, silent forms of domination and marginalisation, tactical alliances and the effects of negative potentialities emanating from neighbours and strangers alike. All of these dimensions of sociality mattered as forces perpetually changing and challenging conviviality. Analytically, they played out in interactions and ensuing (re-)negotiations and (re-)translations of social and cultural differences, which were on-going in everyday life. Despite all maintained differences in identification and everyday practice, I suggest that most people in Casamance shared in this process of conviviality both habitually and consciously maintaining its basic practices.

Continuities, change and the challenges of comparison

Seeing the negative potentiality of local sociality as well as peaceful *cohabitation* in Casamance, much of what I found in the Casamançais' readings and re-articulations of *convivència* in Catalonia had a counterpart in Casamance. However, many Casamançais frequently stressed that life *here* was different from *there*; it had to be such, I hold, to justify their migration. To find local ways of living together peacefully had of course remained of interest. Speaking of sociality, however, Casamance always fared better in comparison to Catalonia since apart from *cohabitation* there was *ambiance*, a lively atmosphere. Indeed, sensuous conviviality, the embodied experience and celebration of difference, was largely absent in Catalonia. In part this perspective was understandable since those Casamançais who

had only relatively recently arrived in rapidly diversifying Catalonia struggled to find their bearings. Additionally, some strongly felt the limits in reading their reception through known forms of Senegalese *teranga*. Others were mainly concerned with finding work and understandably showed little interest in anything else. Those who stressed their Muslim and black identities had a particularly hard time to act as equal local residents when they felt exposed to Islamophobia and racism.

Furthermore, my interlocutors born in Casamance felt duly at home there, which included a sense of entitlement to negotiate 'the rules of the game', that is the rules of *cohabitation*. From the start, this was not self-evident in Catalonia. Such claims to autochthony fostered strong sentiments of local residency or, conversely, feelings of being strangers. Despite their negative potential, hierarchical host-stranger relations consequently were one central way for Casamançais to perceive of life in Catalonia and maintain mutual respect and conviviality. As an alternative reading to this, in mixed neighbourhoods in both Catalonia and Casamance a sense of local residency was often strong among all parties present, especially regarding everyday activities. The Catalan *empadronament*, registration with the town hall, politically echoed a sentiment of sufficient equality among most Casamançais. It granted a feeling of being *de facto* local residents and for many – not all – Casamançais in Catalonia enabled the negotiation of living with difference.

Especially for those Casamançais who sensed less of an entitlement to open spaces in Catalonia or wanted to avoid encountering the unknown and the potentially dangerous, a lot of time was spent at home among other migrants. Here, like in spontaneous encounters of numerous Casamançais in open neighbourhood spaces, they created a sense of locality, carrying forward Casamance-style conviviality through the translation between more familiar differences. The discussion of encounters in open spaces, however, revealed how Casamançais also took the full range of cultural diversity in Catalonia for granted and engaged with it in everyday ways from which convivial space emerged. However, convivial space in Catalonia was generally shorter-lived and more fragile than in Casamance. The occasions and locations where it occurred clearly highlighted differences between Catalonia and Casamance: a seats was deliberately removed on Carrer Rosselló to discourage

gatherings and tea was never prepared outdoors. Not only did the tangible contents of *cohabitation* and *convivencia* change over time, but they were also not identical between the two field sites. Details of fleeting encounters, linguistic practices, as well as the negotiation of equality show how much ways of living with difference changed over time and between places.

Despite such uncertainty and change, there was some continuity between Casamance and Catalonia. In both sites, crucial elements of living with difference such as the emergence of convivial space, a sense of local residency, mutual respect and consideration, multilingualism incorporating locally dominant *linguae francae*, and attempts to sensuously experience difference in festive manifestations of *cohabitation* and *convivència* were (re)produced. Put differently, the basic practices of conviviality – interaction, negotiation and translation – engaged with all kinds of differences, which people's representations of *convivencia* and *cohabitation* mediated. Feeling free to negotiate difference in interaction resulted in convivial space, which in return fostered encounters and attempts to translate one's own actions and those of others.

To some extent, this process contained migration-related power hierarchies and other forms of inequality in both sites. Furthermore, interpretative frameworks travelled both ways though I have mainly focused on the Casamance-Catalonia direction. Apart from the conceptions of *cohabitation* and everyday ways of encountering difference, people's imaginations of Europe equally predated actual migration. It could also be stated that their exposure to diversity in Casamance indeed contributed to the capacity of Casamançais to deal effectively with different configurations in Catalonia. Although changing, diversity and differences experienced in Casamance and various places along the migration route thus remain an important backdrop as quietly assumed reference points. This said, Casamançais variously engaged with their legacy and the rules of the game set in the Catalan social field.

The plurality of Casamançais practices

Although I mainly spent time with Casamançais men, they were far from being a homogeneous group acting uniformly. While sharing some perspectives on living

with difference, they considerably differed in others. Having chosen a regional perspective prevented me from assuming groupist explanations and I was sensitive to explaining everyday life drawing from a range of cross-cutting observations. Some Casamançais were certainly convinced that their ethnic upbringing or their faith made a difference in fostering some values and norms rather than others. Also, ethnic and religious discrimination were contained in an on-going, if fragile, balance of power, a condition that Casamançais sensed more or less strongly. However, speaking of living with difference, many views and practices were shared or contested along different lines. Sharing a common origin in diverse Casamance, having been embedded in the Senegalese state and the subregion of cross-national kin and migration networks, and pursuing some of the same goals in migration were among the reasons for common experiences of Casamançais, and they prompted collective representations. In short, Casamançais had experienced configurations and representations of diversity that found common expressions in everyday encounters and dealt productively with social and cultural differences that remained salient in other spheres of life. Aspects that altered this experience for some were the time that had passed since arrival in Catalonia, occurrences during migration and individuals' stage in the life cycle. More consistently, Casamançais who were keen to break with the past and initiate change, for example through imitating what they thought was European individualism, critiqued conviviality and were determined to keep it at a minimum.

In most cases, conviviality was only minimal sociality, shown in fleeting encounters, greetings and liminal moments of celebrating together. Therefore, its acceptance was generally high among Casamançais even though their motivations to sustain it varied. Sometimes Casamançais argued in favour of stressing normative considerations for conviviality which at other times could just mask their tactics. The latter were either in tune with or against locally dominant representations of *cohabitation* and *convivència*. Depending on normative, tactical and pragmatic considerations, Casamançais' activities varied and could be in favour of, as well as contrary to, facilitating everyday conviviality. For example, young Casamançais who tried to bypass social encounters quietly defied *cohabitation*. Casamançais who

'loitered' outdoors created locality, however, at the same time they resisted a host of expectations and restrictions held locally, more so in Catalonia than in Casamance. Those in such social situations of temporarily appropriating a street corner thought of it as coherent with the locally valid consensus of conviviality, while others presented such gatherings as sites of gossip-mongering and social control that needed to be avoided. The same social situation thus could be read and experienced differently. Casamançais exposed plural ways of understanding and living with difference. Sometimes this would happen very consciously, but whenever the Casamançais' practices contradicted their commentary, I learned that their tactical considerations ran contrary to actual ways of doing things; such contradictions of everyday life were frequent in both Casamance and Catalonia.

In view of the continuities and changes between the two regions and the plurality of everyday practice, I have argued throughout the ethnography that conviviality cannot be a static conception. Both within one site and comparing Casamance and Catalonia, all that was shared and all that remained different fed into the process of conviviality, which therefore was continuously challenged by various structural constraints and tactical choices. This often kept the resulting consensuses at a minimum. However, conviviality became tangible through the basic practices it relied upon and the sphere of minimal sociality that resulted from them.

Outlook

With a clear focus on everyday living with difference I have engaged with a rich ethnography of two regions. Above all, both the inclusion of further spaces and an extended analysis of interpersonal contradictions in approaching conviviality provide ample room for further study. Among many relevant questions are: how is living with difference represented and practised in spaces that are even more betwixt and between, such as state capitals, North African transit spaces or alternative destinations in the global south? Moreover, how do women from Casamance or other local residents in Catalonia including Catalans see the process of conviviality and act upon it? Given the particular relevance of interaction, negotiation and translation in

Casamance and Catalonia, how do these practices matter in different social situations or field sites in which avoidance relations, (hyper) vigilance, exploitation and violence dominate? Does conviviality break down permanently or is a different consensus produced? A further enquiry into actual situations of confrontation between Casamançais and northerners and the circumstances of irregular migrants in Spain in a changing political climate would be possible starting points. Working in a terrain stretching between the flux of globalisation and the fixing of ethnic closure raises numerous and challenging questions for further investigation of which the ones alluded to here can only be exemplary.

The comparative ethnography at hand pursued the migrants' perspectives of living together in diversity which aimed at a peaceful status quo. Seen through the eyes, and experienced in actions, of Casamançais, I conceptualised conviviality as a process which involves both cooperative and conflictual situations and often keeps the resulting sociality at a minimum. While manifesting differently over time and between contexts, some basic practices were crucial throughout: interaction, translation and negotiation. Playing out in encounters, negotiation and translation combined routinized and situational, as well as normative, pragmatic and tactical responses to configurations of difference and political representations of *cohabitation* and *convivència*. Awareness of the process of conviviality, its practices and spaces, and the centrality of minimal consensuses, I suggest, has provided us with original analytical conceptions. They help us understand those everyday aspects of sociality that are about living together with maintained differences.

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