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CULTURAL POLICY AND THE HERITAGIZATION IN SENEGAL: FROM INSTITUTIONAL PRESCRIPTIONS TO THE RE-EVALUATION OF VALUES

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Abstract:

L'héritagisation des valeurs et des biens culturels, ou l'appropriation d'un objet patrimonial n'est jamais neutre; elles sont érigées à partir d'enjeux culturels, identitaires, sociologiques ou politiques. Il semble qu'au Sénégal, les campagnes visant à établir l'héritage et le développement du patrimoine culturel, initiées par l'État ou par les communautés, ont suivi les idéologies politiques et les préoccupations socio-économiques. Cet article tente d'examiner les mécanismes et la logique qui ont soutenu l'institutionnalisation, la production du patrimoine culturel issu du registre officiel ou les entreprises en quête de références identitaires. L'analyse s'articule autour de l'État (colonial et post-indépendant) créant, restructurant et normalisant les souvenirs et les traditions historiques. Le débat porte également sur les nouvelles imaginations et la récupération des valeurs identitaires - déployées dans la sphère publique - et provoquant la dénonciation des systèmes politiques et socioculturels ou les tentatives de réforme des valeurs.

Senegal has a diverse cultural heritage which is shown by its complex, heterogeneous and global character. This cultural heritage has considerably changed over time and in its composition. Dynamics have been at work in this heritage, linked in particular to religious influences (Islam, Christianity), colonization, urban development, globalization and to socio-economic crises. Senegalese heritage consists in variety of historical monuments and sites, practices and know-how that, to some, go far back in the past. French colonization

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in particular has strongly marked the cultural structures and heritagization¹ of Senegal's cultural heritage using the State. As in all former colonies, French became the official language and France spatial, sociocultural and judicial references became the norm. The introduction of these new concepts in Senegal triggered a process of heritagization on a vast scale and created a new identity from a colonial perspective. On the one hand, it formed a colonial memory, structured around strategic buildings and urban architecture in Senegal's colonial towns of Gorée, Saint Louis, Dakar and Rufisque (also known as the Four Communes, those held the same legal status as communes in metropolitan France). On the other hand, it stimulated scientific research in the field of colonial ethnography, the formation of ethnographical and archaeological collections, the creation of cultural institutions and legal provisions for the protection of cultural heritage. The history and legacy of the colonial period have been appropriated by the political authorities of the Senegalese post-independence state, following different logics and ideologies. For the construction of a nation-state identity, the leaders have drawn from the repertoire of symbols and emblematic values inherited from their ancestors and the black-African history. Their challenge was to incorporate the duality by the constructing and deconstructing of memories, legacy and identities of Senegal. This has provoked the amalgamation, reorganisation, and rehabilitation of different roots, as well as representations and historical memories. Through institutional decisions, cultural models, places, memories, symbols, traditions and values have been promoted as national, and indeed universal, cultural heritage. A serious economic crisis has shaken the country starting from the 1980s, provoking budget restrictions and structural adjustments imposed by the international financial institutions. The economic problems, the deterioration in the standards of living and morals values have resulted in the exploitation of cultural heritage by communities and political leaders. The staging of cultural heritage is rendered by constructing or re-appropriating glorious myths, and by reinventing or re-evaluating the acquired or imposed identity values. Many attempts have been made to reformulate the past and regain control over heritage. This has triggered a blossoming of identities and fragmented heritages. This study aims to analyze the evolution of the official cultural discourse in the operations of construction and heritagization of the colonial and post

¹ Heritagization refers to the processes by which heritage is constructed, heritagization is also a social or political process whose final outcome is the presentation and interpretation of heritage (Rogerio-Candelera, Lazzari and Cano, 2013: 388–389; Poria, 2010: 217–228).

independent memories and identities. This dissertation also sheds light on new efforts to reclaim and redefine heritage and cultural expressions of identity.

Composition of colonial references and heritage status

The French colonial authorities imposed a strategy of territorial and humanistic exploitation, while using cultural (civilizing mission) and economic progress as an excuse. Spatial and socio-historic restructuring, as well as the cultural values and other imported models of reference were transferred to Senegal from France. Indeed, the imperialist aims and the functioning needs of the colonial bureaucracy led to the introduction of new references of identity across historical, memorial, institutional, spatial and sociocultural lines. Amongst these imported ideas, was the Western and Eurocentric concept of heritage. However, before the introduction of the French culture and ideology, it was necessary to implement an important mechanism which enabled them to impose and consolidate their colonial power. The foundation of Senegal as a colony from 1816 (Mbaye, 1991: 5–32) was preceded by the instigation of a series of strategic measures that aimed to facilitate the territorial conquest and profitable exploitation of the colony, its protection and expansion. By creating military fortifications (forts, military posts and watchtowers) and salvaging the architectural heritage, constructed during the Atlantic trade period, the colonial authorities tried to achieve this goal. After the creation of strategic military bases came the urban developments, notably in the coastal towns of Gorée, Saint-Louis, Dakar and Rufisque. In addition to creating a new urban structure, these projects provided to the colonial towns a development plan and architectural forms (Sinou, 1993). They introduced new representations of identity construction and memory, new codes of recognition and exclusion. The colonial developments created memorial signs: for example the naming of streets and urban squares, the building of monuments commemorating important people or events. The new architectural constructions and the spatial organisation influenced the transformation of community relations and the formation of new identity barriers within the traditional social networks. The colonial urbanisation (inspired by European towns) introduced boundaries within the urban communities, and a distinction between solid buildings and straw dwellings, residential quarters and shanty towns. This process contributed to the emergence of a citizenship sentiment, within the Four Communes of Senegal (for more on this subject see, for example, Johnson [1971] and Jones [2013]), and introduced

segregation at the heart of the colonised population (French citizens and French subjects).

This resulted in the establishment of an urban society, achieving the cultural aims of colonial rule through the institutions, spatial organisation, architectural creations and urban infrastructures. The architectural monuments produced by the colonial occupation were subsequently identified as part of the heritage and historic memory which merited conservation. With the passing of time and the adoption of statutory texts² for the protection of heritage in the France's overseas territories, certain colonial architectural sites were ranked on a list of natural monuments and historical sites in French West Africa. They were considered to be heritage because they testified to a colonial memory. Thus, the Gorée Island was declared an historical island and classified by decree no. 2272 from the 15th of November 1944³. The heritagization of Gorée was significant because the island is symbolic and full of memories for the colonial power. The site was the object of interest of several Europeans (Portugal, Holland, England and France) but the French succeeded in consolidating their power. The Commission des Monuments Historiques et des Arts Indigènes (Commission for Historical Monuments and Indigenous Arts of the French West Africa) proposed other colonial monuments, archaeological sites, as well as symbolic places of the Lebu community of Dakar⁴ (sacred trees and meeting places of dignitaries from the first Lebu village of Dakar) for classification on the official list⁵. One

² For example the decree of 25 August 1937 for the protection of natural monuments and historic sites, which have scientific, legendary or picturesque characters and found in the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories governed by the Ministry of Colonies, stretches the protection of monumental heritage in French West Africa. The metropolitan law of 27 September 1941 concerning the regulation of archeological excavations was extended in French West Africa by the decree of 25 January 1944 concerning the classification of historic objects and the regulation of archeological excavations. See *Journal Officiel de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* no.1744, 16 October 1937, pp. 1063–1065; *Journal Officiel de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* no.2166, 2 June 1945, pp. 402–405.

³ *Journal Officiel de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, 9 December 1944, 834.

⁴ The relations between the Lebu community of Dakar and the colonial government were marked by incessant confrontations and settlements pertaining to the land ownership of the Cap Vert Peninsula off the coast of Dakar. The official heritagization of certain places, where the memories were taken over and kept alive by the Lebu community, seems to be a part of the attempt at appeasement in the relations between the colonial authorities and the Lebu dignitaries.

⁵ See Letter by Monod, Theordore (no.580/IFAN) addressed to the Director of Political, Administrative and Social Affairs for the French Government, dated the 26th of February 1947. Senegal Archives O625(31).

exemple is the house of the chevalier Stanislas Jean de Boufflers⁶ located in Gorée. The watchtower of Dialakhar, a small fort located approximately 40km southeast of Saint-Louis, was also proposed for classification. This fortified tower was built in 1856 on the orders of Faidherbe⁷, governor of Senegal, to protect Saint-Louis against attacks by the indigenous rulers of the Walo, Fouta, Cayor and especially those incessant attacks by the King Moors of Trarza Mohammed-el Habib and his son Ely (resulting from the marriage with the princess Guimbotte), heir to the Wolof kingdom of Walo.

The colonial administrative needs led the government to introduce a policy of get acquainted with the indigenous societies. This policy depended on collecting the oral and historical traditions that was the cultural heritage of the submissive population. Knowledge of their languages, customs, habits, and indigenous traditions aimed to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. This knowledge was used to implement a lasting and efficient management from the colonial power. It is within this framework that the army and the colonial administration distinguished themselves with the research and publication of studies dedicated to the ethnography and local history. The oral traditions were recorded, translated into French, written down in manuscripts and made public in renowned scientific reviews⁸. This represented a new form of heritagization of the oral and historical traditions of different ethno-linguistic groups, which were written down and archived to create a colonial memory to be preserved for ethnographic and administrative needs. Because these oral traditions were changing, owing to the dominant position held of the written used by the new power (notably in the administration and education sectors) and especially because of the profound dynamics of the indigenous societies, they were affected by colonial references and values. The majority of researchers from the IFAN

⁶ Boufflers was a naval officer, renowned novelist and poet; he arrived in Saint-Louis as governor of Senegal on 21 January 1786. Boufflers stayed in Saint-Louis for a few months and then left for Gorée, where he established the new capital of the colony of Senegal. During his governorship in Senegal (from 1785 to 1787) he corresponded regularly with his French lover and future wife, Anne de Sabran. Signare Anne Pépin became Boufflers's companion while he lived in Gorée. See Bouteiller, 1995 and Delcourt, 1984.

⁷ Faidherbe served as governor of Senegal in two terms, from 1854 to 1861 and from 1863 to 1865. See Brunel, 1892 and Coursier, 1989

⁸ The *Moniteur du Sénégal et Dépendances* (the official newspaper published by the administration), the *Revue d'Ethnographie*, the *Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale*, the *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF*, the *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, the *Notes Africaines*.

(Institut Français d'Afrique Noire/ African Institute of Basic research)—particularly, Théodore Monod, Raymond Mauny, Charles and Vincent Monteil—and French officials, such as Faidherbe, Binger, Gaden, Delafosse, Houdas and Clozel, contributed greatly to the pioneering operation of heritagization of the African oral sources. Their work constituted indisputable sources for historical, sociological and cultural research in Senegal. The Dakar IFAN had the privilege of preserving a collection of manuscripts written or recorded, collected by the French administration and their collaborators. These included the collections of Brévié, Figaret, Vieillard and Kamara (Diallo, 1966).

The wars for territorial conquest and the need for knowledge about the indigenous societies instigated the collection of ethnographical and archaeological objects from Senegal. The colonial army and administration built up a private collection of objects for domestic use, emblems of power, finery and weaponry belonging to the local warriors and aristocrats (Dembélé, 2001: 108–135; Mbaye, 1995: 41–43). The distinguished collections by Louis Faidherbe (engineering officer), have been preserved and can be seen at the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle (Natural History Museum) in Lille. There are also the collections of Cyprien Monborgne, Reichenberg and Archinard. These are preserved at the Museum in Le Havre and the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) in Paris, whose collections from outside of Europe were transferred to the Quai Branly Museum (opened in Paris in 2006). These different collections compiled by French officials and transferred to metropolitan museums (which reinforced the African collections in French museums) testify of a patrimonial perception towards the collected objects. Archaeological and ethnographical Senegalese objects have been critically reviewed on their heritagization and conservation methods, in reference to the history, civilisation and arts. Subsequently, the official missions have multiplied to collect relics and ethnographical objects in the French West Africa⁹. These missions were organised within the framework of colonial or World Fairs¹⁰ and initiatives to create museum laboratories in France and in the

⁹ The Scientific Missions of Henri Labouret (1932–1936), of Lhote (1933–1941), of Georges Waterlot (1935–1937), as well as those of Marcel Griaule (1931–1933), can be cited among others, as having instigated the important collections of Senegalese and French-speaking African cultural heritage. See Senegal Archives, O604(31). *Voyages et missions scientifiques* (Travels and scientific missions), 1932–1942.

¹⁰ In France, many national and global exhibitions were organised in Paris (in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1895, 1889, 1900, 1907), in Lyon (in 1894, 1914), in Marseilles (in 1906, 1922), and the most successful was the 1931 Colonial Exhibition which was held in Paris (see, e.g., David [2006: 44– 51] on this subject).

colonies¹¹. The colonial policy created in Senegal a new culture of identification, the production and management of cultural heritage. This new way of heritagization was implemented by the collection, preservation and formalisation of certain formal and symbolic signs of local culture. The new concept generated a growth of the heritage field in this country, but also put in place institutional and statutory devices for the preservation of cultural goods. This patrimonial perception imported by the coloniser introduced new elements, those of getting to know the archaeological sites and objects, the architectural monuments, the archives and the museums. This form of composition and preservation of cultural heritage was assimilated by the leaders of the postcolonial nation in their strategies of building a new national identity and of reaffirming the ancestral values marginalised by colonization. The Blooming of Local Identities within the Process of National Development The government of the young Republic of Senegal, led by President Léopold Sédar Senghor (see, for example, Vaillant [1990] for the biography of Léopold Sédar Senghor), undertook quickly the blooming of local and African values in order to build and demonstrate the national identity. The first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor, sought to establish the postcolonial nation on new foundations by using traditional frameworks of identity and advocating national unity in spite of linguistic, cultural, social and religious diversity. The building of the nation state, upheld by the notion of negritude, had as its basis the rehabilitation of the inherited ancestral values of the African past (Mbengue, 1973). The new emblems of the young Republic were created from the local identities and memories promoted in the national heritage, notably the flag, the national anthem and youth hymn, the decoration (Ordre National du Lion), the seals and mottoes. These emblems symbolise the Sahel-Sudanese savannah and the African mythology (the colours, the lion and the baobab), all the while praising the heroes of the colonial resistance. These figureheads are institutionalised and constantly remembered in the symbols and mottoes of

¹¹ In 1863, Louis Faidherbe created the Musée industriel, ethnographique et d'histoire naturelle (an Industrial, Ethnographic and Natural History Museum) in Saint-Louis (Senegal). With the disappearance of this first museum of Saint-Louis, the funds were transferred to Dakar in 1869, under the name of Dakar Museum. These collections were integrated into the institute for scientific research named the African Institute of Basic research (Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, IFAN), created in 1936 in Dakar. They were subsequently enriched by vast collections coming from the different colonies of AOF and AEF; temporary exhibitions were regularly organised. In 1954, the Musée historique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française (Historical Museum of French West Africa) was inaugurated in Gorée. Furthermore, a new ethnological museum named Musée Michel Adanson was opened in Saint-Louis in 1956.

Senegal. They are vital identity indicators to affirming the grandeur of the nation and their virtues¹² were perceived as references that can help to realize the dream of developing the country. At the same time, the authorities started collecting, preserving and promoting cultural and artistic forms of expression from the different linguistic communities in the country.¹³ Simultaneously, they were led by initiatives to define a coherent policy on promoting national languages¹⁴. The independent State also benefited from the colonial legacy within the cultural, administrative, and institutional infrastructure and intellectual domain. The ruling elite endorsed the different forms of cultural development, and so the methods of heritagization and the arguments for classification on the historical monuments list were established by the colonial authorities. In 1975, the Senegalese State classified forty eight historical sites and monuments on the national monuments list¹⁵. In 1978, UNESCO classified the Gorée

¹² The *jom*, the *ngor*, the *muñ*, the *kersa* and the *teranga* (these Wolof terms meaning respectively courage, honour, patience, dignity and hospitality) are the virtues which constitute the collective, moral philosophy and are still the pride of the Senegalese. In fact, in the collective memories, the exploits of the resistance against the colonization exalted the morals of warfare and the virtues, fundamentally essential to the Senegalese identity and nationalism.

¹³ It is within this framework that the following institutions were created: the Archives Culturelles du Sénégal (Cultural Archives of Senegal) in 1967; Centre de Linguistique Appliquée de Dakar (the Applied Linguistic Centre of Dakar) in 1963; the Direction de l'Alphabétisation (the Directorate for Teaching Literacy) in 1970; Centre d'Etudes des Civilisations (Centre for Civilisation Studies) in 1970; Laboratoire des littératures et civilisations de l'IFAN (the Research Centre for Literature and Civilisations of IFAN) in 1975; Ensemble lyrique traditionnel and Ensemble national de ballets (the Traditional Lyrical Ensemble and the Traditional Ballet Ensemble) la Linguère and Sira Badral in 1961.

¹⁴ Six languages—Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Manding, Soninke—were promoted to the level of national languages by the presidential decree no.71–566 from the 21st of May 1971. The codification of these languages was consolidated and they developed an alphabet using Latin letters. Some of these languages were taught at educational establishments.

¹⁵ Following the work initiated during the colonization, the Directorate of Historical Heritage and Ethnography (Direction du Patrimoine Historique et Ethnographique, DPHE) set about taking censuses of the historical sites and monuments in Senegal. At the conclusion of these censuses, two new laws were written governing cultural heritage (repealing the Colonial Law no.56–1106 from the 3rd of November 1956). These include law no.71–12 from the 25th of January 1971, attributing to the regime historical monuments and those of excavations and discoveries; and the Decree of Implementation no.73–746 from the 8th of August 1973, which allows an inscription on the national list according to historical, scientific, legendary or scenic interest. The Ministerial Decree no.12619 MC-DPN-DSMH-BE dated the 15th of October 1975 published a list of fortyeight historically classified monuments and sites.

Island on the World Heritage List¹⁶. With this choice, the State incorporated the Western values and ideas surrounding the definition of cultural heritage. Furthermore, at the point of gaining independence, Senegal chose French as the official language of the country, because it appeared to be the language most readily available and operational. The cultural establishments inherited from the colonization were restructured and reinforced in numbers to promote the Negritude and richness of black-African heritage, cultural diversity, unity of the Senegalese nation and the Pan Africanism. The government of President Senghor was very active in creating new infrastructures and in organising cultural events¹⁷, some of which contributed to making Senegal a meeting point for numerous artists and international scholars. With the creation of cultural establishments, such as l'Ecole des arts (School of Arts), which became Institut national des arts (the Institute of National Arts); the National Theatre Company Daniel Sorano; Musée Dynamique (Museum of Contemporary Art); the Manufacture nationale de tapisserie (the National Manufacture of Tapestry) and the School of Mudra-African Dance, President Senghor favoured the creation of new arts, such as plastic arts, visual and scenic arts, stemming from the fusion of authentic black art with western culture (Harney, 2004). These new arts are meant to take inspiration and ideas from the ancestral heritage (rhythm and dance, emotionalism and sensitivity, analogical imagery and parallel asymmetry, socio-cultural experience), all the while being in harmony with western and contemporary artistic methods and forms of expression. They should show and spread the cultural identity and African heritage. The successors of Léopold Sédar Senghor, in particular Presidents Abdou Diouf (1981–2000) and Abdoulaye Wade (2000–2012), followed the model of managing the heritage and cultural development as specified by the colonial authorities. Senegal received new registrations on the World Heritage List of UNESCO: the Niokolo-Koba National Park in 1981, the Island of Saint-Louis in 2000, the Kankurang or Manding Initiatory Rite in 2006, the Megalithic Circles of Senegambie in 2006, the Saloum Delta in 2011, the cultural landscapes of Bassari, Peul and Bedik in 2012. However the lack of financial resources—created by the economic crisis of 1980–1990 (Diop and Diouf, 1990: 151–183), which was reinforced by the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994—constituted a break in the continuity of the ambitious cultural policy deployed during the first two

¹⁶ The Island of Gorée was exploited by the post-colonial Senegalese authorities as a symbol of the Black race suffering from prejudice (the Slave Treaty and colonization)

¹⁷ The World Festival of Black Arts was organised in Dakar in 1966. Many symposia and exhibitions, initiated by President Senghor were held in Dakar.

decades after independence. The insufficient funds complicated the continuation of building a network of infrastructures and hindered all policies of maintenance, servicing and rehabilitation of cultural heritage and existing equipment. The policy of cultural development and preservation of heritage, set in motion by President Senghor, was adversely affected by the economic climate. It suffered the consequences of a plan to redress the economic and financial situation, which was implemented in 1979. This was followed in 1980 by structural adjustments, applied in Senegal owing to the budgetary constraints. Consistent with the need to cut down on State expenses, the cultural institutions became immobilized and inactive. Certain establishments were privatized, others were dissolved in 1990: the Musée Dynamique, the Centre d'Etudes des Civilisations (Centre for Civilisation Studies), the Archives Culturelles du Sénégal (Cultural Archives) and the Commissariat General des Expositions d'Art Sénégalais à l'Etranger (the General Committee for Senegalese Art Exhibitions Abroad). The surviving institutions were confronted with practical and financial difficulties and a reduction in their staff (which translated into voluntary dismissals by certain agents while others were appointed to National Education). With the scarcity of resources, which accentuated the social divisions and the degradation of traditional values, the government of President Abdou Diouf was forced to adopt a new strategy. His approach was designed to cope with the afflictions and to safeguard Senegalese identity. The only alternative to maintain unity and fraternity within the nation appeared to be a return to the historical and cultural heritage and the ancestral values. These are the foundation of national identity. In this way, the ideology of a *sursaut* national emerged, which led to the drafting of a National Cultural Charter, published in 1989, by a commission which had a variety of expertise at their disposal.

Whereas the *negritude* of Senghor spilled over the national frontiers by giving priority to promoting Black-African cultural heritage, the *sursaut* national of Diouf announced a return to the basics of Senegalese values. From the '90s onwards, the State revived cultural development¹⁸, the

¹⁸ The revitalisation of cultural development by the State gave impetus to the creation of new infrastructures and cultural initiatives: Galerie nationale d'art (the National Art Gallery), Village des arts (the Art Village), Maison de la culture Doua Seck (Doua Seck House of Culture) were established; the Musée d'Art africain de Dakar (African Art Museum of Dakar) was extended; the dramatic art section of the Dakar Conservatory was re-opened. The National Book and Reading Fair, the International Jazz Festival of Saint Louis, the International Book and Educational Material Fair, and the Cinematographic Meetings of Dakar, were, among others, launched as new cultural development initiatives

promotion of national languages and their improved transcription¹⁹, the appreciation of heritage and the national pantheon. The creation of national emblems and “national and local heroes” was set into motion. These collective identities were recaptured as a model for the youth and touchstones for future enterprises. The State ordered the commemoration of the centenary of the death of Lat Dior Ngoné Latyr Diop in October 1986. Following this same logic, the streets, squares and schools were baptised or re-baptised under the name of local celebrities who were close to the people and distinguished in their community. In addition, the colonial statues were dismantled and moved to other locations and were replaced by new works from Senegalese artists²⁰. The government of Abdou Diouf invested a great deal in favour of returning to Senegalese roots and promoting local historical figures as a way of facing up to the challenges created by the economic crisis. The administration of President Abdoulaye Wade is marked by a rereading of the colonial memory; as well as by his showmanship, his ideas on Pan-Africanism and liberal democracy. Owing to his strategy of political hegemony and social appeasement, he initiated commemorations and ambitious cultural projects. These initiatives took their inspiration from the repertoire of colonial heritage and cultural projects of President Senghor. Under the jurisdiction of President Wade, the budgets allocated to the culture sector were known to be generally on the rise, notably between 2006 and 2009²¹. This increase is linked to the organisation of the third edition of

by the Abdou Diouf Government. The annual Grand Prix for Arts and Literature was instituted in 1990 by the President of the Republic. This was followed by the extension of the Grand Prix to include stage arts, such as music, dance and theatre. The same year, the State launched a cultural event which was revived in the Senghor years: the Biennial Event of Dakar Arts and Literature, becoming from 1996 The Biennial Event of Contemporary African Art, or Dak'Art

¹⁹ In 1991, a Ministry of Education was created, which was responsible for basic education and the promotion of the national languages of Senegal.

²⁰ This was the case in Dakar relating to the colonial statue communally known as Demba and Dupont, which represents two soldiers: one French, the other symbolising a Senegalese infantryman. It was erected in 1923 in memory of the dead troops from the AOF who participated in the First World War; it was standing at the Star Roundabout in Tascher Square, renamed Soweto Square. The measure also concerned the statue representing Faïdherbe, which was standing in front of the Republican Palace. These statues were dismantled at night from the 13th to the 14th of August 1983 and transferred to the Catholic cemetery in Bel-air; the one representing Faïdherbe is currently preserved at the Armed Forces Museum (created in 1997) and that of Demba and Dupont was recovered under the Wade administration. The history of these statues is related in the National Archives of Senegal, sub-series 4P1501 to 4P1507. “Les statues de la place Tascher et de Faïdherbe.” *Le Soleil* from the 17th of August 1983, 3.

²¹ The budget was nearly 6 billion CFA Francs in 2006 and 17 billion CFA Francs in 2009.

the World Black Arts Festival (Festival mondial des arts nègres, FESMAN), which was postponed many times, held in Dakar from the 10th to 31st of December 2010. In spite of the increase in his budget, the Ministry of Culture was known to be somewhat unpredictable, also in the option of naming²² there selection of candidates (ten ministers were named from 2000 to 2010). These reshuffles stalled the establishment of a real cultural policy with clearly defined objectives. Nevertheless, in 2005, a National Plan of Cultural Development (Plan National de Développement Culturel, PNDC) spread over five years was launched; in 2004, an Agenda Culturel National (National Cultural Agenda) was mapped out, the inventory of a national cultural heritage was pursued, the digitalisation of the Cultural Archive funds was triggered. The celebration of Journée des Tirailleurs Sénégalais (national day to commemorate the Senegalese and African soldiers, held for the first time on the 23rd of August 2004) was instigated by President Abdoulaye Wade and resulted in the rehabilitation of the colonial statue of Demba and Dupont. The statue—dismantled under the administration of Abdou Diouf—gave the decor of Dakar city a new lease of life by simultaneously changing the location and the memorial themes. The statue stands in the former Station Square, where now renamed Place du Tirailleur. This aimed to immortalise and reinstate the commendable effort and participation by African soldiers in liberating France from the Nazi empire. By celebrating Journée des Tirailleurs Sénégalais, President Wade also meant to redefine the relations between France and Africa—beginning by recognising and bringing justice by raising their pensions of former African fighters. The duty of recognition served also as a basis for the planning of the African Remembrance Square²³ and the erection of an African Renaissance Monument²⁴. These majestic works advocated the

²² Since 2000, the choice of names for the Ministry in charge of Culture kept changing. Thus it existed successively as the Ministry for: Culture and Communication; Culture, Tourism and Leisure; Culture; Culture and Historically Classified Heritage; and finally Culture, Historically Classified Heritage, National and French-speaking Languages.

²³ After the sinking of the Joola boat which took place on the night of the 26th of September 2002, a Senegal in mourning paid tribute to the missing people by organising national funerals on the Western cliff of Dakar. The State decided to dedicate this place as a place of welcoming and meditation, which commemorates the victims of the Joola sinking, as well as the heroes, Resistance fighters and iconic figures of Senegal and of Africa. The Place of Remembrance, which had billions spent on building it, features an esplanade in the shape of a geographical map of Africa, and sits on the rocks above the ocean

²⁴ The decree no.2003–593 from the 16th of July 2003 planned to bring about the creation of the African Renaissance Monument. It was the source of many debates, formulated notably by the sculptor Ousmane Sow (who was the designer of the model

reorganisation of the colonial memory, the rehabilitation of a Black cultural identity and of the national, historical and Pan-African sources. The presidents, who led the nation state of Senegal from 1960 to 2012, embodied varyingly the rehabilitation of identities and local values. These frameworks of reference were highlighted in the national development, the restructuring of colonial legacy and political hegemony. In spite of official attempts to increase the standing of local heritage, the political authorities remained subjected to the concepts and forms of heritagization advocated by the coloniser. The reference to traditions and ancient values became more remote from what they hoped to achieve (Diagne, 1992). They also use the heritagization for political and ideological purposes. The cultural policies were not adapted to the local operational forms, nor to the development of local heritage. As a consequence, the population still had trouble understanding and absorbing the institutional heritage. The ideologies and grandiose cultural projects imposed on the population often stirred up criticism and harsh reactions. Commemorations and cultural events organised by the political authorities, accentuated the shortage of resources, the poverty and precariousness of the common people, the cultural disintegration and the job slump. These constraints obliged the young people to resort to *set-setal*²⁵, to Hiphop, to *bul-faale*²⁶, to the *Y'en a marre* (We're fed up) movement or even to clandestine immigration to Europe—via canoes in the sea—with the slogan *Barça wala Barsàq*²⁷. The challenges and tensions, created by the financial constraints, further stimulated a fragmentation of identities and a rehabilitation of rural traditions by communities.

and suggested the idea to Mr Wade) and by politicians, economists, members of the civil and religious society, etc. The African Renaissance Monument is an important bronze structure of about fifty metres. The project was entrusted to the architect Pierre Goudiaby Atepa. The monument was erected on one of the Mamelles hills, which were already inscribed in the national protected heritage since the administration of Senghor and they still figured on the classification list (under the name: Les Mamelles, geological site). On the 4th of April 2010, the Renaissance Monument was inaugurated in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Senegal's independence in the presence of many heads of State and of the government. The cost of the monument is estimated at 16 billion CFA Francs. President Wade asked for 35% of the revenue that was going to be generated by this monument. Sources: Debates on public and private television channels, and the written press on the internet. See also De Jong and Foucher, 2010: 187–204.

²⁵ In the Wolof national language, *set* means clean and *setal* means to make clean

²⁶ *Bul-faale* is a Wolof expression which is equivalent to “don't be concerned”, “don't worry”, “it doesn't matter” or even “don't bother”.

²⁷ Wolof term which means “Barcelona or death”.

The emergence of new dynamics in self-reclamation

Since the end of the 1980s, observers and researchers noticed, steadily growing, a flourishing diversity within community, the professional and societal structures. They witnessed different forms of cultural expressions that were linked to newly created identities. Their activities were expressed in cultural shows (festivals, cultural days, commemorative events) which stemmed from the traditional to the religious, from the civic through to the local and familial. The ceremonies brought traditions, languages, memorial places, historical and cultural symbols of communities together. This identity heritage was reinvented and reintegrated into a new network of acknowledgment, development and institutionalisation. These activities aimed to rejuvenate the ancient cultural values and traditions which were destroyed under the influence of historical constraints (the Atlantic slave trade, Islamization, Christianization, colonization), or devalued by the effects of urbanisation and globalisation. These memorial representations, propelled by cultural figures within a context of economic and moral crises, served to reinforce the local identity and to reconnect the youth in this heritage. There was an emphasis on intangible heritage: initiation rituals, know-how, clothing or ornamental technology, songs, dances and rhythms. The portrayals gave the image of a well-preserved secular tradition, coming back to life even though it had been interrupted. The portraits or enactments referred more often to a pre-colonial past, partly reinvented or idealised. This production of identity appeared to be in line with the perspective of re-evaluating foreign values—very often because they were imposed—and pre-existing values. Collective memory, conveyed through the media and the speeches by traditional, spiritual or worldly authorities, exasperated reports of the disintegration and poor transmission over generations of the norms and traditionally stated values. They urged the population, particularly the youth, to regain control over ancient values, to preserve their individual and communal identities. The production of ancient heritage brought up the re-invention of oneself and the fabrication of new identities. This is the case in the Set-Setal (Moral Cleanliness) and Bul-Faale (Don't Worry) movements initiated by the urban youth in pursuit of new points of reference. At the turn of 1990, a movement was born in Dakar and was baptised Set-Setal, which subsequently spread throughout other urban centres in the country. Infuriated by the squalor and deterioration of urban structures that were underlying the socio-politics and morale crisis, the youth launched the Set-Setal with the aim of cleaning up the environment and the conscience of men (Enda, 1991; Diouf, 1992). The young people assembled at their murals and sculptures,

embellishing the perfectly clean urban space, diverse symbols from the local or sometimes even international memory²⁸. They devoted themselves to a mission of reinventing and wisely reclaiming local symbols and virtuous individuals who were responsible for making history. Their efforts towards identity recreation set them apart from the memories and ideologies produced by generations of colonial and nationalist elites, which accompanied the attainment of Senegal's independence. These two generations of elite classes were considered by the youth to be responsible for their marginalisation and for their growing impoverishment linked to the abuse of power and the failure of development policies. The youth declared the new ideological watchwords to be: work and resourcefulness. This mission to reformulate identities is equally evident in the Hip-Hop and *bul-faale* movements (Havard, 2005). These phenomena developed disparaging attitudes towards the State, which had failed in its public service mission, with regard to the order and to the traditional, social systems (seniority, social status, the idea of providential fate). These old-fashioned references were perceived by the youth as socio-cultural obstacles inhibiting their will to develop economically and to open up to the global civilisation. The cultural imaginations, used in the urban space by a youth in search of autonomy, are conveyed by a synthesis of elements stemming from local heritage and readapted to the dynamics of global times (Diouf, 2003). These urban cultures are reinventing artistic expressions and local symbols (the rhythms, outfits, iconography), all while staying connected to an idealised modernity imported from the West or America. It is within the scope of this same anti-authority and autonomous dynamic that the *Y'en a marre* (We're Fed Up) movement came to be (Diaw, 2013). It was initiated in January 2011, by a group of journalists (notably Cheikh Fadel Barro and Alioune Sané), rappers (including the famous Malal Almamy Tall (also known as Fou malade), Babacar Niang (also known as Matador), Landing Mbessane Seck (also known as Kilifeu) and Cyrille Oumar Touré (also known as Thiat²⁹) and students. This network, which succeeded in rallying the demands of the youth and Senegalese public

²⁸ The iconography evokes scenes of the traditional and mythological African life, the heroes of the colonial resistance, religious saints, figures of the nationalist intellectual elite, freedom and civil rights fighters.

²⁹ The spokesperson for the movement *Y'en a marre* (We're fed up) is Thiat from the rap group *Keur Gui*, created during the school year 1996–1997, which was greatly disrupted by the strikes of the pupil and student movements. In 1998, during the time of the Abdou Diouf regime, Thiat and Kilifeu, of the group *Keur gui*, were imprisoned for criticising the management of their town (Kaolack) by the Socialist Mayor Abdoulaye Diack. See Niang, 2011 ; Binet, 2011.

opinion, emerged as a reaction to intensive power cuts, embezzlement by the Abdoulaye Wade regime, and scandals linked to the African Renaissance Monument commissioned by the President. It is a group which calls itself secular, apolitical and peaceful; it means to break from the ideologies of bad governance and self-proclaimed pères de l'indépendance (Fathers of the Independence). This movement aims to build a new citizenship by forging a nouveau type de Sénégalais (a new type of Senegalese—NTS), who is active and champions the values of change, development, freedom and democracy. Y'en a marre organised various demonstrations in 2011–2012, of which the most popular were the Foire aux problèmes (Problem Fairs)³⁰ and the siting/spectacles (sit-in/shows) at the Dakar Obelisk Square. Their awareness-raising campaign to convince young people to endorse their voting cards³¹, the only peaceful guarantee to dismantle the current regime, largely contributed to the failure of Abdoulaye Wade in the presidential elections in 2012 (Dieng, 2015).

Conclusion

The cultural heritage of Senegal has for a long time been produced according to different perspectives. The State has responded with initiatives of heritagization and appreciation of cultural heritage. Concerned with the fixation of the memory and identity the French colonial power introduced the notion of heritage in Senegal so that it is perceivable in the scientific and official circles. The implementation of this idea was at the base of the official protection of colonial architectural monuments, archaeological and historical sites, objects and traditions which were symbolic of the local societies. This model of institutional heritagization was reproduced by the independent Senegalese authorities during the development of the nation state. The cultural and economic challenges, as well as the will to preserve the Senegalese identity while capitalising on the colonial heritage, led the leaders to

³⁰ The stalls were specially arranged for the occasion and the imaginative performances aimed to divert the attention away from the concerns of the population which were at the heart of public debate. They denounced the rising prices of the prime necessities, the transhumance of politicians (movement back and forth between different political parties), the speculations and financial embezzlement notably in Dakar, the hypocrisy in the management of the conflict in Casamance (the region south of Senegal), the difficulties of students and unemployed graduates, the problems of shopkeepers, gypsies and drivers of cars rapides (minibuses), impunity, the lack of individual and collective freedom, etc.

³¹ The organisers of the movement launched the slogans “my electoral card, my vote”, *daas fanaanal* (Wolof term which means to protect yourself).

collect historical sources and documentary evidence. The reinvention of ancient heritage by different stakeholders restored the will to build or reveal identities, to reclaim the self and the need to retrace lost roots. Through these varied initiatives of heritagization and appreciation of cultural heritage, different types of heritage emerged: an institutional heritage, very often material, of which the recognition and protection remained solely a matter of concern in the State domain; and a social or ancestral legacy, preserved or reinvented by the population.

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