ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES 610

SENIOR PROJECT

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How Youth-Based Social Movements in Senegal are Consolidating Democracy

Department *of* International Studies and The Department of World Languages and Cultures



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INTST 610

Submitted to the Department of International Studies and the Department of World Languages and Cultures of Allegheny College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

April 12, 2023

I hereby recognize and pledge to fulfill my responsibilities as defined in the Honor Code and to maintain the integrity of both myself and the College community as a whole.

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Acknowledgments

This abstract exuberantly celebrates the phenomenal group of individuals who generously assisted and refined my ideas throughout the research process. The passionate and inspiring professors/staff from Allegheny College (Shannan Mattiace, Briana Lewis, Laura Reeck, Sarah Young, Autumn Parker, Jim Fitch, M Soledad Caballero) and the awesome fellow classmates (Faythe Schulte, Lilian Fogland, Rachel Olivares, Favour Ojo, Jada Smith, KC, Loïc, Avantae Gonzalez) provided invaluable support and enthusiasm. The unwavering dedication of individuals from Senegal, including Korka Sall, AFRIKAJOMCENTER, and the professors from MSID Spring 2022 program, ignited a spark of creativity and motivation. Furthermore, the endless encouragement of family and friends (Manirakiza Penina (Mom), Nyandwi Remy (Dad), Ismeal Joshua Remy, Ocasta, Olusoji Ajayi, Dai'quan Day, Dr. Aaron Cook, Dominque Daniels, and Robert Gartei) proved to be an additional source of inspiration. Together, this exceptional team undoubtedly ensured the success of this research paper!

Table of Contents:

Abstract: 6

Introduction: 7-8

Chapter 1: Democratic and Social Movement theory……..9

Democracy..... 9-12

My definition of Democracy..... 12-13

Democratic Transitions..... 13-15

Types of Democracy.....15-17

Social Movement Formation.....18-19

Social Movement Progression.....19-20

Reviewing Social Movement Success.....20-21

Chapitre 2: The Legacy of Léopold Senghor and His Influential Works……. 23

La Vie de Senghor (1906-2001) ….....23-24

La Négritude : La définition et la perspective de Senghor.....24-27

Le choix d'une langue.....28

Les poèmes de Senghor..... 29-36

Le Sénégal sous Senghor.....36-37

English Summary……..38-44

Chapter 3: Democracy in Senegal and the Youth-Based Social Movements…….45

Introduction.....45-49

Senegal's Democracy under Theory.....49-50

Role of Youth Based social movements.....50-54

Social Movement theory and Y'en A Marre.....54-56

Y'en A Marre's Connection to Senghor.....56-58

Conclusion….....59-61

Appendix….....62-70

Bibliography….....71-74

Abstract

Despite being known as a stable democracy, Senegal has faced various challenges, including economic and social inequalities, corruption, and power concentration in the hands of the ruling elites. The country's democracy is also weakened by weak opposition, the politicization of the judiciary, and power concentration in the executive branch. Additionally, high poverty rates and youth unemployment contribute to growing social and economic inequalities. However, the Y'en A Marre movement emerged in 2011 and brought together artists, journalists, and activists to demand social and political change in Senegal. They emphasized citizen participation and accountability and successfully mobilized young people to engage in politics and demand accountability from their leaders. The Y'en a Marre movement's success reflects the importance of civic engagement in promoting democracy and political change. Also, the movement's focus on advancing African culture and values in government is consistent with the views of former Senegalese President Senghor, who believed that African values might be utilized to create a better and more democratic society. They have promoted a feeling of togetherness and identity among the country's youth by including them in politics through popular culture, such as music and art. Because of its colonial past and current impacts on their interactions, it is essential to consider France's position in Senegal's politics. Giving residents a voice and supporting democratic values are fundamental to Senegal's democracy, and accountability and civic participation are crucial in fostering constructive change. Overall, Senegal's political landscape offers lessons for other countries grappling with similar challenges, highlighting the potential of social movements to promote positive change and the importance of engaging young people in the political process.

Introduction

My experience studying abroad in Senegal was a defining moment that solidified my interest in African democracy and marked my first return to the continent since leaving. During my time there, I immersed myself in the country's unique history and youth culture, and my research internship with the Bonner Program drew me to better understand the political climate of this highly regarded democracy.

As a result of my experiences in Dakar, I developed the research question, "How do youth-based social movements in Senegal consolidate democracy?" and refined it with the help of my professors. In my paper, I conduct an in-depth analysis of the connection between social movements and democracy, exploring the three types of democracy: electoral, liberal, and consolidated. Additionally, I examine Senegal's historical context, focusing on the teachings and work of its first president, Senghor, and how his influence is reflected in the present-day youth through a different approach.

Chapter three of my paper focuses on Senegal's democratic trajectory since President Léopold Sédar Senghor's departure in 1980, with a particular emphasis on the growing involvement of young people in politics. One example of this involvement is the Y'en a Marre movement, which united artists, journalists, and activists to demand social and political change by emphasizing citizen participation and accountability. The efforts of this movement have been credited with increasing youth engagement in the political process and promoting a more democratic and accountable government in Senegal.

The interplay between social movements and democratic institutions is a complex and dynamic process that can significantly impact a country's political landscape. Despite being a stable democracy, Senegal has faced various challenges such as economic and social inequalities,

corruption, and the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling elites. However, the emergence of the Y'en a Marre movement, which represented the youth in demanding change, offers hope for a more democratic and accountable government. This movement highlights the growing significance of social movements in fostering political accountability and change, as well as Senghor's legacy in promoting African culture and values in governance.

The paper concludes by stressing the importance of civic engagement, accountability, and promoting African culture and values in promoting democracy and political change, not just in Senegal but in other countries facing similar challenges.

Chapter 1: Democratic and Social Movement Theory

Introduction:

My goal in this chapter is to discuss what scholars have said about Democracy and social movement theory. I do so by examining the definitions and the different types of democracies scholars have examined. Along the way, I add my own opinion about what I've read and a definition of democracy that I will later use when discussing democracy in Senegal. The main goal of this chapter is to lay out the theories and highlight a connection between the two. Social movements are more likely to occur within democratic regimes because democracies guarantee civil liberties according to definitions. The role that social movements play in democracy highlights a need from the citizens; typically once the government has responded, the movement dissolves into the formal sector, disintegrates, or in some rare cases remains attentive to political action. They influence each other by promoting accountability and civic engagement.

Democracy:

After reviewing definitions of democracy, I have seen a wide diversity of focuses from scholars. Some definitions are very specific to what structure needs to be in place for democratic practice like that of Schmitter and Karl (1991). while others go past that and focus on what outcomes democracy should provide citizens like Samuels (2018). This variety shows the perspectives are ever-growing to incorporate other fields of study. Scholars have different definitions for democracy because the concept of democracy is complex and multi-faceted. This results in a wide variety of definitions of definitions, as new thinkers like me join in, and expand upon them. This variety within the definition also comes from the many forms' democracy can take, as it is

practiced and implemented in society. This is important because it brings attention to transitions, which will be discussed later.

Defining democracy can be understood and interpreted in different ways depending on the context and perspective of the scholar. From the political perspectives, we can see that scholars carry within their definition's parts deemed essential for democracy to be possible and also differ from authoritarian regimes. These components may not all be shared directly from their definitions but are expressed. The first commonality among their definitions is an institutionalized and competitive voting system. This is important within a democracy because it's a keyway to control the dynamics of power between the ruled and ruler (Samuels, 2018). Samuels in his definition of democracy states that citizens have a wider latitude of power compared to leaders, which may be true. Mainwaring (1989) and Schmitter and Karl (1991) refer to the voting population as a "broad adult citizenship" which are the voices heard during elections. Mainwaring, in his definition of broad adult citizenship mentions that there can be an exclusion for certain people, such as criminals, and the illiterate. Voting that is formal and institutionalized is not seen in an authoritarian regime, however, elections can be present in both systems. The division however is there is an accountability component on voters and leaders in democracies that non-democratic regimes lack. This accountability state is maintained by having political contestation and participation or else, accountability is impossible (Samuels, 2018). That accountability, maintained by all adult citizens and also leaders, allows elections to be a powerful tool for consolidating democratic practice (Mattiace, Unknown). In addition, participation within authoritarian regimes is present but more than likely forced on subjects to vote, finding a loophole to the requirement of accountability.

The second common component is an elected government. This is only possible by having contestation and participation; allowing an electoral process to take place. Contestation refers to having an alternative perspective or interpretation amongst the political parties officially running for positions in office. In a democracy, this is visible through citizens having two or more political parties to choose from when they vote. It is required to have more than one party to be considered a democracy.

This electoral process brings the question of how many elected government officials can be elected for a country to be considered a democracy. Samuels provides an answer saying that it's either the adult population voting all the government officials into office or trusting one government official (typically the president) to appoint people into office. The key with the second component is that accountability is already present, so there is an assumption that those coming into office will adhere to the rules in place.

The third common component of democracy mentioned by scholars is civil liberties. The freedoms and safeguards against government intrusion or abuse of power that are protected by the constitution or other laws. Everybody, even minorities, must be able to enjoy equal rights under a democratic system. This is a clear distinction from non-democracies and allows citizens to organize themselves, and discuss amongst themselves. As a system, Samuel (2018) says democracy is for the people, and having civil liberties guaranteed helps democracy develop accountability and engagement. A lack of guaranteed civil liberties, leaves doubt about a regime being democratic (Mainwaring, 1989).

In conclusion, democracy has undergone changes over time, and scholars have offered diverse definitions to reflect these developments. These definitions emphasize the significance of holding frequent elections, respecting the rule of law, safeguarding individual rights and

freedoms, and establishing a system of checks and balances to prevent abuse of power. Democracy is grounded in the fundamental values of equality and freedom, which are crucial for its proper functioning. Nevertheless, definitions of democracy are studied and explored with the knowledge that in reality, democratic practices may deviate somewhat from these definitions. For instance, civil liberties may be restricted for various reasons. As a system, democracy enables citizens and leaders to participate in decision-making, fostering interactions that are critical for good governance. Although definitions of democracy are essential, they may not capture all aspects of the system. Samuel, Schmitter, and Mainwaring, in their definitions of democracy, emphasize different aspects of the system, such as its structure, how it is utilized by leaders and citizens, and its critical components. Therefore, maintaining the values of democracy in a particular way, as argued by the author, is a definition.

My definition of democracy:

"For the purposes of this study, then I will define democracy as follows: “ A form of governance that requires elected leaders adherence to serving the citizens foremost and respecting the dynamic between rulers and ruled, by allowing the adult citizens’ voices to be represented in decision making through direct and indirect methods including institutionalized free and fair elections, contestation, and expression of civil liberties.” What my definition attempts to do is encompass both aspects; so, while the notion that citizens have a wider range of expression is true, I think stating expectations or what's required of leaders within the definition allows for further transparency. The absence of civil liberties jeopardizes democratic ideals; hence they are crucial to democracy. There is a limit to how civil freedoms can be exercised in each democratic society, and this limit must be upheld to keep democracy operating. Therefore, accountability is

crucial in preserving the equilibrium between the rulers and the ruled. Accountability in democratic systems can be improved by definitions and practical methods.

Although I believe that civil rights are crucial to democracy, it is necessary to recognize that, democratic governments frequently restrict these liberties. The scope of these restrictions varies among nations, and recently created democracies typically struggle more than more seasoned governments to uphold fundamental rights. The difference in how well democracies handle citizen complaints and how leaders interpret civil liberties can explain this variation. However, it is crucial to note that excessive limitation of civil liberties can blur the line between democratic and authoritarian regimes. As Samuels points out, citizens have a wider range of expression in democracies, but this range is heavily influenced by the political culture and can vary significantly across different democracies.

Democratic Transitions:

The study of democratic transitions allows scholars to see and make educated guesses about a country's democratization process based on historical evidence. Transitions look at what causes regimes to change, especially how regimes become democratic and what that can look like. Mattiace (n.d.) says that transitions to democracy have no exact set of causes that definitively lead to democracy. The causes are either economic, social, psychological, or international. Mainwaring (1989) adds to this by also stating that transitions don’t lead to democracy because the events that play out in the early stages of transitioning are important. In the early stages, elites are still in positions of power and can influence the direction the transition takes. Elites seeking to remain in power after the regime changes align themselves with the citizens or other elites for support, while other elites turn to protect themselves or their position of power

(Mainwaring, Valenzuela, 1998). This is referred to as political pacts where elites align themselves with certain groups in the society, specifically those with socio-economic benefits so that they can remain an influence within the system as the regime is changing (Mainwaring, Valenzuela, 1998).

Democratic transitions of regime types according to Mainwaring happen based on two possibilities. He does mention others, and the difficulty of boxing or categorizing democratic transitions. Mainwaring and Valenzuela (1998) also agree with these two ways of transitioning from authoritarian rule and highlight the uncertainty of transitioning to democracy.

The first type of transition is schisms. Schisms refer to something or someone within established regimes that encourage and pursue liberalization. What this means is conversations and ideas about starting a transition are enough according to Mainwaring (1989). Typically, this starts with elites within the system, but it's not limited to them alone. The other way transitions occur is through regime erosions. If a regime can no longer function, people and/or elites see that and, as a result, begin to exploit that political weakness. Regime erosions show the ineffectiveness of a government and as a result, give way to disorganization. This disorganization can increase the possibility of mobilization against the authoritarian regime (Mainwaring, 1989). Mobilization occurs once liberalization has been enabled for some period. In sum it allows citizen engagement to be resurrected and more present (Mainwaring, Valenzuela, 1998).

When referring to liberalization it does not mean democracy or democratization but rather how scholars can identify a transition that has begun. Liberalization is the process of making effective certain rights that protect both individuals and social groups from arbitrary or illegal acts committed by the state or third parties (O'Donnell, Schmitter, 1986). It highlights aspects of democracy that are introduced through ideas and practice. This movement of

introducing rights, in turn, helps eliminate the pressure of individual expression or collective action. Once they have introduced these practices to the public, the progress is not reversible. Democratization and liberalization are two distinct concepts, although they share some similarities. Democratization refers to the process of improving political freedom and democracy within a nation. This could involve expanding political rights and freedoms, establishing transparent and fair elections, and creating independent institutions to check the power of the executive branch. Essentially, democratization is concerned with advancing political liberalization. In both cases, the routes don't offer a set result of democratization, but even when successful are not easily maintained and can get violent in some extreme cases. As elites attempt to remain in power and citizens begin to mobilize, this creates visible divisions within the authoritarian elites. This division is then utilized by the opposition which is crucial for their objective. This division allows for democratization to take place (Mainwaring, 1989).

Types of democracy:

Once transitions have been successfully made and institutionalized the next challenge comes with maintaining democratic practice. There are three types of democracy that I will discuss here which are electoral, liberal, and consolidated democracy. To begin, revise Electoral democracy. As the name suggests, the focus is on citizens' ability to have their voices heard within the democratic system. A system of government known as electoral democracy gives residents the right to vote and select their representatives in free and fair elections. In an electoral democracy, elected officials who are accountable to the voters they represent hold most of the political power. These representatives are chosen by voters who have the freedom to select from a variety of candidates and political parties during competitive elections. Constitutional protections for

political rights and civil liberties including freedom of expression, assembly, and association are often present in electoral democracies.

The second type of democracy is Liberal democracy. Plattner (1999) in his examination of liberal democracy throughout the years, identifies liberalism as, “ ...protecting the rights of individuals to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Thus, liberalism entails a government that is limited by a constitution and by the rule of law.” There is a greater focus within liberalism on civil liberties and representation. Remmer (1990) in his definition of liberal democracy also agrees with Plattner’s definition yet adds that competitive elections are important. Plattner goes on to examine how liberalism has grown to share that representation is important and crucial for democracy. Liberal democracy can also refer to something outside of the government. It is a method of describing a certain culture or civil society, encompassing the economy and manner of life, that serves as both a prerequisite and a consequence of liberal democracy. The phrase "serves as both a prerequisite and a consequence of liberal democracy" refers to something that is both required for the existence of liberal democracy and a result of it. It refers to social movements in this context. Since they ensure that civil liberties are protected and that the government is held accountable to the people, social movements are crucial for the continued existence of liberal democracies. Liberal democracy also gives room for social movements to grow and make a significant difference. Social movements can therefore be understood as both a requirement for and a result of liberal democracy. Liberal democracies are defined by cooperative, consensual connections between individuals and groups on a wide range of issues that go beyond politics or government, in addition to governmental norms (Plattner, 1999). Liberal democracy requires and depends on voluntary exchange and social connection, as well as people's confidence or trust to interact with others they would not otherwise know. Schedler

(1998) makes a bold point in his analysis of consolidated democracy saying democracies that are not all liberals are electoral democracies. I can somewhat agree with the statement because having a system based on elections is something also found within authoritarian regimes, yet they are neither free nor fair. I agree with this notion because it speaks to the guaranteed rights citizens have, especially minorities under democratic rule. However, this can be hard to balance if leaders in power do not share this necessity. In fact, one could argue that electoral democracy is lower on the democracy scale when compared to liberal or consolidated democracies.

Lastly, when looking at democracies, as they become firmly implemented into society, they eventually become consolidated democracies. The term consolidated democracy has evolved over the years; originally it was intended to address the challenges of new democracies' regressions. Now it has evolved to focus mainly on how democracies can be strengthened and of higher quality (Schedler, 1998). Consolidated democracy is a well-established and functioning democratic system with deeply ingrained and widely acknowledged political institutions, procedures, and principles (Schedler, 1998). In sum, they are an “advanced democracy” because they incorporate aspects of liberal democracy going above and beyond those practices. While a liberal democracy and a consolidated democracy have many similarities, the main difference is that a liberal democracy is concerned with protecting individual rights and liberties within a representative political system, whereas a consolidated democracy is concerned with the stability and acceptance of democratic institutions and practices. For example, a country can have a liberal democracy while not being a fully consolidated democracy. A consolidated democracy can exist while not being a liberal democracy if the government restricts some individual rights and liberties (Schedler, 1998).

Social Movement Formation:

The study of how social movements form is examined and better understood through three lenses. The first is identity politics which Mattiace (2003) mentions are a modern way of looking at social movements to distinguish them from labor unions. She identifies social movements' actions outside of general groups such as labor unions and notes that, instead, they work toward social actions by engaging in smaller groups. Identity politics is frequently utilized in social movements to bring together individuals who have a shared experience of oppression or discrimination, and to concentrate their experiences and viewpoints on the movement's aims and strategy. This is typically done by creating space for minority voices and leadership, lobbying for legislation that addresses structural disparities, and opposing cultural norms and stereotypes that perpetuate oppression. One conflicting issue is that they can focus too much on difference and limit building solidarity. In spite of that, identity politics is necessary to address historical and ongoing inequalities and to create more inclusive and just societies.

The second theory is resource mobilization. This brings into question the roles of movement members and how they remain together (Mattiace, 2003). Damarets (2016) states that while resources for mobilizing can often be simplified to money and labor, there is also the existence of formal and informal networks that drive mobilization (Gawerc, 2014) (Melucci, 1985). This theory focuses on the role of incentives from leaders to keep members active and attentive to the social movement's mission.

Lastly, let's review Political Opportunity structures. Unlike the previous two theories, this one places importance on the political environment in which both social movements and state function. According to Samuels, political opportunity structure is defined as, "The way a

country's political system shapes, promotes, checks, or absorbs the challenges confronted by organized civil society". This definition shows a connection between social movements and democracy because they are more viable through democracies. It can also be viewed as a resource for mobilization by looking at the elements behind it such as the elite's access to power and influence (Demarest, 2016; Melucci, 1985). Mattiace (2003) mentions that movements develop in response to an ongoing process of interaction between movement groups and the larger socio-political environment they seek to change. This theory connects to Foweraker and Landman's (2011) connection that the relationship between social movements and citizenship rights shows a need to be attentive to the political realm.

Social Movements Progression:

Social movements have been found to increase the political engagement of their members. They are typically formed in response to something, whether that be an opportunity for change or mobilizing together in the face of a threat and violence with groups of people varying in their interests and activity within the movement (Gawerc, 2014) (Foweraker and Landman, 2000). Scholar Gawerc (2014) points out that social movements need to at least take action outside of the legal system in order to fit the definition that he uses, which is, "Social movements are collective, concerted, extra-institutional, and sustained challenges by ordinary people to institutionalized practices, policies, power arrangements, and/or cultural beliefs and practices" (Gawerc, 2014). He continues this definition by adding that social movements involve a field of collective actors, most often including formal organizations and informal networks, which mobilize together to maintain a persistent challenge that goes beyond a single march or protest (Gawerc, 2014).

Foweraker et. al argue that social movements may emerge for a variety of reasons, including economic inequality, political repression, or cultural marginalization. However, these movements are often united by a shared demand for an expanded conception of citizenship rights that includes civil liberties and accountability. This suggests that civil liberties and accountability are not only essential components of democracy, but also key issues that motivate citizens to engage in collective action and demand change from their governments (Foweraker and Landman, 2000) (Melucci, 1985). Foweraker and Landman (2000) both point to how social movements have a natural connection to citizenship, pointing to how rights need an association with civic-ness because civic-ness supports rights and that civil rights can only be learned in the associational networks of civil society. Social movements are influenced due to their perception of rights that can only come through struggle (Melucci, 1985). In making this connection, Foweraker and Landman (2000) suggest the reason why social movements act is because of their demands over time for citizenship rights (especially in a liberal democratic context) and protest against social conditions, government policy, and political repression (Mattiace, 2003) (Melucci, 1985). This approach by social movements is one that can be found in both democratic and nondemocratic regimes, based on the extent to which they can voice their opinions (Gowerc, 2014). In authoritarian regimes, it is more unlikely to view the expression of unrest because they do not guarantee the rights of the citizens.

Reviewing Social Movement Success:

When looking at social movement's scholars have a tendency to ignore them once they've somewhat achieved their mission or simply if they remain after their reason for mobilizing is no longer present (Melucci, 1985). Since it is believed that social movements

eventually become codified and somewhat absorbed into the governing legal system, attention is paid less to how they continue to function after their initial goal has been achieved. This shows that social movements may or may not be intended for one mission alone. This can vary based on the leadership and organization of the group. Despite not adhering to the notion of social movements, I believe that the progress of movements allows for links or correlations regarding what their function in society will be. The notion that social movements are crucial for the progress of democracy is widely acknowledged by scholars and activists alike. According to sociologist Sidney Tarrow, social movements play a critical role in shaping public opinion, creating new forms of political participation, and pressuring governments to be more responsive to the needs and demands of citizens. Moreover, research has shown that social movements are often successful in achieving their goals, whether it be securing civil liberties, promoting social equality, or advancing environmental protection. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the progress of movements is closely linked to the function they serve in society, and that civil liberties and accountability are essential components of these movements. As they continue to function after completing their objective, they differ from the definition of social movements. This is because they develop a physical foundation and become a vocal public image, acting with or without the cooperation of the legal system (Demarest, 2016) (Faye, 2008) (Gawerc, 2014).

Looking ahead to the next chapter?

In the second chapter, I will be taking a historical dive to examine Senegal's first president post-independence, Leopold Sédar Senghor, and in the third chapter, I'll examine present-day democracy and youth social movements in Senegal, considering Senghor's legacy. Both Senghor during his time and the youth today are working towards something that they think

will work for the betterment of Senegal and Africa. However, Senghor's approach was through his close relations with France and his seeking to develop an African system that incorporated the best of both Europe and Africa. The youth today have seen how his actions are impacting the decisions of political leaders due to the omnipresence of France in the country, and as a result, the youth of today are seeking to change this reality by increasing the civic engagement of the Senegalese population, changing the political culture within governance to have a greater focus on the citizens of Senegal.

Chapter 2: The Legacy of Léopold Senghor and His Influential Works

Introduction :

Léopold Sédar Senghor est considéré comme l'une des figures les plus influentes de l'histoire du Sénégal. En sa qualité de poète, de philosophe et d'homme politique, Senghor a joué un rôle important dans le processus de formation de l'identité du Sénégal et, plus globalement, du continent africain. Son concept de la négritude, en particulier, a fait l'objet de plusieurs discussions et débats, en Afrique et dans le monde. La négritude était un mouvement intellectuel et littéraire qui cherchait à récupérer et à célébrer l'identité et la culture africaines, qui avaient été supprimées sous le colonialisme. Ce chapitre explore la définition de la négritude par Senghor, y compris les critiques de son approche, ainsi que son approche pour aider le Sénégal à devenir indépendant après la colonisation par le développement d'une identité africaine qui s'inspire des cultures européennes et africaines. Ce chapitre examinera aussi quelques poèmes de Senghor qui sont liés à la négritude et leur signification pour son approche. Enfin, le chapitre évalue l'héritage de l'approche de Senghor dans le Sénégal d'aujourd'hui et sa pertinence dans les sociétés africaines contemporaines.

La vie de Senghor (1906-2001)

Leopold Sedar Senghor, le célèbre poète, écrivain et homme politique sénégalais, a joué un rôle important dans le développement des champs culturel et politique du Sénégal et du continent africain. Né dans un petit village de pêcheurs au Sénégal, Senghor a fait ses études en France et est devenu une figure importante du mouvement national sénégalais. Il est ensuite devenu le premier président du Sénégal, où il a œuvré à la modernisation des infrastructures du pays et à la promotion de l’expression culturelle. L'héritage de Senghor se fait encore sentir aujourd’hui, puisque des rues et des bâtiments publics portent son nom et que sa poésie et ses

écrits continuent d'être célébrés au Sénégal et dans le monde entier. Senghor a défendu la littérature et la culture africaines de manière significative et a contribué à la création du mouvement de la négritude, qui a plusieurs définitions, mais pour lui c'était une identité (Vaillant, Janet, 1990).

La Négritude : La définition et la perspective de Senghor

Le mouvement de la Négritude est un mouvement culturel et littéraire qui s'est concentré sur la célébration et la reconnaissance des cultures et des identités noires. Les membres du mouvement ont écrit des essais, des poèmes et des romans pour illustrer leur héritage et leur fierté d'être Africains. Le mouvement avait une dimension politique, en combattant le colonialisme et le racisme, mais il n'a pas engagé d'actions politiques spécifiques ou de manifestations en raison de la période coloniale qui était limitée et du fait que beaucoup de ses membres étaient des intellectuels et des artistes plutôt que des activistes politiques. Il est aussi important de noter que ce mouvement a été créé à la suite de la colonisation. Le mouvement a joué un rôle important dans la sensibilisation à la discrimination raciale et a inspiré d'autres mouvements de libération en Afrique et dans les Caraïbes. La mission de la négritude était de montrer la dignité de l'histoire africaine, de célébrer l'identité et la culture noires et de résister au colonialisme et au racisme. Cette perspective du mouvement a été vue avec l'approche de Senghor en particulier, mais il n'est pas le seul à l'avoir adoptée. D'autres membres, comme Aimé Césaire, considéraient le mouvement comme un moyen de prendre des mesures pour changer les choses, ce que de nombreuses personnes approuvent.

Le terme "négritude" n'était pas non plus utilisé pour décrire ce mouvement au début, jusqu'à ce qu'il soit utilisé par Aimé Césaire et plus tard adopté par d'autres écrivains comme Léopold Sédar Senghor. Le mouvement a provoqué un puissant mouvement en Afrique, dans les

Caraïbes et en France. L'idéologie du mouvement continue de trouver un fort écho avec des intellectuels et des éducateurs qui aspirent à mettre fin à la discrimination raciale et à promouvoir l'importance de l'expression culturelle des Noirs. La diversité des points de vue qui caractérisent le mouvement démontre les nombreuses idées qui lui sont associées et la manière dont les Africains et la diaspora ont interprété le terme. Cette section examine les origines, les thèmes importants et la pertinence de la négritude dans la littérature et la culture africaines et de la diaspora et spécifiquement concentré sur la perspective de Léopold Sédar Senghor.

Senghor, l'un des fondateurs du mouvement de la Négritude, l'a définie ainsi : "La somme des valeurs de la civilisation du monde africain et par extension, du monde noir" (Senghor, 1964). Pour lui la Négritude est un mouvement culturel, politique et philosophique visant à promouvoir l'identité culturelle et les valeurs du peuple noir. Pour Senghor, la Négritude est une réponse aux effets oppressifs et déshumanisants du colonialisme, qui a cherché à effacer l'héritage culturel et les traditions des populations africaines et caribéennes (Senghor, 1964). Senghor considère la Négritude comme un moyen de réclamer la dignité et l'humanité des Noirs, qui ont été soumis à des siècles d'oppression coloniale et de discrimination raciale. Il affirme que la Négritude n'est pas seulement un mouvement culturel, mais aussi un mouvement politique et philosophique, qui cherche à renforcer les capacités des Noirs et à promouvoir la justice sociale et l'égalité (Diagne, 2015).

L'article "Sustainable Development in Africa : Explorer la philosophie de la négritude de Senghor" par Sambor et Edema (2022) examine comment la philosophie de la négritude développée par Léopold Sédar Senghor peut inspirer le développement durable en Afrique en soulignant l'importance de la durabilité culturelle et écologique. Selon les auteurs, l'accent mis par Senghor sur l'identité culturelle africaine et son intégration dans la modernité peut

promouvoir le développement social et économique tout en préservant le riche patrimoine culturel de l'Afrique. La négritude de Senghor était directement liée à la façon dont il envisageait la progression du Sénégal après l'ère coloniale, ce qui a provoqué la fierté d'être africain au Sénégal et dans le monde francophone. L'étude analyse la manière dont les idées de Senghor peuvent inspirer de nouvelles formes de développement durable en Afrique. Cette approche montre que ses travaux peuvent être adaptés au présent, au Sénégal et au continent. En plus de cette affirmation, l'ouvrage de Thiam (2016), qui propose une réévaluation de la pertinence philosophique de la Négritude dans les débats contemporains sur l'identité culturelle et la justice sociale en Afrique, vient à l'appui de cette thèse. Il soutient que l'accent mis par la Négritude sur l'identité culturelle africaine peut aider à façonner un ordre social plus inclusif et équitable en Afrique, qui reconnaît la diversité des expériences et des perspectives africaines.

L'article de Cohen (2021) montre que les politiques culturelles socialistes africaines du Sénégal sous Senghor ont réussi à promouvoir un sentiment positif d'identité et de fierté à travers la culture africaine. Cet article ne fait pas directement référence à la négritude, mais il montre comment la promotion par Senghor de l'art et de la littérature africains a contribué à un sentiment d'identité et d'unité nationales qui continue d'exister aujourd'hui. Ce point fait écho aux idées clés du mouvement de la négritude, qui insiste sur l'importance du patrimoine culturel pour réaliser le renouveau social et politique nécessaire pour que les cultures et civilisations africaines restent résistantes à la mondialisation occidentale (Diawara, 1992 ; Ngal, 2015).

Ensuite, Senghor est une figure centrale du mouvement de la négritude, et ses idées philosophiques et politiques, comme le concept de négritude, ont contribué à façonner les politiques culturelles du Sénégal (Diagne, 2015). Son approche et les effets positifs de l'identité et de l'unité sur le progrès économique et social du Sénégal montrent l'importance des objectifs

du mouvement de la négritude dans la promotion d'un sentiment positif d'identité et de fierté à une culture africaine. Ce sentiment a joué un rôle important dans le développement du Sénégal par rapport à d'autres pays africains. Enfin, je pense qu'il est également important de mentionner l'approche de Senghor parce que cette approche a permis au mouvement de se constituer au Sénégal.

Les chercheurs approuvent généralement l'approche de la négritude de Senghor comme un outil puissant de décolonisation et de récupération culturelle, mais certains critiquent le fait qu'elle essentialise l'identité africaine et ne prend pas en compte la diversité des expériences sur l'ensemble du continent. De même, Césaire critique l'approche idéaliste de Senghor dans son *Discours sur le colonialisme*, qui n'aborde pas les réalités matérielles du colonialisme et du post-colonialisme (Césaire, 1950). Mudimbe, par exemple, affirme que la négritude est une création du discours colonial que les intellectuels africains ont adopté sans approche critique de leur culture et de leur histoire (Mudimbe 1988). Ces perspectives reprennent l'approche de Senghor et tentent de la rendre plus large que ce que Senghor a pu envisager. Les efforts de ces deux hommes en faveur de la négritude se poursuivent, mais il est important de noter qu'ils discutent de ce que sont les pays africains en dehors de leur histoire coloniale et de la manière dont ils doivent agir. Senghor et Césaire étaient très proches tout en adoptant des idées différentes pour approcher le même objectif. Même si Senghor était plus idéologique et que Césaire recherchait des résultats par l'action, ils n'ont pas tort dans leur approche.

En conclusion, si la négritude a ses limites, elle a un impact significatif sur la prise de conscience et la valorisation de la culture africaine dans le monde et reste un sujet important de réflexion et de débat.

Le Choix d’une Langue

Le choix du français par Senghor dans ses écrits a attiré l'attention des académiciens en raison de sa signification culturelle et linguistique. Krupat (2003) affirme que l'utilisation du français par Senghor était un acte délibéré de négociation culturelle, servant à subvertir la structure du pouvoir colonial et à réclamer l'identité africaine. Cependant, O'Brien (1994) note également que l'utilisation du français par Senghor n'était pas une capitulation devant le colonisateur, mais une façon de partager la culture africaine avec le monde, atteignant ainsi un public plus large et partageant le riche héritage culturel africain. Si ce choix a permis au monde extérieur d'avoir un aperçu d'une culture résiliente qui prospère malgré les changements coloniaux, Senghor a agi comme un pont entre les deux mondes, montrant l'importance d'une relation saine entre l'Afrique et l'Occident, promouvant la compréhension mutuelle, l'appréciation, le respect et l'échange culturel.

Je pense aussi que l'engagement de Senghor à préserver et à promouvoir la culture africaine à travers ses écrits témoigne de la richesse de l'histoire et des traditions de l'Afrique. L'analyse de la poésie de Senghor par Moudileno (1997) suggère que l'utilisation du français par le poète était une décision stratégique visant à créer une nouvelle langue hybride qui reflétait à la fois les cultures africaine et française. Globalement, l'utilisation du français par Senghor est importante pour souligner la complexité des négociations culturelles et linguistiques, promouvoir les échanges interculturels et préserver la richesse de l'histoire et des traditions de l'Afrique.

Les poèmes de Senghor

Même si je ne peux pas examiner tous les poèmes de Senghor maintenant, j'aimerais citer quelques-uns de ses poèmes concernant l'avenir du Sénégal et ses relations avec la France. Ces poèmes donnent un aperçu de ses sentiments à l'égard de la France et du monde occidental. Senghor était un fervent défenseur des coutumes et des idéaux africains, que le monde occidental ne respectait pas toujours. Ce point est essentiel car, pendant que la France était au pouvoir, son objectif était de transformer les Africains en Français. Senghor, cependant, voulait conserver son identité africaine. Il se considérait comme un trait d'union entre les cultures africaines et européennes, et ses poèmes le reflètent en combinant des concepts et des images africaines avec la poésie française.

Le poème "Prières aux masques" de Léopold Sédar Senghor met l'accent sur les aspects sacrés et mystiques des masques africains, affirmant les vertus de la spiritualité et de la culture africaines face à la sécularisation et à la rationalité occidentales. Senghor remet en question les hypothèses occidentales en présentant les masques comme puissants et énigmatiques, démontrant que les civilisations africaines possèdent leurs propres systèmes de connaissance et de sagesse, riches et significatifs. La poétique de Senghor dans ce poème, comme expliqué par Wane (2018), illustre un message d'acceptation et de célébration de l'identité et du patrimoine africains, avec l'utilisation d'éléments comme la nature, la culture et la spiritualité africaines qui rappellent son désir de préserver et de promouvoir la culture et la religion africaines par le biais de sa poésie.

Cet aspect du poème peut être interprété au début de la poeme, ainsi que le thème général du poème. Senghor écrit : "*Masques aux quatre points d'où souffle l'Esprit/ Je vous salue dans le silence !*". (Senghor 1964) Je pense que, comme dans l'examen de Wane (2018), ce vers montre un sens du respect accordé aux variétés de masques qui pourraient peut-être indiquer que la

culture africaine est unique. Je dirais que ces masques peuvent même être représentatifs des cultures africaines et qu'il leur offre un sens de l'honneur en silence. En outre, je pense que la compréhension du "silence" dans ce texte peut également être considérée d'un point de vue colonial, indiquant un sens du secret à ce salut alors qu'il était sous le contrôle des Européens, poussant une fois de plus l'objectif de préservation de la culture africaine.

Une autre perspective du poème peut être considérée comme une prière. Selon Chaudhry (2018) , Senghor incite “les masques à comprendre le dilemme de la domination coloniale et la façon dont la dévastation dépasserait le cadre physique pour se transformer en un cadre spirituel et en la vie même des Noirs”. Senghor utilise le langage dans son poème pour résister au colonialisme, en questionnant les points de vue occidentaux sur ce qui est réel et significatif en démontrant qu'il existe d'autres façons de voir la réalité qui sont tout aussi vraies et utiles, comme le souligne Chaudhry (2018). La lutte de Senghor pour trouver un équilibre entre les cultures occidentale et africaine est complexe, avec une référence à la fin d'un verset d'une prière demandant l'aide des masques reconnaissant les deux perspectives dans sa tentative de maintenir les valeurs et la validité qui ont été presque complètement effacées du continent africain. Senghor écrit : "*À votre image, écoutez-moi!/ Voici que meurt l'Afrique des empires - c'est l'agonie d'une Princesse pitoyable*" (Senghor, 1964). Au début du poème, il y a un sens de l'honneur et du respect accordé au masque et, au fil de la suite de la lecture, Senghor change de ton pour reconnaître et visualiser la douleur et la souffrance que l'Afrique a endurées. Je pense que c'est vrai, mais je crois qu'il a l'intention de donner l'impression qu'il existe une puissance supérieure et que cette puissance supérieure doit reconnaître et visualiser cette expérience. L'Occident a déstabilisé le continent africain, c'est un fait, donc je pense qu'il est compréhensible que des gens comme Senghor, à son époque, se tournent vers une puissance supérieure, souvent à

travers la religion, et cet aspect humaniste, je pense, de son expérience à travers les événements vivants et vrais qu'il évoque à continuation.

Enfin, le poème de Senghor "Prières aux masques" est aussi perçu comme un symbole de l'esthétique et de l'humanisme africains, son œuvre mettant en valeur la beauté et la profondeur de la culture africaine. Pour Lutfi (2012), la poésie de Senghor est un reflet humaniste de l'esthétique africaine, qui met l'accent sur les émotions, l'expérience et les idéaux de l'homme. En plus, la reconnaissance par Senghor de l'influence et de l'importance de la culture française dans sa propre vie et son travail, comme on le voit dans le vers "*Et aussi l'Europe à qui nous sommes liés par le nombril*" (Senghor, 1964), démontre qu'il ne rejette pas complètement la culture occidentale, mais qu'il cherche plutôt à l'équilibrer avec la culture africaine et à promouvoir la reconnaissance et la valeur de la culture africaine dans un contexte globale.

Le poème Joal est particulièrement intéressant parce qu'il démontre l'attachement profond de Senghor à sa ville natale. Joal n'est pas seulement sa ville natale, mais elle a aussi joué un rôle important dans sa jeunesse et son développement. Le poème de Senghor évoque les images, les sons et les sensations de Joal, et il exprime son désir de retrouver sa maison et les souvenirs qui y sont liés.

L'article de Charles O'Keefe “Le rappel dans le 'Joal' de Léopold Sédar Senghor offre une perspective unique sur les thèmes de la mémoire et du placement dans le poème. O'Keefe (1997) pense que le poème reflète la manière de Senghor de réconcilier ses souvenirs personnels de Joal avec les connaissances collectives du peuple sénégalais. Je suis d'accord avec le point de vue de O'Keefe, car tout au long du poème, j'ai perçu la nostalgie de Senghor pour son pays d'origine à travers la répétition de "*Je me rappelle*" (Senghor, 1964) dans chaque strophe. Je pense que cette

répétition, qui ajoute un sentiment d'humanité au poème, permet aux lecteurs de voir son point de vue.

L'imagerie de sa ville natale et la nostalgie qu'il en éprouve se prolongent tout au long du poème, alors que Senghor devient de plus en plus spécifique sur ce dont il se rappelle sa ville natale, ce qui rappelle son objectif de partager la culture africaine et, dans le cas présent, de montrer des aspects de la culture sénégalaise. Par exemple, il écrit : "*Je me rappelle la danse des filles nubiles / les chœurs de lutte - oh ! La danse finale des jeunes hommes "buste*" (Senghor, 1964). Je pense qu'à travers cet exemple, nous voyons une expression émotionnelle des souvenirs qu'il a de sa ville natale, qui met en valeur les Africains et les gens à travers des réunions communautaires. Je pense que cet exemple est important parce qu'il adopte une approche différente de la promotion de la culture et de l'identité africaines en la rendant personnelle. Il peut être risqué de relier les lignes, mais je pense qu'à travers ce poème, il y a une construction de cette nostalgie qu'il a. En partageant ses expériences personnelles, je pense qu'il renforce l'idée de la construction d'une identité à travers des expériences et une histoire unique et, comme le dit O'Keefe (1997), en rejetant les forces de la modernisation et du colonialisme. Pour moi, cela signifie qu'il aborde son objectif de protection des cultures africaines par le biais de nos souvenirs et avec l'intention de les transmettre à la génération suivante. Cette approche permet à Senghor d'utiliser la méthode traditionnelle utilisée dans de nombreuses cultures africaines, qui consiste à partager et à transmettre des informations par le biais de communications orales.

Je pense que Ortega (2013) serait d'accord avec O'Keefe (1997) parce que dans l'analyse d'Ortega, il affirme que l'utilisation par Senghor de la nostalgie et du motif du foyer crée un sentiment de continuité et de racines dans l'identité africaine, tout en reconnaissant les défis de la modernité et de la diaspora. Ce défi de la modernité est évoqué à la fin du poème où Senghor

écrit "*Quelle marche lasse le long des jours d'europa où parfois / apparaît un jazz orphelin qui sanglote sanglote sanglote*" (Senghor, 1964). De plus, je pense que cette fin pourrait montrer la propre expérience de Senghor en Europe et la question de l'identité car la culture occidentale a l'intention de supprimer la culture africaine.

Cependant, contrairement à ces deux chercheurs, je pense que King (2012) offre une autre perspective intéressante. King analyse la manière dont Joal capture l'expérience de la nostalgie d'un monde distant, créant un sentiment de désorientation et d'aliénation, mais évoquant également un sentiment de connexion au passé et à une identité africaine partagée. Tout d'abord, l'idée d'aliénation est, à mon avis, importante à noter dans cette section car, pendant que Senghor a ces souvenirs, ses motivations ont souvent été remises en question en fonction de l'influence qui a joué un rôle plus important, soit la France, soit le Sénégal. Je n'ai pas abordé ce sentiment de désorientation immédiatement, mais je pense qu'il est important. Pour ce qui est de mon opinion sur cette question, je pense en général qu'il est le guide entre les deux mondes et que son époque était difficile. Il est vrai qu'il y a des sentiments d'aliénation, mais je pense aussi qu'à travers le matériel qu'il a laissé derrière lui, il s'est vraiment engagé pour l'Afrique dans son ensemble. Je pense que ses actions ne doivent pas être jugées, mais plutôt examinées pour voir comment les mêmes problèmes liés à la colonisation sont toujours présents. En résumé, King (2012) affirme que cela contribue à créer un sentiment de communauté et de continuité qui est crucial pour le développement d'une identité africaine distincte dans le monde moderne.

En conclusion, la littérature examinée met en lumière les thèmes de la nostalgie et du mal du pays dans la poésie de Léopold Sédar Senghor, dans son poème Joal. Dans les lectures offertes par O'Keefe, Ortega et King, ces thèmes sont significatifs dans les ambitions plus

grandes de Senghor de construire une identité culturelle africaine qui soit à la fois fondée sur le passé et répondant à la modernité.

Enfin, j'examinerai le poème “Femme noire.” Il y a beaucoup des perspectives qui se tournent immédiatement vers la façon dont Senghor considère les femmes noires. Je pense qu'un autre point de vue, tout aussi valable, est qu'il parle du continent africain comme une métaphore des effets de la colonisation. La représentation des femmes noires dans la poésie de Léopold Sédar Senghor a été examinée par plusieurs chercheurs. Pour Michel (1990), la poésie de Senghor présente les femmes noires comme faisant partie intégrante de l'identité culturelle et du lien spirituel du peuple africain. Michel note aussi que Senghor utilise souvent l'image de la femme noire pour symboliser la géographie et la spiritualité de l'Afrique, soulignant la relation intime entre le paysage physique et l'identité culturelle du peuple africain. Lambert (2007) affirme également que la représentation par Senghor des femmes comme des symboles de la culture, de la beauté et de la spiritualité africaines remet en question la vision eurocentrique de l'identité et de la culture africaines. En présentant les femmes comme des figures puissantes et influentes, Lambert soutient que la poésie de Senghor fournit un contre-récit aux stéréotypes coloniaux et à l'oppression. Salien (2013) analyse le poème "Femme noire" de Senghor et souligne l'utilisation du langage par le poète pour transmettre la beauté et la force des femmes noires. Salien soutient que le poème célèbre la beauté physique et la force des femmes noires, ce qui met en évidence son importance dans un monde où les femmes noires sont souvent marginalisées et opprimées.

Michel (1990), Lambert (2007) et Salien (2013) soulignent tous l'importance de la poésie de Senghor dans la célébration de la culture et de l'identité africaines, la remise en question des stéréotypes coloniaux et la promotion de la beauté et de la force des femmes noires. Dans

"Femme noire", Senghor propose un parallèle avec les effets négatifs du colonialisme sur l'Afrique et ses habitants. Le vers de Senghor "*Tamtam sculpté, tamtam tendu qui gronde sous les doigts du vainqueur*" sert de métaphore à l'objectivation et à la commercialisation des corps noirs pendant la période coloniale. Cette interprétation correspond à la manière dont les Africains étaient traités comme des ressources à exploiter par les puissances européennes.

Le vers "*Et ta voix comme une plainte de l'arbre blessé*" peut également être interprété comme une métaphore de la suppression et de la destruction des cultures et des traditions africaines par le colonialisme. Senghor, qui était profondément attaché à son héritage africain, a exprimé sa peine et sa colère face à la perte de ces traditions et à la façon dont les Africains ont été contraints de se conformer aux normes culturelles européennes. En exprimant ses sentiments, Senghor met en lumière la nature violente et exploiteuse du colonialisme et souligne l'importance de la récupération et de la préservation du patrimoine culturel africain.

En conclusion, les poèmes de Senghor reflètent son interprétation de l'avenir du Sénégal et de sa relation avec la France. À travers ses poèmes, Senghor souligne l'importance des traditions et des valeurs africaines qui ont souvent été marginalisées ou rejetées par le monde occidental. Senghor croyait en la préservation et la protection de l'identité africaine, ce qui est d'autant plus important que l'objectif colonial de la France était d'assimiler les Africains à la culture française. Senghor se considérait comme un pont entre les cultures africaine et européenne, et sa poésie reflète cette dualité. En utilisant des thèmes africains et des techniques poétiques françaises, Senghor remet en question les stéréotypes et les notions de réalité occidentale, montrant qu'il existe d'autres façons valables de comprendre le monde. Dans l'ensemble, l'œuvre de Senghor représente une affirmation puissante de l'identité culturelle

africaine et un appel à résister à la domination occidentale tout en maintenant une relation saine entre les cultures africaine et européenne.

Le Sénégal sous Senghor

Léopold Sédar Senghor a été le premier président du Sénégal de 1960 à 1980. Il a gouverné le Sénégal avec une approche focalisée sur la construction d'une identité nationale forte et sur le développement de l'économie du pays. La croyance de Senghor en l'idéologie de la négritude a influencé sa politique, qui met en valeur l'importance de la culture africaine et la nécessité pour les pays africains d'affirmer leur indépendance vis-à-vis des puissances coloniales (Senghor, 1976).

De nombreux mouvements sociaux ont émergé au Sénégal sous le mandat de Senghor. Ces mouvements étaient motivés par une variété de questions concernant les droits du travail, l'éducation, l'engagement politique et les droits des femmes. Le mouvement étudiant, caractérisé par des manifestations et des grèves, a été l'un des plus importants pendant la présidence de Senghor, qui a répondu en s'engageant auprès des leaders étudiants et en implémentant des politiques pour augmenter l'accès à l'éducation et encourager la participation politique des jeunes. Senghor a aussi cherché à régler les problèmes spécifiques au monde du travail par des réformes législatives qui améliorent les conditions de travail, augmentent les salaires et favorisent la sécurité de l'emploi tout en équilibrant le développement économique et la justice sociale.

L'approche de Senghor en matière de gestion des mouvements sociaux était guidée par sa conviction que la discussion politique et le compromis étaient importants. Il a accepté la légitimité des problèmes de ces groupes et a essayé de s’y adresser par une combinaison de

réformes politiques et de négociations politiques. Bien que ses politiques aient été confrontées à plusieurs défis, notamment les difficultés économiques et les mouvements sociaux, Senghor est resté fidèle à sa vision pour le Sénégal. Sous la présidence de Senghor, le mouvement de la négritude s'est développé, ce qu'il a soutenu et reflété dans sa poésie et sa pensée politique. Son alliance avec la France durant son règne a toutefois provoqué des controverses au sein de la population sénégalaise.

Le 31 décembre 1980, Senghor a annoncé qu'il se retirait de la présidence du Sénégal, en raison de son âge et de son état de santé. Sa retraite marque la fin d'une ère dans la politique sénégalaise, et son protégé, Abdou Diouf, lui succède au poste de premier ministre. Senghor est reconnu pour ses efforts visant à faire du Sénégal un modèle africain de démocratie et de stabilité, même s'il a fait l'objet de certaines critiques concernant son administration. Il a continué à jouer un rôle clé dans les affaires internationales, à écrire et à parler de la politique et de la culture africaines jusqu'à sa mort en 2001.

English Summary of Chapter 2: The Legacy of Léopold Senghor and His Influential Works

Léopold Sédar Senghor is considered one of the most influential figures in Senegalese history. As a poet, philosopher, and politician, Senghor has played an important role in the process of identity formation in Senegal and the African continent more broadly. His concept of negritude, in particular, has been the subject of much discussion and debate in Africa and around the world. Negritude was an intellectual and literary movement that sought to reclaim and celebrate African identity and culture, which had been suppressed under colonialism. This chapter explores Senghor's definition of negritude, including critiques of his approach, as well as his approach to helping Senegal become independent after colonization through the development of an African identity that draws on both European and African cultures. This chapter will also examine some of Senghor's poems that are related to negritude and their significance to his approach. Finally, the chapter evaluates the legacy of Senghor's approach in today's Senegal and its relevance in contemporary African societies.

The Negritude Movement

The Négritude movement emerged as a response to colonialism and racism, seeking to celebrate black cultures and identities while promoting social justice and equality. Through essays, poetry, and novels, members of the movement highlighted their African heritage and pride. Léopold Sédar Senghor, one of the movement's most prominent figures, defined Négritude as a cultural, political, and philosophical movement aimed at reclaiming the dignity and humanity of black people and promoting their identity and values. Senghor's ideas continue to be relevant today, emphasizing the importance of cultural and ecological sustainability in promoting

social and economic development in Africa. However, Senghor's approach has also faced criticisms.

One criticism is that Négritude perpetuates essentialist notions of African identity, disregarding the vast diversity of cultural practices and traditions across the continent. Critics also argue that Senghor's emphasis on African culture as a means of resistance to colonialism overlooks the complex ways in which Africans engaged with and adapted to colonialism. Another critique is that Senghor's approach romanticizes pre-colonial African societies and does not adequately address contemporary issues facing African societies.

Despite these criticisms, Senghor's legacy and impact on African identity formation cannot be ignored. His contributions to the development of negritude have had a lasting impact on African thought and culture. The philosophy of Négritude continues to inspire and inform contemporary discussions on African identity and culture. While acknowledging the critiques of his approach, it is clear that Senghor's influence on the process of identity formation in Senegal and the African continent more broadly has been significant.

The Language Dilemma

In addition to his involvement in the negritude movement, choosing which language to convey African culture and society was another dilemma Senghor faced. The choice of French by Senghor in his writings has attracted the attention of academics due to its cultural and linguistic significance. Krupat (2003) asserts that Senghor's use of French was a deliberate act of cultural negotiation, serving to subvert the structure of colonial power and reclaim African identity. However, O'Brien (1994) also notes that Senghor's use of French was not a surrender to the colonizer, but a way to share African culture with the world, reaching a wider audience and sharing the rich African cultural heritage. While this choice allowed the outside world to glimpse

a resilient culture that thrives despite colonial changes, Senghor acted as a bridge between the two worlds, demonstrating the importance of a healthy relationship between Africa and the West, promoting mutual understanding, appreciation, respect, and cultural exchange which is convey later on in his poems.

I also believe that Senghor's commitment to preserving and promoting African culture through his writings speaks to the richness of Africa's history and traditions. Moudileno's (1997) analysis of Senghor's poetry suggests that the poet's use of French was a strategic decision aimed at creating a new hybrid language that reflected both African and French cultures. Overall, Senghor's use of French is significant in highlighting the complexity of cultural and linguistic negotiations, promoting intercultural exchanges, and preserving the richness of Africa's history and traditions.

Prayers to the Masks

Continuing on to some of his works, the poetry of Léopold Sédar Senghor, reflects his views on the relationship between Africa and the Western world, particularly France. During France's colonial rule, its objective was to transform Africans into French people, but Senghor believed in retaining his African identity. Senghor's poem "Prières aux masques," highlighting its emphasis on the sacred and mystical aspects of African masks, which symbolize the virtues of African spirituality and culture in the face of Western secularization and rationality. I argue that Senghor's poetry aims to preserve and promote African culture and religion through the use of African elements such as nature, culture, and spirituality.

The opening verse of the poem shows respect for the different types of African masks and indicates that African culture is unique. The silence in the verse can also be interpreted as a secret due to colonialism's influence, highlighting the need to preserve African culture. The

poem can also be seen as a prayer, in which Senghor calls on the masks to understand the dilemma of colonial domination and how it affects the spiritual and physical lives of Black people. I believe that Senghor's poetry aims to question Western perspectives and show that other ways of seeing reality are just as true and useful. The struggle to balance Western and African cultures is complex, and Senghor acknowledges this struggle in his poem by recognizing the pain and suffering that Africa has endured.

The humanistic poetry of Senghor is a reflection of his life and the things he saw happen. He looks to a higher power, most often to religion, to help him deal with the conflicts the West has brought in Africa. In conclusion, Senghor's poetry reflects his commitment to upholding and advancing African culture and religion, opposing Western hegemony, and achieving cultural harmony between the West and Africa.

Joal

Another poem I examined in this chapter is "Joal" by Léopold Sédar Senghor and its reflection of his personal memories of his hometown Joal. The article "Le rappel dans le 'Joal' de Léopold Sédar Senghor" by Charles O'Keefe is discussed,and provides a unique perspective on the themes of memory and placement in the poem. O'Keefe argues that the poem can be read as a metaphor for the African experience of colonization and the loss of cultural identity that often accompanies it. O'Keefe then goes on to provide a close reading of the poem, focusing on the way that Senghor uses language to evoke a sense of place and memory. He points out the use of repetition and rhythm in the poem, as well as the way that Senghor incorporates both French and Wolof (a West African language) into the text. O'Keefe argues that these linguistic choices help to reinforce the idea that cultural identity is complex and multi-layered, and that it is possible to be both African and European at the same time.

One of the most interesting aspects of the article is O'Keefe's discussion of the poem's use of memory. He argues that Senghor is not simply nostalgic for a lost African past, but rather is using memory as a tool for reclaiming cultural identity. O'Keefe writes, "Memory is not just a backward-looking force; it is also a way of asserting identity in the present." The passage highlights the emotional expression of Senghor's memories of his hometown and his desire to share African culture and identity through personal experiences. It also discusses the challenges of modernity and diaspora and how the use of nostalgia and the motif of home creates a sense of continuity and roots in African identity.

The perspective of King (2012) is also presented, which highlights the sense of disorientation and alienation in the poem but also emphasizes the connection to the past and shared African identity. The passage concludes by stating that Senghor's personal experiences and memories are essential in promoting and transmitting African culture to future generations, using the traditional method of sharing information through oral communication.

Femme Noir

Lastly, The poem "Femme noire" by Léopold Sédar Senghor has been examined from various perspectives, including its portrayal of black women and the metaphorical representation of the effects of colonization on the African continent. Scholars such as Michel, Lambert, and Salien have emphasized the importance of Senghor's poetry in celebrating African culture and identity, challenging colonial stereotypes, and promoting the beauty and strength of black women.

In "Femme noire," Senghor draws a parallel between the negative effects of colonialism on Africa and its people, using metaphors to express the objectification and commercialization of black bodies and the suppression and destruction of African cultures and traditions. Senghor

believed in the preservation and protection of African identity, which was often marginalized or rejected by the West. He saw himself as a bridge between African and European cultures and used African themes and French poetic techniques to challenge Western stereotypes and show that there are other valid ways of understanding the world. Overall, Senghor's work represents a powerful affirmation of African cultural identity and a call to resist Western domination while maintaining a healthy relationship between African and European cultures.

Senegal Under Senghors Leadership

Léopold Sédar Senghor, the first president of Senegal from 1960 to 1980, focused on building a strong national identity and developing the country's economy. His belief in the ideology of Negritude influenced his policy, which emphasized the importance of African culture and the need for African countries to assert their independence from colonial powers. During Senghor's presidency, numerous social movements emerged in Senegal, motivated by various issues related to labor rights, education, political engagement, and women's rights.

One of the most significant movements during Senghor's presidency was the student movement, characterized by protests and strikes. Senghor responded by engaging with student leaders and implementing policies to increase access to education and encourage political participation among young people. He also sought to address specific issues in the labor market through legislative reforms that improved working conditions, increased wages, and promoted job security while balancing economic development and social justice.

Senghor's approach to managing social movements was guided by his belief in the importance of political discussion and compromise. He acknowledged the legitimacy of these groups' issues and attempted to address them through a combination of political reforms and negotiations. Although his policies faced several challenges, including economic difficulties and

social movements, Senghor remained committed to his vision for Senegal. Under his presidency, the Negritude movement flourished, which he supported and reflected in his poetry and political thought. However, his alliance with France during his reign sparked controversy among the Senegalese population.

On December 31, 1980, Senghor announced his retirement from the presidency of Senegal due to his age and health. His retirement marked the end of an era in Senegalese politics, and his protege, Abdou Diouf, succeeded him as prime minister. Senghor is recognized for his efforts to make Senegal an African model of democracy and stability, although he faced criticism for his administration. He continued to play a key role in international affairs, writing and speaking about African politics and culture until his death in 2001.

Chapter 3: Democracy in Senegal and the Youth-Based Social Movements

Introduction:

The Chapter will discuss Senegal's democratic trajectory since its independence in 1960, with a focus on the country's political history and the involvement of youth-based social movements in shaping its political climate. Senegal has a long history of democracy, with peaceful and open elections that earned it the reputation of being a democratic nation. However, the current administration has come under fire for restricting press freedom and free speech, as well as for not being transparent about its decision-making. This chapter goes on to examine Senegal's democratic trajectory since the departure of President Léopold Sédar Senghor in 1980, with a particular focus on the growing youth involvement in politics. Despite Senegal's stable democracy, the country has experienced various challenges, including economic and social inequalities, corruption, and the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling elites. Lastly, the chapter also highlights the challenges faced by Senegal's democracy, including a weak opposition, the politicization of the judiciary, and the concentration of power in the hands of the executive branch. Furthermore, the country faces growing social and economic inequalities, with a high poverty rate and youth unemployment. One notable feature of Senegal's political landscape in recent years is the growing involvement of young people in politics, particularly through the Y'en a Marre movement, which emerged in 2011. The Y'en a Marre movement brought together artists, journalists, and activists to demand social and political change, emphasizing citizen participation and accountability. Their efforts have been credited with helping to engage more young people in the political process and promoting a more democratic and accountable government in Senegal.

The previous chapter provides an in-depth examination of Léopold Sédar Senghor's time in power and his impact on Senegal's development and implementation of democratic practices, notably through the Negritude movement. During his presidency, Senghor implemented certain democratic practices in Senegal. Although the country was a one-party state with his Socialist Party as the only legal political party, Senghor sought to promote greater accountability and responsiveness to the needs of the people. By the definitions of democracy, Senghors regime cannot be viewed as a democracy, however he introduced decentralization policies that gave local communities more power in decision-making, which aimed to create a more open and transparent political environment.

While Senghor is highly regarded for his use of democratic practices, he also used non-democratic tactics during his presidency (Senac, 2000). These tactics included restrictions on press freedom, human rights abuses, and the use of authoritarian measures to suppress dissent. For example, in 1974, Senghor's government passed a law that criminalized any speech or publication that was deemed insulting to the head of state, the government, or public officials, which was used to silence political opposition (Kramer & Lefebvre, 2019). These non-democratic practices have been common throughout Senegal's leadership, in which citizens' voices are limited to an extent that questions whether the country truly is a democracy. Yet, because of the "broad adult citizenship" that exists in Senegal, the nation may still be categorized as a democracy under Mainwaring, Schmitter, and Karl since democracies can restrict the range of people' voices. Yet, Samules' definition does not because certain voices may eventually be silenced, and Senegal's civil liberties are under jeopardy. I would argue that Senegal is at a critical juncture in its democratic history as mass movements are forming to prevent further limitations on the practice of democracy and civil liberties. The youth are fighting back against

the loss of democratic practice. Senegal is going backwards in terms of democracy, thus it's important to remember the limitations of that country's system (Ibrahim & Niang,2013).

After Senghor's presidency, Senegal's political landscape experienced significant democratic growth, but others drew criticism for their authoritarian tendencies and failure to preserve democratic values. From 1981 to 2000, Senghor's successor Abdou Diouf is acknowledged as being a key player in the country's democratic consolidation. While being initially favored due to his relationship with Senghor, Diouf's reforms extended beyond the influence of his predecessor. During his time as prime minister when Senghor was president, his activities focused on leading the government and implementing policies. With Diouf in charge, he was prepared to build on the foundation he and Senghor had laid. According to Schraeder (2014), Diouf "presided over a period of democratic opening in Senegal" and implemented institutional changes that strengthened democratic institutions. One of his major achievements was the 1992 constitution, which paved the way for increased political participation and democratic governance. The new constitution also emphasized decentralization of power, accountability, and transparency, which provided the opposition with the opportunity to contest elections fairly and introduce new ideas. These reforms helped to strengthen Senegal's democratic institutions and set the stage for future progress. Despite facing criticism and opposition from some quarters, Diouf's legacy as a leader who championed democracy and human rights in Senegal is widely recognized.

Continuing from 2000-2012, Abdoulaye Wade served as president of Senegal. In contrast to his predecessor, Wade was criticized for his authoritarian tendencies, manipulation of democratic institutions, and repression of dissenting voices (Darobe, 2010). Despite his early promises to promote democratic renewal, his presidency was marked by increasing

authoritarianism and corruption (Villalón, 2014) (Darobe, 2010). This led to widespread protests in Dakar and other parts of the country, as citizens expressed their dissatisfaction with the government. Wade received criticism for using coercive measures to silence dissenting voices and for not upholding democratic principles. The demonstrations reflected rising dissatisfaction with Wade's administration's lack of political accountability and openness in Senegal. These protests eventually gave rise to social movements that sought to defend democratic values in Senegal. Among these movements was Y'en A Marre, which protested against Wade's attempt to change the constitution and run for a third term. Y'en A Marre was particularly influential in mobilizing young people and using social media to spread its message (Ndour, 2014; Sylla, 2016). The movement's success was attributed to its strong organizational structure and its ability to tap into the frustrations of Senegal's youth (Ndour, 2014).

Today, Senegal's president since 2012, Macky Sall, has moved to restore the country's democratic heritage and advance democratic traditions. Macky Sall, was heavily supported by the youth through his promises of raising employment opportunities. To increase transparency, accountability, and decentralization of authority, he sponsored a measure against corruption in 2014 (Villalón, 2014). The proposed legislation was seen as a crucial step in strengthening the nation's rule of law and advancing good governance. By introducing the measure, President Wade showed his dedication to thwarting corruption and establishing a more transparent and accountable government. The proposal also aimed to make it easier for people to learn about government programs, budgets, and procurement processes. This tendency toward more transparency was seen as crucial to reducing the possibility of corruption and ensuring that government officials were held accountable for their actions. All things considered, President Wade's anti-corruption measure in Senegal was a big step toward encouraging good

administration and lowering corruption in the nation. Sall has also tried to increase the judiciary's efficacy and independence. He has drawn criticism for his propensity to bypass democratic institutions through executive orders and to consolidate authority in the executive branch (Darobe, 2010).

In conclusion, Senegal's post-Senghor presidents have had mixed records in consolidating democracy in the country. While some, such as Abdou Diouf, have made significant progress, others, such as Abdoulaye Wade, have faced criticism for undermining democratic institutions. Macky Sall has made efforts to promote democratic renewal, but his concentration of power in the executive branch remains a challenge. The path towards a more robust and enduring democratic system in Senegal continues to present both opportunities and challenges for further reform.

Senegal's democracy under Theory

The country has maintained free and fair elections and increased democratic ideas through an engaged citizen population, resulting in advancements in democratic practice. However, since Senghor's presidency, non-democratic methods have been used alongside democratic progress due to the extensive powers of the president and limitations on civil liberties, particularly in the media and press. Democracy can slowly erode over time due to restricted civil liberties. Senegal is classified as "partly free" in the Freedom House assessment for 2023, with limitations on civil liberties leading to unrest among citizens and a lack of accountability in the political system. Those most impacted are young people and organizations who are struggling economically. Senegal's history has seen social movements play a vital role in strengthening democracy and accountability; nevertheless, limited civil liberties make it harder

for them to flourish, which contributes to a pattern of democracies deteriorating. Senegalese social movement Y'en A Marre opposes neo-colonialism and upholds democratic principles. (Gawerc, 2014; Foweraker & Landman, 2000). Yet, the nation's restricted civil rights make it less likely for social movements to emerge, which has contributed to a trend of democracies' deterioration because of this restriction (Gawerc, 2014).

Role of Youth Based social movements

Social movements led by young people have sparked change in numerous nations all over the world. These movements have made a big difference on Senegal's political and social scene. In Senegal, where more than 60% of the population is under 25, youth have been at the forefront of numerous social and political movements. I define youth based social movements as the organization of young people seeking to bring change or resistance to change. Like social movements their actions are given by a common goal or objective that can be either ideological motivated or due to material needs such as unemployment. These youth-led movements have played a significant role in the nation's advocacy for democracy, social justice, and human rights. Young people have been using their platforms and voices to affect change in Senegal, from student-led protests to online activism. Through their actions, Senegal's democracy has been strengthened through citizen engagement. These movements have emerged as a response to political and economic challenges faced by the country, and have played a significant role in promoting democracy and civic engagement among young people.

The rise of youth-based social movements in Africa has been a significant development in recent years, particularly in countries like Senegal, where young people constitute a significant proportion of the population. These movements have played a significant role in advancing

democratic principles, social fairness, and accountability while undermining the political elite's hold on authority. Y'en A Marre, which formed in 2011 in opposition to the government's proposal to amend the constitution and permit President Wade to run for a third term, is one such movement that has attracted national and worldwide attention.

Y'en A Marre, which translates to "enough is enough," is a youth-based social movement that emerged as a response to the political and economic challenges facing Senegal. The movement mobilized young people through music, rallies, and social media to challenge the government's decision to change the Constitution and allow President Wade to run for a third term (Bryson, 2014). The movement's use of popular culture, particularly music, was a significant factor in mobilizing young people who were disillusioned with the political establishment and felt that their voices were not being heard.

Y'en A Marre's involvement in the 2012 presidential election was a significant turning point for the movement. Through various tactics, including hip-hop music, social media, and street rallies, the movement raised awareness about issues such as corruption, unemployment, and a lack of opportunities for young people. These initiatives helped to create a sense of community among supporters and a shared commitment to social change. As a result, thousands of young people were inspired to register to vote and take part in the 2012 presidential election, making Y'en A Marre's efforts a resounding success...The movement's influence was felt in the election results, which saw the incumbent president, Abdoulaye Wade, defeated by Macky Sall. The movement's involvement in the election demonstrated the power of youth-based social movements in promoting democracy and political engagement among young people in Senegal (Villalón & Idrissa, 2015). Additionally, Y'en A Marre organized voter registration drives and monitored polling stations during the 2012 presidential election, inspiring thousands of young

people to participate in the democratic process. As a result of these efforts, the movement successfully challenged the political status quo and helped to usher in a new era of democratic governance in Senegal (Bryson, 2014). Y'en A Marre's success has inspired similar youth-led movements in other West African countries, such as Burkina Faso's Balai Citoyen (Touré, 2017).

The movement's focus on promoting democratic values and accountability is particularly important in Senegal, which has a robust history with France and continues to face challenges related to neo-colonialism. According to De Heredia's analysis from 2022, citizen movements are essential for advancing democratic principles and opposing neocolonialism. While not being expressly referenced, Senghor's ideas about forging an African identity through civic participation are tied to this notion. Similar to the strategies utilized by the prosperous social movement Y'en A Marre in Senegal, the young are mobilizing others to engage in the democratic process by using music and other forms of expression to increase awareness. The efforts of contemporary youth to increase civic involvement to sustain a system that prioritizes the needs of its residents reflect Senghor's ideal of a system that serves its people and instills civic engagement in them. Through the usage of music, art, and poetry, they are utilizing their native language in combination with the French language to build a more attentive senegalese identity. One of the founders of the movement discussed the need for NTS which stands for “Nouveau type du senegalese” in english translating to a “New Type of Senegalese”. Since their actions took a political position in the country, they have been focused on refueling the democratic commitment in Senegal, by advocating for a system that serves and listens to its people but most important citizens who are attentive to political actions. Fadel Barro, one of the leaders during an interview, mentions how citizens are just as much to blame as the people, because they allow

leaders to act this way (Nelson, 2014), demonstrating the importance of citizen engagement in resisting external influences and promoting democratic values.

Lastly, the movement "Y'en a marre," draws on resources that highlight connections to Senghor and his teachings of seeking to develop an African identity. Meaning the values that senghor instilled in the country's early stages of development are now used through the youth and the creation of social movements seeking for a system to serve its citizens. For example, Senghor emphasized the importance of African languages and cultures in shaping a strong and vibrant society. The movement is building on this idea by utilizing its native language in combination with French to build a more attentive Senegalese identity through music, art, and poetry. In an interview, Fadel Barro, one of the leaders of the movement, mentioned how citizens are just as much to blame as the people in power, because they allow leaders to act this way (Nelson, 2014). By promoting a culture of political awareness and engagement, the movement is working towards building a society that is more accountable and responsive to its citizens.

One example of the movement's actions in line with Senghor's ideas is their call for more investment in education and vocational training programs. By promoting education and entrepreneurship, Senegal can continue to build a strong and vibrant society that is capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st century (Nelson, 2014). The movement's call for a more engaged and attentive citizenry is also in line with Senghor's ideas about the importance of humanism and civic responsibility. Since their actions took a political position in the country, the movement has been focused on refueling the democratic commitment in Senegal. By advocating for a system that serves and listens to its people, but most importantly citizens who are attentive to political actions, the movement is building on Senghor's ideas about the importance of education and humanism in shaping a strong and vibrant society.

In conclusion, the movement in Senegal is drawing on Senghor's legacy directly and promoting a more engaged and culturally rich Senegalese society. By utilizing their native language and promoting education and entrepreneurship, the movement is building on Senghor's ideas about the importance of culture, humanism, and education in shaping a strong and vibrant African society. However, the difference here from Senghor is the perspectives in which they were operating under. Senghor primarily focused on an international lens while this movement is heavily focused on the domestic perspective of Senegal's future. In addition, compared to Senghor the relationship with France to the youth has become a convoluted question with mixed feelings towards their involvement in senegal.

In conclusion, Senegal's democracy is being strengthened through citizen engagement and youth-based social movements. These movements have played a significant role in promoting democratic values and accountability, particularly in response to political and economic challenges. Additionally, citizen movements have helped to resist neo-colonialism and promote democratic values in the face of external influences. Y'en A Marre's use of popular culture to mobilize young people and promote democratic values is a significant example of the power of youth-based social movements in promoting social and political change.

Social Movement theory and Y’en A Marre

According to the classification of a social movement, one of these classifications is operating outside the legal realm (Gawerc, 2014). Y’en A Marre does so and works inherently outside the legal realm to maintain independence and also address the issues caused from the legal realm in Senegal (Nelson, 2014). The social movements demand align with developing democratic values, transparency and accountability not just from their leaders buit also from the

citizens, because their voice matters. Since 2012 the movement has shown that they are persistent in remaining a resource for senegalese because there is a threat to their civil liberties, through their ability to organize the youth into stopping the potential third term of Abdoulaye Wade. Since then, the movement has remained an activity which by-passes what social movements are by definition because they typically dissolve after their objective is complete. However, in the case of this social movement thay have remained attentive to the current political climate of senegal and be a resoucres for the youth to continue to engage.

From alanysing the way social movements form Y'en A Marre, they are no exemption fom the three lenses. With identity politics we can see the group's reason for organizing and forming is due to wanting motivated members to help spread awareness to democracy. What keeps them organized and united is their drive to seek a more accountable, transparent democracy that addresses inequalities. Moving on with resource management, the youth movements are using various tactics such as, poems, hip hop and rap to spread awareness to the regions of dakar. In addition to that they have also been utlizing the country's large youth population in Senegal to continue to keep distant regions of Dakar informed about what's happening politically. Through this lens the movement is not only ultizing its youth population but also its connections with various members who come from different backgrounds. Lastly with political opportunity structure there is a particular focus onthe political envioment that allows both social movement and state to functon. In senegal social movements have been able to gather in this environment however their civil liberties are constantly undermined by the government. Sepcifcally speech media, and others who speak ill-will of the current institution.

Furthermore, studies have shown that social movements, whether they are working to protect the environment, advance social equality, or defend civil freedoms, frequently succeed in

attaining their objectives. Consequently, it is plausible to say that social movements' development is intimately related to the purpose they serve in society, and that accountability and civil rights are crucial elements of these movements (Gawerc, 2014). They don't fit the criteria of social movements since they keep going after their goal has been achieved. They act with or without the support of the legal system, developing a physical base (Demarest, 2016; Faye, 2008).

Y'en A Marre's Connection to Senghor

Although Léopold Sédar Senghor and the Y'en A Marre movement have different backgrounds and strategies, they both strive towards the same objective of promoting African values and principles in governance. Senghor, being a renowned intellectual and statesman, advocated for African culture and unity, while the Y'en A Marre movement is a youth-led social movement that uses popular culture to mobilize young people to promote democracy and civic engagement in Senegal. Despite these differences, they are united in promoting African principles in governance.

Léopold Sédar Senghor, a champion of African culture, worked tirelessly to promote African culture and values in governance. Senghor believed that African culture was key to promoting African unity, and that African values could be used to build a better and more democratic society (Vaillant, 1990). The Y'en A Marre movement's use of popular culture to mobilize young people to promote democracy and civic engagement in Senegal is an extension of Senghor's commitment to promoting African culture and values. The movement's use of music, social media, rallies, and cultural events to engage young people in the political process aligns with Senghor's vision of promoting African culture and values in governance.

Senghor had the view that African principles might be exploited to create a better and more democratic society, and the Y'en A Marre movement's initiatives to undermine the political elite's monopoly on power and advance more openness and accountability in government are in accordance with this view. His dictatorial methods throughout his administration were notable, but what's fascinating about his strategy was that he would include individuals who frequently disagreed with his viewpoints. For instance, Senghor's pledges to boost the economy and open access to higher education helped to quell the social upheavals that emerged under his reign. Although not supporting democracy, he would use talks and peace conferences to suppress other voices criticizing areas of his administration (Darboe, Alieu, 2010 & Galvan, Dennis, 2001). The movement's resistance to neo-colonialism and promotion of democratic values in the face of external influences can also be seen as a continuation of Senghor's advocacy for African unity and identity. Senghor believed that African unity was essential to promoting African culture and values in governance and worked tirelessly to promote African unity both in Senegal and internationally.

In conclusion, Y'en A Marre has put forward a set of demands that aim to promote democratic values, eliminate corrupt officials, and reform electoral regulations. The movement is also inspired by former president Senghor's commitment to African unity and identity and seeks to promote Senegalese culture and identity as well. However, Y'en A Marre's approach differs from Senghor's as it emphasizes grassroots mobilization and political accountability rather than top-down cultural policy. Senghor's idea of promoting African culture and values is echoed in the movement's use of popular culture to include young people in politics.

Furthermore, although they adopt a different strategy, Y'en A Marre's opposition to neo-colonialism and support of democratic values are like Senghor's support for African unity

and identity. Senghor sided with France to advance Senegal's growth and development during his reign. The youth are now aware that their connection with France is no longer reciprocal, and that France is still taking advantage of Senegal. Building on Senghor's tradition, Y'en A Marre is establishing the groundwork for a more democratic and active Senegalese society.

In conclusion, Léopold Sédar Senghor's commitment to promoting African culture and values in governance has had a significant impact on Senegal's democratic progression. His belief in using African values to build a better and more democratic society has been reflected in the efforts of youth-based social movements like the Y'en A Marre movement to promote democracy and civic engagement among young people. Both Senghor and the Y'en A Marre movement share a commitment to promoting African unity and identity, resisting external influences, and promoting democratic values in Senegal. Their use of popular culture to engage young people in the political process has been a powerful tool in mobilizing and challenging the political elite's monopoly on power. Overall, the connection between these movements and Senghor's legacy highlights the important role of African culture and values in promoting democracy and civic engagement in Senegal.

Conclusion

The final chapter of our exploration of Senegal's political landscape brings together the various threads that we have examined in the previous three chapters. By examining democracy, social movement theory, and Senegal's political history, we can see the interplay between social movements and democratic institutions. Furthermore, we can see the influence of figures like Léopold Sédar Senghor, who played a significant role in promoting African culture and values in governance.

Despite Senegal being known as a stable democracy, the country has faced several challenges, including economic and social inequalities, corruption, and the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling elites. One of the significant challenges facing Senegal's democracy is a weak opposition, the politicization of the judiciary, and the concentration of power in the hands of the executive branch. Furthermore, the country faces growing social and economic inequalities, with a high poverty rate and youth unemployment.

However, one notable feature of Senegal's political landscape in recent years is the growing involvement of young people in politics, particularly through the Y'en a Marre movement, which emerged in 2011. The Y'en a Marre movement brought together artists, journalists, and activists to demand social and political change, emphasizing citizen participation and accountability. Their efforts have been credited with helping to engage more young people in the political process and promoting a more democratic and accountable government in Senegal.

The rise of the Y'en a Marre movement reflects the growing significance of social movements in fostering political accountability and change. Social movements are frequently viewed as a check on established political institutions because they give regular people a platform to express their concerns and call for change. In Senegal, the Y'en a Marre movement

has been successful in mobilizing young people, who make up a significant proportion of the country's population, to engage in politics and demand accountability from their leaders.

Senghor's legacy is also present in the Y'en a Marre movement's emphasis on promoting African culture and values in governance. Senghor believed that African values could be used to build a better and more democratic society, and the Y'en a Marre movement shares this belief. They have used popular culture, such as music and art, to engage young people in the political process and promote a sense of national unity and identity.

The challenges facing Senegal's democracy are significant, but the growing involvement of young people in politics offers hope for a more democratic and accountable government. The Y'en a Marre movement's success in mobilizing young people and promoting accountability reflects the importance of civic engagement in promoting democracy and political change.

It is important to note that France has played a larger role in Senegal's politics over the course of its history. More than ever, this is an important factor to consider because of the ongoing effects of their colonial past on their interactions with Senegal and the wider West African region. It is crucial to consider whether Senegal's current state reflects a break with France or a return to the "Big Man" thesis, which holds that a powerful leader with authoritarian tendencies weakens democratic institutions and the rule of law. Senegal's democracy still depends on democratic principles, and the country's future democracy depends on giving its citizens a voice.

Overall, this final chapter emphasizes the importance of civic engagement, accountability, and promoting African culture and values in promoting democracy and political change in Senegal and beyond. Senegal's political landscape offers lessons for other countries

grappling with similar challenges, highlighting the potential of social movements to promote positive change and the importance of engaging young people in the political process.

Appendix

PRIÈRE AUX MASQUES

Masques ! O Masques !

Masque noir masque rouge, vous masques blanc-et-noir

Masques aux quatre points d'où souffle l'Esprit

Je vous salute dans le silence !

Et pas toi le dernier, Ancêtre à tête de lion.

Vous gardez ce lieu forclose a tout rire de femme, a tout

sourire qui se fane

Vous distillez cet air d'éternité où je respire l'air de mes

Pères.

Masques aux visages sans masques, dépouillés de toute fossette de toute fossette

comme de toute ride

Qui avez composé ce portrait, ce visage mien penché sur

l'autel de papier blanc

A votre image, écoutez-moi !

Voici que meurt l'Afrique des empires --- c'est l'agonie

d'une princesse pitoyable

Et aussi l'Europe à qui nous sommes liés par le nombril.

Fixez vos yeux immuables sur vos enfants que l'on commande

Qui donnent leur vie comme le pauvre son dernier vêtement.

Que nous répondions présents à la renaissance du monde

Ainsi le levain qui est nécessaire à la farine blanche.

Car qui apprendrait le rythme au monde défunt des machines et des canons ?

Qui pousserait le cri de joie pour réveiller morts et orphe-

-lins à l'aurore ?

Dites, qui rendrait la mémoire de vie à l'homme aux espoirs

éventrés ?

Ils nous disent les hommes du coton du café de l'huile

Ils nous disent les hommes de la mort.

Nous sommes les hommes de la danse, dont les pieds

reprennent vigueur en frappant le sol dur.

PRAYER TO MASKS

Masks! O Masks!

Black mask red mask, you white-and-black masks

Masks of the four points from which the Spirit blows

In silence I salute you!

Nor you the least, Lion-headed Ancestor

You guard this place forbidden to all laugher of women, to all smiles

that fade

You distil this air of eternity in which I breathe the air of my fathers.

Masks of unmasked faces, stripped of the marks of illness and the lines

Of age

In your own image, hear me!

The African of the empires is dying, see, the agony of a pitiful princess

And Europe too where we are joined by the navel.

Fix your unchanging eyes upon your children, who are given orders

Who give away their lives like the poor their last clothes.

Lest us report present at the rebirth of the world

Like the yeast which white flaour needs

For who would teach rhythm to a dead world of machines and guns?

Who would give the cry of joy to wake the dead and the bereaved at

dawn?

Say, who would give the cry of joy to wake the dead and the breaved at

dawn?

They call us men if coffee cotton oil

They call us men of death.

We are the men of dance, whose feet draw new strength pounding

The hardened earth.

JOAL

Jaol !

Je me rappelle.

Je me rappelle les signares à l'ombre verte des vérandas
Les signaes aux yeux surreels comme un clair de lune sur
la greve.

Je me rappelle les fastes du couchant
Ou Koumba N'Dofene voulait faire tailler son mantaeu
royal.

Je me rappelle les festins funebres fumant du sang des
Troupeaux egorges
Du bruit des querelles, des rhapsodies des groits.
Je me rappelle les voix paiennes rythmant le *Tantum Ergo*
Et les processions et les palmes et les arcs de triomphe.
Je me rappelle la danse des filles nubilles
Les chœurs de lutte --- oh ! la danse finale des jeunes hommes,
Buste
Penché elance, et le pur cri d'amour des femmes - *kor siga !*

Je me rappelle, je me rappelle…

Ma tete rythmant

Quelle marche lasse le long des jours d'Europe ou parfois

Apparaît un jazz orphelin qui sanglote sanglote sanglote.

Joal

Jaol!

I remember.

I remember the signares in the green shade of the verandas

The signaes with their surreal eyes like a moonlight on

the strike.

I remember the splendor of the sunset

Where Koumba N'Dofene wanted to have his coat

his royal mantua.

I remember the funeral feasts steaming with the blood of

Slaughtered herds

Of the noise of the quarrels, of the rhapsodies of theorist.

I remember the pagan voices giving rhythm to the Tantum Ergo

And the processions and the palms and the triumphal arches.

I remember the dance of the nubile girls

The wrestling chorus --- oh! the final dance of the young men,

Bust

Leaning elance, and the pure cry of love of the women - kor siga!

I remember, I remember...

My rhythmic head

What a weary walk along the days of Europe where sometimes

Appears an orphaned jazz that sobs sobs sobs sobs.

Femme Noire

Femme nue, femme noire

Vétue de ta couleur qui est vie, de ta forme qui est beauté !

J'ai grandi à ton ombre; la douceur de tes mains bandait

mes yeux

Et voilà qu'au cœur de l'Eté et de Midi, Je te découvre,

Terre promise, du haut d'un haut col calciné

Et ta beauté me foudroie en plein cœur, comme l'éclair

d'un aigle

Femme nue, femme obscure

Fruit mûr à la chair ferme, sombres extases du vin noir,

bouche qui fais lyrique ma bouche

Savane aux horizons purs, savane qui frémis aux caresses

ferventes du Vent d'Est

Tamtam sculpté, tamtam tendu qui gronde sous les doigts
du vainqueur
Ta voix grave de contralto est le chant spirituel de l'Aimée

Femme noire, femme obscure
Huile que ne ride nul souffle, huile calme aux flancs de
l'athlète, aux flancs des princes du Mali
Gazelle aux attaches célestes, les perles sont étoiles sur
la nuit de ta peau
Délices des jeux de l'Esprit, les reflets de l'or ronge ta
peau qui se moire
A l'ombre de ta chevelure, s'éclaire mon angoisse aux
soleils prochains de tes yeux.

Femme nue, femme noire
Je chante ta beauté qui passe, forme que je fixe dans l'Eternel
Avant que le destin jaloux ne te réduise en cendres pour
nourrir les racines de la vie.

Black Woman

Naked woman, black woman
Clothed with your colour which is life, with
your form which is beauty
In your shadow I have grown up; the
gentleness of your hands was laid over my
eyes.
And now, high up on the sun-baked pass, at the
heart of summer, at the heart of noon,
I come upon you, my Promised Land,
And your beauty strikes me to the heart like
the flash of an eagle.

Naked woman, dark woman
Firm-fleshed ripe fruit, sombre raptures of
black wine, mouth making lyrical my mouth
Savannah stretching to clear horizons,
savannah shuddering beneath the East
Wind's eager
caresses
Carved tom-tom, taut tom-tom, muttering
under the Conqueror's fingers

Your solemn contralto voice is the
spiritual song of the Beloved.

Naked woman, dark woman
Oil that no breath ruffles, calm oil on the
athlete's flanks, on the flanks of the Princes of Mali
Gazelle limbed in Paradise, pearls are stars on
the night of your skin

Delights of the mind, the glinting of red gold
against your watered skin

Under the shadow of your hair, my care
is lightened by the neighboring suns of your
eyes.

Naked woman, black woman,
I sing your beauty that passes, the form
that I fix in the Eternal,
Before jealous fate turn you to ashes to
feed the roots of life.

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