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Defining the issue: Social movements' Framing Strategies in Neocolonial Senegal

Ezra M. Alltucker
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Defining the issue: Social movements' Framing Strategies in Neocolonial Senegal

Mr. Ezra M. Alltucker

The George Washington University

Submitted in partial fulfilment of SIT Senegal: Global Security and Religious Pluralism

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Dedication

I want to dedicate this work first and foremost to Dr. Thiam for his tireless assistance in ensuring that this project was the best it could be, for his constant willingness to listen to my doubts about my thesis. I'd like to thank Papis for being so helpful in arranging for interviews with subjects, and Youssou for always accompanying me and tirelessly assisting with transcribing text.

To Judd Devermont and Michael Knoll, for getting me interested in Africa in the first place. To my parents for encouraging me, even if the thought of me being across an ocean was stressful, and for always taking my calls.

Abstract

This study examined framing strategies of protest movements in Dakar Senegal, particularly those focused on issues of foreign exploitation. Two major groups were surveyed, FRAPP and Cos M23, with interview notes and transcripts forming the basis of frame analysis. The findings showed that Cos M23 utilized a narrow frame that focused on linking certain sets of behaviors to being a good citizen, while FRAPP created a larger discursive framework in which diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing strategies were present in order to both link France and western imperialism to issues as well as induce the general public to take actions against those diagnosed issues. These findings provide valuable non-western insight on framing strategies and help provide data on domestic civil society activism in Senegal.

Introduction

This study seeks to assess how global issues are framed within the discourses of anti-exploitation social movement organizations in Senegal. While much theoretical and practical attention has been given towards problems of neocolonialism in Africa, this attention has been within an objectifying context towards Africa, treating the continent and its states as passive receivers of exploitations rather than an active partner. By focusing on how citizens themselves are responding to exploitation, this study is both seeking to address gaps in the research and change the existing conceptual framework that exists around Africa's international relations.

To achieve these goals, this study took a qualitative analysis of the framing language that social movement organizations (SMO) use to discuss the issues they mobilize around. Specifically, this study analyzed the frames that a network of anti-exploitation SMOs use, specifically Cos M23 and FRAPP. By comparing these organizations' framing strategies instead of treating them as isolated cases, this study attempts to draw generalizable conclusions about how foreign exploitation is framed by domestic SMO.

This study originally grew out of the desire to understand new structures of exploitation through foreign aid on the continent; however, as background for that research began, it became increasingly clear that additional attention was needed on how the Senegalese state and people were responding to that exploitation on the continent. However due to time constraints imposed by the nature of this program, it was determined that the most effective and cost-beneficial research focus would be to survey SMOs while the research can be conducted on the ground.

As previously indicated, there is a lack of focus on domestic social movements; this work seeks to fill that gap and produce data that can be used by researchers for later work. Framing analysis will be a useful tool in order to examine SMOs on a macro level between organizations

and to assess the state of network ties between SMOs.

The key sources this research were key participant interviews, used to establish how participants in SMOs discuss the issues.

Due to time and resource constraints, this study has several limitations. Notably, the time period of a month severely constrains the amount and depth of research that can be conducted. With key participant interviews, there was the opportunity to build trust and confidence over multiple sessions. Additionally, language played a barrier; as a non-native speaker of French and Wolof, it was difficult to ask questions based on connotation that I was not able to pick up on. Additionally, the time constraint excludes the ability to ask several legitimate and important research questions, including how frames developed by selected SMOs have influenced national level discourse, qualities of participants versus non-participants, and questions that go beyond organizational-level analysis will not be able to be addressed during this research.

Methods

This study is a qualitative analysis of the frames that Senegalese SMO use to discuss issues of exploitation. The study is divided into four parts: a literature review and material development, data collection, data analysis, and result writing. The steps for each phase is outlined below.

Literature Review and material development

During this phase, time was spent surveying the existing literature to identify the existing gaps and to form a solid theoretical foundation for the study. The majority of effort during this phase, however, was extended in developing materials for the second phase of the project, especially survey materials, questions for the semi-structured interview and likely follow up questions, identifying and contacting possible key informants, and assessing and addressing the need for

additional language resources, such as a translator or translation service for interview recordings.

Data Collection

While this phase and the following were extremely intermingled due to the nature of qualitative analysis, for clarity's purposes they are separated into two distinct phases here to recognize the distinct needs of each phase. Furthermore, data collection was separated into multiple streams:

- Historical timeline of social movements using media articles
- Interviews with key informants
- Collection of public statements via social media, press releases or other media platforms

While collection of the historical timeline and analysis of public statements did not require in-person discussion, interviews with key informants required intensive scheduling. As such, interviews required significant flexibility in how they are collected.

Interviews with Key Informants: in this stream of data collection, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with key informants within selected SMOs. The interview outline was developed during the first phase of the study; the interview outline was validated by Senegalese sources in order to assess cultural compatibility. The interviews were also recorded to allow for the generation of a transcript to aid qualitative analysis.

Language remains a barrier for data collections with these interviews, as semi-structured interviewing requires a certain degree of flexibility and ability to go with the flow that native fluency assists with. I relied on a Senegalese professional to assist with French and Wolof interviews. Each of these interviews lasted between one and two hours.

Collection of Public Statements: in this stream of data collection, public statements from the selected SMO will be collected for analysis. Sources of particular interest here include social media platforms and press releases. Youtube and Facebook were significant sources of data.

Additionally, press conferences will likely serve as a strong source for how SMO frame issues for the press and general audiences. Audio sources will be transcribed to assist in the analysis phase.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed qualitatively, by reviewing both interview notes and transcripts. A significant portion of research time will be devoted towards transcribing and analyzing these transcripts. In developing these transcripts, it became necessary to hire additional help to transcribe audio content, especially for any Wolof. The transcripts will remain in their original French in order to preserve original meaning

This study has methodological constraints that limit the scope and type of data that can be collected and analyzed. Time constraints limit the depth of data that can be collected through interviews, and several legitimate and important connections are unable to be pursued, such as framing linkages with international SMO with similar missions, and questions about inner-group qualities and dynamics. If time permitted, it would also be valuable to probe the effectiveness of frames developed within SMO in permeating national discourse. Additionally, language poses a methodological constraint for the potential depth of responses during interviews, and my status as an American may inject distrust with study participants. Additionally, differences in how Senegalese SMO publish public statements made it difficult to retrieve historical statements and releases digitally.

However, in conversations with an anthropologist who came to study SIT at the end of this program, I learned how my methodologies was likely not culturally appropriate, or at least severely limited the responses I received. The anthropologist found that in her research, Senegalese subjects were highly uncomfortable with directly recording interviews, and the

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responses they gave were conservative, lacked depth, and were generally restricted. In addition, there was a linking between recording and the idea of a media that twists' an interviewee's words around. The anthropologist stated that once she learned how to take anthropological interview notes in real time with the conversations, the quality of her interviews drastically improved.

It is unfortunate that I did not receive this feedback until after the research period was over; armed with this information I would have taken an entirely different methodology and approach towards interviews. Although my subjects regularly dealt with the media, and thus were not alien to recording their thoughts on their respective social movements, I am sure that the quantity and quality of the information received would have dramatically increased. In addition, taking notes and analyzing the framing data as it came in would have allowed for an exponential increase in the number and length of interviews I was able to capture. The time requirements of transcription took up a significant, and perhaps majority, of interview time that would not have been required under a different methodology; future studies may be able to correct this. The perception of a personal language barrier was also a factor that drove the decision to utilize recording; however, in retrospect I was able to understand almost all of the Interview components and did not need to worry about comprehension.

Especially in my interviews with the member of FRAPP, I sensed a large degree of discomfort that I attributed to my own positionality as a clear and western outsider; in review it may have been my methodologies themselves that produced that friction. It is an unanswered question, but adopting an unpointed conversation about the issues rather than a focus on the organization's practices themselves would likely yield improved results.

While it is not always common practice to reflect on the shortcomings of methodologies in such a direct way in the literature, it is important for this research to fully and comprehensively

address potential gaps. As this study is joining the literature of the SIT Dakar research center, it will likely be an example for future student researchers. Accounting for the gaps and potential areas for improvement within this methodology and this study is crucial to assist the next wave of researchers in preparing their studies. Directly and openly reflecting on this matter and offering concrete suggestions for improvements in future studies in order to ease the path of future researchers is perhaps one of the most important outcomes of this study.

This is not to say that the methodologies were flawed, merely that they could be improved. The data gathered is all valid and valuable, and the conclusions made in this study cannot be understated. Indeed, for the research questions, the selected methodologies were the most appropriate. However, it is important to reflect on how the methodologies could be improved within a cultural context, and what potential modifications to the research questions themselves could have produced deeper and better qualitative data.

Literature review

Jones et. al enumerates four roles of SMO in mobilization which serve as a useful diagnostic tool in evaluating the existence, or lack thereof, of meso-level networks. A *single SMO* is responsible for planning and mobilization tasks simultaneously for single mobilization events. An *alliance* is formed when two or more SMO jointly share planning and mobilization tasks. A *key SMO* is one that makes strategic planning and framing decisions, which draws on other SMOs to mobilize. Finally, SMOs can lend *network assistance* to institutional, or professional actors that want to plan or mobilize for an event. Applying Klanderman's bifurcation of frame generation and mobilization to Jones et. al's schema can provide a useful legend for evaluating the framing hierarchy of SMOs.

Jones et. al add to Marwell and Oliver's (1993) earlier work identifying accelerative and decelerative processes in social movements by adding framing to the list of decelerative functions; the work of framing generates rapidly diminishing returns, even turning negative as more people are involved in the process. While frame production is an essential function of SMO, continued disputes over frame definition can lead to the breakup or end of an organization, especially those that occur prior to a mobilization event. Framing must be an intensely centralized process within SMOs, and especially within coalitions. Jones et. al state that given the divergent production functions of frame production and mobilization, network invocation is the most effective coalition form, which maximizes production of mobilization while minimizes wasted effort in framing disputes.

This study benefits greatly from Louisa Prause's 2018 article *Success and Failure of Protest Actors' Framing Strategies in Conflicts over land and mining in Senegal*. Although

unplanned, Prause's work provides a solid theoretical and material foundation for this study, and shows the continued usefulness of this methodological model to the literature. Due to time constraints, this study will unfortunately not be able to assess the degree of success or failure of the framing strategies employed by selected SMOs, but the data collected will hopefully allow future researchers to do just that. Prause's research also provides an un-paralled opportunity to contrast the urban-centered SMOs with the rural-based SMOs that were the subject of Prause's research; indeed, the combination of this research with Prause's findings may lend itself towards the suggestion of meso- or macro-level organizing structures present in studied SMOs. Prause's research, given its similarities to this study and coverage of rural organization may assist in generalizing conclusions of this research.

Frame analysis has been used as a theoretical framework by social movement researchers to investigate how actors create subjective interpretations of factual events and use those interpretations to mobilize individuals to take part in certain actions, often protest. Events, such as a visit by a foreign president are in their bare-bones, unconnected, and factual form just that: mere events. However, when a frame is applied to these events, it allows actors to utilize the frame to place the events in a larger context; the visit become a symbol of unjust exploitation. Frames also are a key component of group dynamics in SMO as they allow a dynamic and potentially diverse group of individuals to communicate with a shared understanding and interpretation of issues, events, and values.

The central thesis of the framing approach is that collective understanding, and more crucially, mobilization, is a product of the generation of a common frame, almost always by a few key actors. Even though grievances may exist, mobilization *does not* occur unless social actors "discursively define" the issue(s) at hand and share that definition (Snow et al. 1986).

Klanderman identified two distinct phases in frame generation and mobilization, “consensus mobilization” and “consensus activation,” the former referring to the creation of a common view of a problem, the latter referring to convincing those with mobilization potential that mobilizing will solve that problem. Gerhards (date) further developed this concept by refining the idea of consensus mobilization to consist of definition of the issue and identification of causes.

Importantly, there is an element of self-legitimization created during this process that must occur during consensus mobilization.

Gerhards developed a five-part schema for effective framing, they are:

1. Find an *issue* and interpret it as a social *problem*
2. Locate *causes and causal agents* for the problem
3. Interpret *goals and the chances of success* of their efforts
4. Find and label an *addressee* for their protest, and
5. Justify themselves as *legitimate actors*.

This last point is perhaps most interesting, as it is the only inward-facing schema that has been addressed. Here, Gerhards insists that activists need a conception of themselves, or some central identity that is activated by the movement, as well as some sort of institutional, professional, or social credibility that lends credence to the frame being developed by the actor.

Much of the work on social movements that focus on issues of globalism has been done in the west, notably in Europe. Little if any attention has been paid towards non-western protest frames. This gap is particularly concerning as understanding the comparative salience of frames across cultures has large implications for international communication, especially international activism work.

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Frames are foundational to allow a contentious group of actors to achieve common goals that are “largely negotiated prior to the framing process” (Snow and Benford 1988). As such, frames can be conceptualized as a genuine reflection of an organization’s ethos, rather than a semi-randomized, organic output of the organization. Although some may criticize framing research and analysis as not yielding “deep” results, the literature shows that frames are purposeful creations that yield serious and insightful findings.

Success, if the goal is to influence society as a whole, is measured by the adoption of the SMO’s frame by others: other people, groups, and the public as a whole. (Gerbalds and Ruscht; Klandermans). This success can be measured in numerous quantitative ways, including a survey of print media and online discourse. How these frames are successfully taken up is the result of the concept of a mobilization potential, that, with “macrostructural factors such as demographic and ideological variables” predispose certain individuals towards mobilization. A campaign requires a collective actor who can reach existing mobilization potential and offer, or construct, “meaningful interpretations of the issues at stake.” Activation requires that these interpretations can convince people to participate in some sort of action organized under the guises of a SMO (Klandermans, 1988).

Within an organization, it is likely that there is a central organizing idea, or ideas, that unites the group’s messaging—a central interpretive frame. This central frame, also known as the master frame, can provide a discursive path for integration and motivate an organization towards joined collective action. (Gerbalds and Ruscht, 573; Snow et al. 1988, p 475). In coalitions especially, if there is an organizing committee comprised of numerous groups, a formal or informal messaging master frame is likely to be developed to develop this discursive path towards integration.

Social movements are not expected to offer solutions. In this way, they differ in their prognostic framing requirements from political parties, who, as a function of the process of jockeying for administrative positions, require a higher level of solutions to the defined problems. (Gerbalds and Ruscht, 582)

Further, three types of framing strategies have been identified—and multiple framing strategies can exist within the same frame. Diagnostic framing involves identifying a phenomenon or set of phenomena as a problem, or the cause of a problem. Prognostic framing involves identifying a set of proposals or solutions to an identified problem. Motivational framing attempts to activate the frame's audience to take identified sets of action. All three types of framing mutually support each other, although it is not necessary to include all three in a single frame (579-583). No matter which types of framing techniques a frame uses, in order to be successful a frame must be culturally relevant; this means that the frame must be credible and salient, as Gerhart emphasizes in his identification of self-legitimization as a component of effective framing (Benford and Snow, 2000; Gerhart).

Finally, Gerhart identified and emphasized the need for meso-level analysis of frames. While extensive micro-level analysis of frames has been conducted on the individual organization level, and some macro-level analysis has been completed researching how frames are disseminated from national to local organizations, still little work has been done on researching meso-level strategies, or those that exist within a coalition of multiple groups. This stratification of the organizational environment raises the need to pinpoint where in the micro-meso-macro spectrum an organization lies, in order to better understand strategies. Are social movements themselves acting as both the micro and meso actors, self-aggregating with other

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similar groups with similar frames? Gerhart also raises the question of if all levels even exist; indeed, they may not for individual framing strategies and actors.

Findings

Cos M23:

Cos M23 is a political SMO that is headquartered in Dakar, Senegal. The organization was created in 2011 in response to the then-upcoming 2012 Senegalese presidential elections that became the focus of much protest action. The organization was heavily active with the coalition of movements that sprung up to protest, and ultimately support the electoral defeat, of Mr. Abdoulaye Wade, collectively known as “Y'en A Marre”. The organization is heavily active within the media, enjoys significant name recognition throughout the general public, and is a large and influential player within the scope of domestic politics in Senegal.

As a framing actor, Cos M23 is an interesting and informative case study due to their position within the national Senegalese political discourse. The frames they develop are mostly limited in focus to inter-Senegalese affairs—to the extent that Cos M23 focuses on external events, these are largely placed in the context of domestic actors. For example, when discussing the issue of the sale of Senegalese oil rights to the French company Total, Cos M23 framed it as an issue of good governance and malevolent government actors, rather than as an issue of foreign exploitation.

In interviews, Cos M23 was interested in developing a schema of good and ethical civic action—much of their language was couched in terms of justice, democratic principles, and the respect of principles. Given that good governance is a western idea, it would be an interesting point for further research to examine the africanization of these values, and to what extent, if any, Cos M23 and similar actors have developed their own definitions and frameworks for what good governance and democratic values are.

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Cos M23 created a framing strategy in which the prognostic and diagnostic elements were tightly interwoven: the diagnosis of many of these issue inherently predicated the prognosis. The issue of a lack of respect for democratic principles is solved via emphasizing those values; however, a motivational framework was sparser: Cos M23 aimed for an active citizenry as their main goal. In interviews, Cos M23 identified a diverse set of issues, including the harm that extractive industries cause, ecological destruction, and general issues of injustice and poverty as the result of a fundamental problem of “l'impunité.”

Cos M23 also had a clearly articulated self justification, as identified by Gerhards in his 5th schema for effective framing; in their own words, the politicians would change the subject, it was us (Cos M23) who kept the subject.” In other words, Cos M23 has self-justified their organization's role as being one of the sole actors to maintain a focus on their identified principles and injustice in Senegal.

It is worth drawing attention on Cos M23's core thesis: that change and improvement in Senegal can only come via internal actors improving themselves—the onus is not in the removal of ills, but the improvement of society. In this way, their frame is limited in its explanatory power for neocolonial action outside of a domestic framework.

FRAPP/France Degage:

FRAPP is an umbrella organization that has existed in various formats for around a decade, and contains numerous sub-campaigns. The most notable of these, measured by the amount of coverage and common name recognition, is France Degage. FRAPP as an organization is not necessarily well-known among the general public, but its sub-campaigns enjoy significant common recognition. Additionally, Auchan Degage is a semi-affiliated movement which has received significant press play.

FRAPP is an organization explicitly devoted to revolution, manifested primarily through discursive change. “Le FRAPP c'est le front pour un révolution anti-impérialiste, populaire, et panafricaine. F, R, A, P, P. Donc, F comme frappe, comme franc, R comme révolution, A: anti-impérialiste, le premier P est populaire, et le deuxième P est panafricaine” (Sagna, 2018). The acronym creates the French verb “to hit”, another reflection of the general ideology of the organization. In this explanation of the acronym, the mentality of FRAPP is clearly seen; it is also worth noting that the verb frapper usually requires an object—just as these campaigns do.

In interviews with members of FRAPP, the theme that was repeated the most was that of sovereignty, broken down into economic and power (political) sovereignty. Indeed, FRAPP has created a compelling framework in which they have created a diagnostic frame, naming France as the main antagonist and root actor of Senegalese societal ills. This power relationship can be applied to a wide variety of phenomenon, which makes it a powerful explanatory framework. Macro to micro issues, from international affairs to stresses on the neighborhood boutique, can all be diagnosed as the result of France's continued presence

FRAPP goes a step further, identifying the root motivation of France's maleficence as imperialism, specifically Lenin's theory of imperialism. Although FRAPP does not call for a

communist or even socialist revolution, much of their discourse has thematic parallels to language of Marxist revolutionary ideology. There is a nuance FRAPP identifies in its diagnostic framework between France as the causal actor and imperialism as the causal ideology. In practice, causality is assigned interchangeably between France and imperialism, with both acting as the common root for ills.

FRAPP engages in prognostic framing, citing the need for a radical transformation—both economic and political sovereignty—a cause that flows fairly naturally from their diagnostic frame. More interestingly, the motivational framework that exists within this schema is incredibly complex, and address itself in issues as varied as what language to speak in, what chicken to buy, and where (not) to shop. FRAPP has constructed an extraordinarily powerful framework in their tying everyday, quotidian actions to larger justice frames.

In interviews, the key theme that FRAPP representatives underscored was that of power—and power not being in the rightful hands. FRAPP made mention of power dynamics in numerous ways—sovereignty as the main theme, but also word choices such as *opprimer*, *dominer*, and imperialism.

It is necessary to add extensive nuance to these understandings of oppression—this is not simply a story of western-style progressivism versus western conservative neo-colonization. In interviews, FRAPP members identified homosexuality as a neo-colonial force, brought in to Senegal by outsiders. While to western ears this may not square with understandings of political issues, the current western understanding of homosexuality is not universal, and can be considered a foreign import. While this idea was originally surprising to me during interviews, it served as a reminder that it is still too easy to fall into western modes of thinking to understand these power dynamics.

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FRAPP has created an incredibly powerful master-frame diagnosing France and western imperialism as the cause of a wide variety of ills, and given both prognostic and motivation framing to solve the issue. FRAPP has linked quotidian issues and actions to a larger theory to which discursive frameworks offer compelling explanations.

Discussion

Having described the frames employed by various social movements, it can be difficult to link a factual analysis of the discourse to larger effects and phenomena without conducting a secondary study of the efficacy of these frames. However, when one peers beyond the surface and considers the situation in which these movements are placed, the significance of these strategies emerge. Indeed, these movements present a subversion of national and international power structures and the possibility of developing trans-national discourses and movements, particularly in the case of France Dégage.

For lay observers, the perceived monolith of Africa has one story, repeated throughout the 40-some countries of sub-Saharan Africa: that of a neo-patrimonial ruling class and a subject class that are treated as objects. This is an extension of colonialism—the idea of the passive, disparate subject class to be governed by a powerful ruling class does not need deconstruction to make connections to colonial ideologies. The existence of these active social movements actively subverts these myths, making their study essential for the continued dispelling of colonial ideology. In a larger sense, the presence of these groups represent a fulfillment of the promise of independence, a re-taking of the state's narratives by the people, for the people.

Perhaps most significant is the possibility of a trans-national anti-French social movement, or at least a trans-national anti-French discourse as France Dégage's discourse is adopted by social movement actors from. History has several examples that provide support for such a movement, including on a broader sense the pan-Africanist movement, and the negritude movement throughout francophone Africa. We have already seen the expansion of France Dégage's discourse to Congo, and the continued presence of France in its former colonies, the

perception of the CFA as a colonial currency throughout the fourteen countries that use the currency¹, and the diffusion of social actors throughout francophone Africa all suggest that there is significant potential for the discourse of France Degage to be adopted and engaged by actors throughout francophone Africa.

In addition, Y'en a Marre here in Senegal and Le Balai Citiyen in Burkina Faso have made ending the use of the CFA a key plank of their movements, which indicates a potential coalition between social movements, much as was formed within Senegal during the 2012 elections. Trans-national social movement coalitions are not un-known and the literature has explored numerous examples of both trans-national coalitions and macro-level framing actors such as international NGOs; it would not be surprising to see a trans-national coalition of social movements form around an anti-CFA plank.

While the development of a trans-national coalition would be a significant development, it is imperative to separate that potential phenomenon with the development of a single trans-national social movement with a untied framing strategy. The former is not common, but not unknown to the literature; the latter is a potential sea-change for discourse and international relations in Africa.

The CFA as a currency has numerous facets that make it particularly prone to objection, particularly the location and manner it is produced. That the *Tresoir Publique*, the French treasury backs the CFA does not dispel accusations of neo-colonialism, nor do the facts that the reserves are held in France, the CFA is used across former French colonies, the continued threat of devaluation, that states that use the CFA must pay the French government fees for this service,

¹ As an interesting aside, CFA originally stood for *Colonies Francaises d'Afrique*; the abbreviation has changed to *Communauté Financiere Africaine*, but in this discourse the original denotation may be the more pertinent one.

et cetera. The CFA does, however, offer a uniting focal point to capture widespread anti-French narratives present throughout francophone Africa and give them a direction; in combination, the presence of the CFA as a trans-national phenomena and the existence of French as a *lingua franca* presents an opportunity for the discourse of France Degage to exist throughout francophone Africa.

This is a particularly significant potential development, as the rhetoric of France Degage does not limit itself to the removal of the CFA, but ties in a significant number of politically sensitive and significant phenomena. The expansion of French multinational companies may be threatened as the discourses of France Degage are accompanied by other implications, such as the discourse of Auchan Degage. The very nature of frames and the network of meaning they create means that anti-CFA discourse, if spurred by the France Degage frame diagnosing France as the root of these issues, would also impact all facets of France's presence in francophone Africa. Total and other resource extraction companies, as well as French military presence in the region would all spark significant popular backlash if the France Degage frame is successfully exported.

The diffusion of social actors and the existence of multi-national platforms such as Facebook, twitter, and WhatsApp remove barriers that would have slowed or stopped the diffusion of these framing strategies across borders in years past. No longer do op-eds stop their circulation at the border, now a discourse community can be formed across affected regions. Francophone Africa, particularly the areas that use the CFA, is especially disposed to see the spread of framing strategies such as those employed by France Degage.

Kemi Seba is an excellent example of this phenomenon, as the Franco-Beninese activist has lead protest movements in France, Senegal, and Benin. Seba burnt a 5,000 CFA note in

protest of the currency in Senegal, and was deported from France for his protest actions. Seba, and other like him, suggest the formation of an anti-CFA, and potentially anti-French activism across francophone Africa; this activism presents an opportunity for applicable discourses such as France Degage to spread their framing strategies throughout the area. While some may

The phenomena are particularly important because they present a challenge to all three actions of the colonial structure identified by Mudimbe: “the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the Western perspective.” While the challenge to the domination of physical space is best represented by France Degage’s calls for French military bases to be closed, the reformation of natives minds and the integration of local economies are being actively challenged by the framing strategies explored in this study. The subversion and seizure of power of these social movements through these framing strategies is, in and of itself, a challenge to colonial and neocolonial forms of intellectual repression. Significantly, in identifying and framing the CFA, Auchan, and other French multinational companies as issues, these social movements are directly challenging the domination and integration of local economics.

Further, the development of thriving and powerful civil societies is critical to subverting colonial structures. As P Bigo said,

“There is no doubt that direct or indirect colonialism always provokes in the countries that experience it cultural constraint, a contamination the more profound as it is hidden. Lifestyles and modes of thinking of the dominant nations tend to impose themselves on the dominated nations. Moreover, they are accepted, even sought after. Models spring up, alienating factors for the people who adopt them”

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The existence of movements such as France Degage, Auchan Degage, Cos M23, and other civil society organizations is a rebuke to this cultural constraint, as these are modes of thinking that directly rebuke the dominant narrative and power structure. Rather than being a passive object, these movements transform the citizen into an active subject. Even if no policy change is made in spite of social movement's efforts, that does not mean that the movements are useless; rather, the very presence of them represents an inherently successful subversion of coloniality.

The identification of the CFA, of Auchan, and to some degrees the French language itself are a testament to the efficacy of these civil society organizations at framing the debate in such a way that calls out the continued exploitative structures that exist in post-colonial society, and presents a call to action. As a participant in FRAPP/France Degage stated to me in an interview, these are not issues they have to learn about, these are issues that they see in the streets every day, that their communities talk about constantly; the fact that SMO are able to construct effective framing strategies shows the degree to which there is a common understanding of these issues—the role SMO play within this general knowledge is placing a call to action that allows for mobilization of the people.

Conclusions

This study was unfortunately limited in its time and scale. If time permitted, additional interviews with a broader section of people, especially a statistically significant sample would have been a large boost to the quality of this research. Additionally, expanding interviews to include policy makers would have provided an excellent opportunity to examine if counter-frames are being developed. With even more time and translation opportunities, it would have been beneficial to interview unaffiliated Senegalese citizens to examine if, and to what extent, the frames developed by examined SMOs have been adopted by unaffiliated citizens and the public as a whole. However, due to the significant time needed to transcribe and translate interviews, this was impossible during this period.

This study presents a natural jumping-off point for assessing the efficacy of frames in relation to how wide spread they are within the media and the public. With more time, it would have been extremely valuable to collect data on which frames have been successful in gaining traction. While the frames analyzed within this study can be assessed qualitatively and anecdotally, having concrete examples gathered through interviews with those outside the organizations and being able to tie these frames to policymaker's decisions would be a boost towards larger understandings of how the framing strategies uncovered in this paper interact with and become dispersed by the discourse community of Senegalese society as a whole.

Anecdotally, FRAPP as a framing organization has been much more successful than Cos M23. While this study did not have a component assessing the efficacy of frames generated by these social movements, having lived in Dakar for almost 4 months and having countless conversations with Senegalese from across the political spectrum in class, on trips, within research interviews, and at home, it is clear to me that FRAPP has been much more successful as

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a framing organization. The refrain of France Degage is catchy, punchy, and captures so much in just two words. France degage means that the French military must leave. France Degage means that the oil giant Total needs to go. France Degage means that any vestige of France, which is easy to interpret in any numerous ways, is unwelcome and needs to *Degage* from Senegal. It is also a message that works hand in hand with other, complimentary messages that FRAPP uses, including Auchan Degage, and more.

One sees graffiti of France Degage throughout downtown, and in conversations, it is clear that this frame has helped propel a multifaceted idea that is shared among much of the populace that France must leave. It is clear that this frame has permeated this discourse. It is unclear, however, to what extent this has influenced policy makers, and that is a key discussion point for future research.

While FRAPP was a highly successful framing organization according to anecdotal evidence, Cos M23 did not create the same sort of permeable slogan as frame that FRAPP did with the France Degage movement. While Cos M23 was highly effective in coalition formation, protest mobilization, and engagement within civil society, their framing strategies did not reach the same level of universalism as FRAPP. A large part of this is the subject matter in which Cos M23 deals with. Unlike FRAPP, which offers a universalist explanation for the current ills of Senegalese society with a well defined and external actor, Cos M23 identifies the root of society issues as *l'impunité*. While Cos M23 does create a framing strategy that contained identification of a problem and various solutions to the problem, the identification of the malevolent actor was not clear-cut. During times of crisis such as the 2012 elections, and in working on framing the debate with media and research institutions, Cos M23 creates an effective and straightforward

framing strategy for issues to be interpreted through. However, this framing strategy is not as catchy or as direct-to-the-public as FRAPP.

On first glance it may seem unremarkable that an organization like France Degage utilizes an anti-imperialist master frame, or that Cos M23 is focused on corruption, or that Save Dakar is focused on civic responsibility, but these are explicitly political decisions. These organizations are not simply responding to issues, they are defining phenomena as issues themselves. Without France/Auchan Degage's work, would those of us who did not grow up in Senegal attach an ethical component to patronizing Auchan? Would we perceive the CFA as inherently odd? I suspect not, or at least not to such a conscious degree.

The way these issues are framed is critically important. As FRAPP has identified imperialism as the base issue, and France as the primary practitioner thereof, other potentially unrelated issues become touch points for mobilization, and potentially related issues of exploitation are ignored. For example, given that France has been diagnosed as the root cause of the CFA being an exploitative arrangement by FRAPP/France Degage, this quickly lends itself to the identification of a clearly French multi-national company such as Auchan being labeled as part of that exploitation, while Casino, owned by a Lebanese company², is not. It also means that potentially damaging phenomena that might otherwise mobilize SMO does not; the Chinese presence has not seen a proportionate mobilization or framing as the French presence has. It is outside the scope of this paper to examine the reasons for this disparity, but the status of France as the former colonial power in Senegal means that there are substantial existing linkages between conceptions of France and oppression.

² Although it is important to note that Casino has a significantly lower market share than Auchan and does not have the same expansionist business plan.

Colonialism is a complex and multi-faceted system that must be dealt with in its complexity in order to fully understand the scope to which colonizing forces permeate the colonized society. The framing strategies outlined in this study present a compelling and powerful way that harnesses the fundamental and unalienable power of the people, and empowers a section of the public. However, as with the Chinese example, there are blind spots within this system. The Chinese collection of loans known as the “One Belt One Road” or the “Belt and Road Initiative” has been called by many China-watchers as a new form of oppression, even colonialism. We have seen in Djibouti the fall of sovereign territory to the Chinese government, and the extension of risky and oversized loans to states that may lack the long-term capacity to repay is a concerning potential harbinger of what is being called debt subjugation or debt colonialism. While it is not impossible for framing strategies to shift, the current lack of attention paid towards this new type of neo-colonization is concerning. This collective common oversight of new forms of exploitation leave the Chinese somewhat unchecked. This is not to say there have been no popular resistance, as there have been extensive demonstrations in Kenya and Zambia most notably—but that currently the frames being used to talk about western exploitation are distinct and much more prolific than those used for China.

The spread of the France Degage movement to Congo is a significant and noteworthy event, as brought up previously. The development and internationalization of these frames is occurring in a direct way that may be unparalleled—while it is difficult to prove the absence of similar social groups, no other example comes to mind of a SMO, explicitly aiming to influence public discourse through the development and spreading of frames, that has been spread across borders. Even in the Eurozone, the spread of various Brexit portmanteau spin-offs³ does not quite

³ For example, Frexit, Swedone, Noland, Italeave, Donemark, and more

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resemble what is seen with the spread of France Degage to Congo. This is a development that may portend a larger and potentially paradigm shifting movement against continued French presence and meddling in their former colonies.

Excerpted Transcripts

Transcription

“France Dégage”

Moizolou Dybaneza

Membre du collectif France Dégage Congo

Il est aujourd'hui motivé et je tiens à le souligner sur le point 6 de se manifester et nous parlons notamment de la suppression ou de si vous voulez nous voulons mettre faire à l'aide ou développement mais aussi à la coopération technique. Et ce mécanisme qui rejoint notamment cette lutte sur les APE, les accords partenariat économique qui pour nous comme là si bien dis des camarades sont des accords qui restent sur des bases élaborées avant les accords d'Indépendance des pays africains. Notre esprit de lutte va dans ce sens parce que je pense que si nous nous référons au passé, Frantz Fanon disait autrefois que chaque génération doit avoir l'opacité de savoir quel est sa mission et qui t'a aidé à trahir ou de l'accomplir. Et cette génération, notre génération aujourd'hui à décider de conduire notre mère patrie, l'Afrique vers sa souveraineté véritable. Cette souveraineté, elle est politique, cette souveraineté elle est monétaire, cette souveraineté elle est militaire, cette souveraineté elle est économique, mais elle est finalement populaire. Donc, notre démarche dans ce sens-là nous a poussé aujourd'hui de rejoindre ce grand mouvement ou cette dynamique, la Plateforme « France Dégage », notamment pour participer dans l'action, dans la réflexion, mais aussi je dirais dans l'élaboration des stratégies pour qu'en fin nous puissions ensemble accompagner notre mère patrie l'Afrique vers cette libération tant attendue. Et vers cette souveraineté que nous voulons de tous notre vœu. Parce qu'au-delà du combat que nous menons, je pense que c'est un droit, un droit garanti par tous l'arsenal, juridique international et du droit international. C'est ce droit inaliénable chaque à chaque peuple à la souveraineté reconnue et acceptée par tous. Donc toutes les instances, je dirai de la politique et de la diplomatie internationale et

nullement, nullement nous ne laisserons ces droits nous être prive et ces droits être bafoués sans que nous puissions agir pour permettre en fait la défense de nos droits et libertés fondamentales. Donc c'est dans cette esprit la que l'UDC (Unité Dignité Courage), dont je suis le porte-parole international, a décidé de rejoindre nos camarades dans ce dynamique de France dégage parce que c'est là s'inscrit, comme je le disais dans cette volonté, ce n'est pas la volonté que, peut-être certains pense d'une haine que nous portons vis à vis de la France. Mais c'est une, si vous voulez, c'est une démarche qui rentre dans le droit inaliénable de notre peuple. Et, ces droits nous amènent bien évidemment à mettre fin à tous ces instruments militaires, politiques, économiques, et financiers, qui aujourd'hui continu de permettre la domination, si j'ose dire, de l'occident sur notre mère patrie l'Afrique, et occasionner à la fois cette subordination intellectuelle, politique, culturelle, et militaire de l'Afrique vis-à-vis de l'occident.

Transcription

Interdiction de manifester le collectif France Dégage dénonce la forfaiture contre les libertés

Publiées par Dakar actu

Guy Marius Sagna

Nous N'avons pas attendu l'arrivé de Macron, pour dénoncer la néo-colonialité du Franc CFA, les accords partenariats économiques, les accaparements des ressources minières, le fait que plusieurs multinationales dont celles française d'accord, comment elle domine des pas entiers de notre économie, d'accord, au point de faire de l'ombre aux entreprises en fait sénégalaise. Donc, nous n'avons pas attendu Macron pour manifester contre cet impérialisme-là, contre cette domination de notre économie, qui nous empêche de nous développer, qui empêche à notre état d'avoir suffisamment de ressources. Maintenant, le président Macron vient, nous voulons dire à la France sa part de responsabilité dans notre situation. Parce que notre situation est dû à alliance entre nos élites vendu, corrompu, collabo, et les impérialistes comme Angela Merkel viendra, si nous sommes encore en vie, nous lui, nous rappellerons à l'Allemagne, en tant qu'Allemagne ou en tant que pays important dans l'union européenne, sa part de responsabilité. Voilà ce que ça signifie. Quand Trump mettra le pieds ici, nous dirons à Trump sa part de responsabilité, lui qui nous traite de pays de merde. C'est ça en fait la situation. Donc, c'est comme ça qu'il faut comprendre le lieu que nous avons choisi, d'accord, il est symbolique l'état français c'est l'ambassade en fait de la France.

Ndeye Sow :

De la même manière, que les partisans de l'APR on la possibilité d'aller devant le palais et de dire, ce qu'ils pensent, nous aussi, en tant que citoyen sénégalais, nous n'avons pas seulement la possibilité, mais le devoir, parce que notre constitution nous dit que le Sénégal ne ménagera aucun

effort pour la réalisation de l'unité africaine. Mais nous sommes dans cette perspective, raison pour laquelle l'arrêté du préfet qui se base, parce que son premier visa et la constitution, violent la constitution. J'irai même jusqu'à dire que l'arrêté du préfet est inconstitutionnel. Raison pour laquelle il sera même logique et légal d'attaquer cet arrêté devant le juge, pour faute d'inconstitutionnalité. Le préfet de Dakar vient manifestement parce que c'est une violation manifeste de la constitution.

Transcription

France Dégage

Les activistes sénégalais lancent la campagne "FRANCE DEGAGE"

Ndeye Babel Sow, Porte-parole de France Dégage

Depuis 1987 pour le CEDEAO, considérons la tutelle de la France dans nos affaires monétaires, la France siège dans les différentes banques centrales, ou elle a de faite un droit de veto car la modification des statuts de banques centrales requière le consentement de tous les membres. Dans le comité de politique monétaire de la BCOA, par Exemple, là où la France a une voix délibérative, le président de la commission de l'UEMOA n'a qu'une voix consultative. Considérons, que les deux banques central, BCOA, et BEAC sont indépendantes des gouvernements africains, auxquels, elles n'ont aucun compte à rendre. Alors, qu'elles ne sont pas indépendantes du trésor français. Considérons la double tutelle française et européenne sur le Franc CFA. La France a le pouvoir de dévaluer le Franc CFA ou pas d'une part est la France est obligée d'informer probablement l'union européenne, pour les décisions majeures relatif à la gestion du Franc CFA d'autre part. Considérons l'obligation des pays africains de la zone Franc. De déposer 50%de leurs avoir extérieur net, sur un compte spécial du trésor français, appelé compte d'opération. Considérons que les billets et pièces de Franc CFA sont fabriquées en France et non en Afrique. Nous, organisation luttant pour la souveraineté monétaire, lançons la campagne France Dégage. Cette campagne vise la sortie de la France de nos conseils d'administration, le rapatriement de nos réserves de change, détenus par le trésor public français, la fermeture des comptes d'opérations. Par l'absolution unilatérale des deux conventions de compte d'opération, qui lie la France a l'UEMOA et à la CEMAC, pour décoloniser le Franc CFA. La fabrication de nos billets et pièces en Afrique. Dans un premier temps, c'est à la France de sortir du Franc CFA. C'est pourquoi nous lançons la campagne pour le FRECSIT, ou France dégage. Dakar le 21 novembre 2017. Signataire

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par ordre alphabétique front anti APE, anti CFA. Réseaux panafricain, espoir d'Afrique, up qui meet, et urgence panafricaniste.

Q: Pouvez vous me dire a propos de mouvement?

A: Alors, en realite le mouvement s'apelle euh le FRAPP, le FRAPP c'est le front pour un revolution anti-imperialiste, populaire, et pan-africaine. F, R, A, P, P. Donc, F comme frappe, comme franc, R comme revolution, A: anti-imperialiste, le premier P est populaire, et le deuxieme P est pan-africaine. Donc, eh le movement s'apelle FRAPP, et on fait il a commence ...a le... officiellement, il y a un [unintelligible 01:02] le 21 novembre 2017, ou nous avons organisee un conference de presse, pour lancee notre premier campagne, qui s'appelle "pour la sovreignite monitaire france degage".

Donc, notre campagne s'appelle pour la sovreignite monitaire france degage." mais a l'epoque on s'appelle pas encore FRAPP euh, c'etait un campagne pour affirme, sensibilise, mobilise se battre sur le question de la sovreignite monitaire. parce que nous estimons que la france CFA en faite le peuple africaine n'ont pas la sovreignite monitaire sur cette monaie. Et donc, cette campagne pour informe, pour sensibilise la population, les egalments pour donne notre point de vue, sur ce debat monitaire, on la appele pour la sovreignite monitarire france degage. Mais non, comme la nom de la campagne est tres loing, les gens entendu "france degage". donc, voila on fait l'origine de france degage.

c'est pour la sovreignite monitaire, france degage. mais non, au de la question monitaire, oui, dans notre animisme lestiments les pays africaines en generale, et la Senegal on partiquulier sont les pays domine. Sont les pays opprime. Dans le meme maniere que... la grande brittaine euuhhh a dominie au primie les etats unis, oui en grand sense que de la meme maniere mangre se conn

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apelle 02:43 les indepence de 1960 nous sommes dominee, nous sommes opprime. Euh, et les plusiers mecanismes d'opression et de domonition de nos peuple le politique d'affiner le banque mondial on font parti, les politiques de l'homme c'est organization mondiale de commerce, eh la corpen a l'internaitonal, d'accord, le france CFA est un instrument de domination, la langue francaise que nous utilison comme langue officielle est un instrument de dominacion. Donc, il y a plusiers de notre point de vue instrument de domination, instrument d'opression, et bien sur, euh france degage, au de la question monitaire, euh c'est elargie. Par exemple, le question de retour appeage 03:30, d'accord, controle par une enterprieise francaise, le question des bas militaires francaises, aucun bas militaire etranger n'est la pour assure la securitie, de ce qui est luttre. Aux etats Unis, par exemple, y a pas bas militaire d'etranger, en france il y a pas bas militaire etranger, parce que tous simplement, les bas militaire sont des instruments de domination, il faut garuntee l'access aux ressources human ou que sources plutot natruelle, des multinationales francaise, il faut egalement tout frere 04:06 pour que la Senegal et les autres pays reste en marche pour les produits instrustrilise. Donc, il y a plusiers instruments de domination, et donc, meme la presence francaise que soit economique, quelle soit militaire, la langue, c'est aussi les isntruments de la domination, les accords de partinarie economique, d'accord? euh, les accords de partineria economique, economique partineriship agrement 04:38.

euh, sont aussi des instruments de domination. Donc Oui, nous avons commence sur le question de France CFA, france degage, mais bonne, chacun, c'est pas nous en fait chaque cityonne a elagie, le france degage, voila. on disant, effage dans notre retourne appeage, France Degage, Orange... qui controle notre socieitie de telephone, Sonatel: France Degage, D'accord. Auchan, le grand distribution, donc, qui va canniblise en fait les commercants senegalaise. qui va faire

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que nos commercants sont voisi les difficultes pour vendre; c'est aussi l'expression d'accord de l'imperialism francaise, de la domination francaise.

Donc, voila un peu de tete, et quand t'on est nee, on s'appelle pas encore FRAPP, , nous avons commence par cette campagne, mais, nous avons eu d'autres campagnes. Par exemple, Non aux accords de partenariat economique entre l'union europeen et les pays de l'afrique de l'ouest. Non aux importations de poulet, le brasil et les etats unis on importe plein courte le Senegal au niveau de l'OMC. Parce que la senegal a faire [unintelligible 05:57] depuis 1905, donc affirme ces frontieres aux importations de poulet. Le Brasil et les Etats Unis, entre au pays, suite que leurs importations de poulet que le poule entre dans le pays, mais ca c'est la ca va menace de 250 mille on peut directe... donc, non aux accords de partenariat economique, donc, euh c'est une autre campagne; non aux importations du poulet c'est une autre campagne, euh on l'appelle sama ginaw, sama bakkan 06:30 , donc d'etre mon poulet, ma vie; euh, et cetera. Donc, Auchan Degage, voila. Auchan Degage, et cetera. Donc on a plusieurs campagnes, et a partir de moment ou nous avons plusieurs campagnes, on pouvez pas s'appelle France Degage, parce que nos aux APEs, les APE s'inventu pays en frappele cette manier avec le brexit, 27 pays de l'union europeen. Donc, tu parle de France Degage regles APE. Donc, voila, et le fenulle, chaque cher encore 07:05 , qui puisse porte de tout cela. et, apres on a trouve le mot FRAPP.

Donc, France Degage, a la bas, c'est en fait le nom de nos campagne., mais egalment s'est devenu le deonancization, la lutte contre l'imperialism francais.

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Donc voilà, et donc le FRAPP c'est un plateforme, qui recoup plusieurs organizations, d'accord, donc, qu'il recoup plusieurs organizations, qui sa reclame...du pan-africanisme anti-imperialiste, d'accord. Donc, voilà, et voilà, qu'est-ce que je peux acheter c'est ça. Tete qu'il y a deux chose qui charecterise en faite le frapp; le premier element c'est l'idee que il nous faut avoir la sovreignite economique. Donc, l'afrique, donc les pays africaines, n'ont pas le sovreignite economique, et nous soritrons pas du sous-developpement.

Parce que ca va dire qu'il vont continuer a exploite a etre opprime et cetera.

Le dieuxie-donc tranforme radicalment les relations entre l'afrique et la reste du monde. que l'afrique ne soit plus, d'accord, un comptiernant, il parti du monde, qu'il soit l'esclave des autres des multinationales, des olicharchies, et cetera.

Deuxieme element qui charecterise la FRAPPE c'est la transformation radiacale des relations entre les peuples et les elites. Voila parce que on estime que, donc, la recherche de la soveriente democratique; donc sovreignite economique, sovreignite democratique; transformation radicale des relations entre l'afrique et la reste du monde, transformations radicale des relations entre le peuple et les elus. Parce que les elus on faite accapard on faite le pouvoir, il dise decide, agir en nom de la population, mais en realite, le populations n'ont aucun pouvoir, peut-etre une fois tous les cinquantes, les jour ou il vote, a parsailles il n'ont aucun pouvoir, aucun moyenne, aucun pouvoir te dire non, donc, par exemple sur ne sont pas d'accord avec les APE (accords de partinaire economique). Il ne peuve rien, c'est le presdient et [unintelligible 09:29] qu'il decide. D'accord, s'il nos s'ont pas d'accord sur pas noive, avec le privatisation pour que l'eux soit confier

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a sieze, et non pour aucun moyen. Aucun moyen. Il faut parler, il faut cree, mais tu n'ont aucun moyen. C'est le president et la government. Donc il faut transforme radicalement cette relation la, pour que le peuple soit realement sovereign. Que le peuple exerce realment le pouvoir, et moi, qu'il front élus.

Cos M23 est née des flancs du M23, ce mouvement populaire qui en 2011 était dirigé par notre grand frère Alune Tine. Il y avait des organisations de la société civile et beaucoup de parties politiques qui étaient impliqués dedans et qui étaient dirigés par lui. Lorsqu'on avait la victoire sur le parti politique au pouvoir à ce temps-là. On a porté un combat sur le respect de certains principes et on l'a réussi par l'évènement de l'actuel président de la république, Mousseur Macky Sall. 4 mois après on a constaté que y a des pratiques jadis combattus qui reprenait le dessus sur les principes qu'on se battait contre. Ce qu'on a constaté en premier lieu, et en ce qui nous concerne on se nommait les jeunes du M23. Ce qui a attiré notre attention premièrement c'est la nomination de Me. Aminata Niane de l'APIX en tant que conseillère spéciale du président de la république ou ministre conseiller, je ne sais plus. En tout cas elle occupait ce genre de postes, on trouvait en ce temp et jusqu'à présent inconcevable que quelqu'un qui a été épinglé d'un rapport de plus de 100 000 000 F CFA qu'il devait à l'état du Sénégal et qui a été attribué une responsabilité au président de la république, qui faisait parti du pouvoir qu'on combattait et ensuite tu cours derrière Karim Wade et d'autres gens. C'est là qu'on a commencé à faire des sorties pour dénoncer. Parce que la première fois qu'on a fait une sortie, on avait pris l'engagement d'encouragé, de souligné et de soutenir tout ce qu'on croyait bon à la démocratie, qui convenait à nos besoins et que le président de la république Mr. Macky Sall le fasse. On c'était aussi engagé à combattre jusqu'à la dernière énergie pour tout ce qui sont des principes de bonne gouvernance et des principes de la démocratie qui étaient notre raison de combattre et c'est ce qu'on fait jusqu'à présent. Cela faisait parti de ceux qui nous motivaient de faire des sorties pour dénoncer. Lorsqu'on a débuté, nos aînés qui étaient là-bas nous ont appelé et nous ont demandé d'aller en douceur et d'arrêter de dénoncer et que de toutes les manières le M23 va organiser une assemblée générale pour voir comment ça va marcher. On les a dit, y avait pas de prix en la demeure on avait combattu ensemble pour des

principes. On avait combattu ensemble contre des partis pas contre des personnes. Mais la manière dont on gouvernait le pays, gaspillé l'argent du pays, mal mené la démocratie, oppressé les gens, la prise de parti, et manipulé nos institutions, c'est ça qui nous faisait male jusqu'à ce qu'on commence à se battre. Si on voit quelque chose de tel à nouveau, on ne va pas attendre des assemblées générales ou quoi que ce soit, c'est des choses à dénoncer par ce qu'on croit que lorsqu'on dirige un pays, ce qui est plus facile c'est de changer des lois qui renforcent les institutions du pays. On se révolté non pas parce qu'on mourait de faim, On se révolté non pas parce qu'on avait soif, mais on se révoltait par ce que y avait certaines pratiques qui anéantissaient les institutions du pays. Et cela était à la portée du président de la république Mr. Macky Sall. Malheureusement cela n'aboutissait pas à sa volonté. Alors nous aussi on a pris nos responsabilités. Lorsqu'on est venu à l'ensemble générale, on nous à exclu. On s'est battu et on avait déjà établi notre organisation et la rendre plus sérieuse. Bien vrais qu'ils ont amené des nervis à l'AGE qui s'est tenu le 12 janvier 2013 et nous on mal mené, on s'est entêter dans nos principes. L'initiative on l'a pris, c'est-à-dire être libre, avoir l'audace, être engagé et ne pas attendre que personne ne nous demande ou bien nous ordonne de le faire. Nous n'avions pas besoin que personne ne nous parraine, par ce qu'on croyait qu'on était aguerri. On faisait parti des partis politiques et on savait ce qui est vrais et ce qui ne l'est pas.

Journaliste : N'est-ce pas que M23 est une plateforme politique et citoyenne en même temps ?

Oui il faut l'accepter comme telle et c'est vérifiable. C'est vérifiable en ce sens ou vous voyez comment le pays est géré maintenant. Qu'est-ce que voyez-vous de pire que ce qui était ici. Tout ce qu'on se battait contre et toujours là, disons le une bonne fois pour tout.

Comme quoi ?

Le népotisme est là, par Example la caisse de dépôt et de consignation. Le président de la république avait fait un communiqué disant qu'il ne va pas mettre sa famille dans le gouvernement, le lendemain il a nommé son petit frère. Qu'est ce qu'il fait là-bas ? c'est hors de contrôle des institutions financières du pays. Je suis désolé mais on ne sait pas où est ce que la première dame du pays puisse ses financements là où elle mette l'argent, on ne connaît pas à propos des titres foncés on ne sait rien du tout. Donc on ne peut pas nier que le népotisme est là. Vous avez vu aujourd'hui le problème d'eau qui est là. Si c'était un pays responsable, il est presque inadmissible que le beau-frère du président de la république soit le ministre de l'hydraulique. Et on reste aujourd'hui à Dakar pendant trois mois sans eau et il n'y a pas d'enquête sur ça. Donc le népotisme est là. La manipulation de nos institutions et là. On a vu que la manière dont la justice Sénégalaise marche est louche. Le procureur n'est pas libre sur ses choix, les juges font semblant, disant qu'ils ont l'autorité dans la pratique, c'est faux. Nous voyons que la justice Sénégalaise est manipulée. Aujourd'hui il est justiciable celui qui a des ambitions et qui n'est pas dans le cas présidentiel. Il est injusticiable celui qui peut prendre nos milliards, mais tant qu'il a coté du président de la république et peut l'aider sur ses campagnes ou lui défendre. Celui là est exempté de justice. Donc on a vu comment nos institutions marchent. L'assemblée nationale et une lettre à la poste qui passe.

Journaliste : Donc vous pensez que ceux qui ont créés le M23 ont rejoint le camp présidentiel ?

S'ils avaient seulement rejoint le camp présidentiel et s'en limité là, ça serait mieux. Par ce que les gens sont libres en tout cas de faire des choix de position. Mais ce que tu dis être c'est seulement des faits qui peuvent être justifiés ou démentir. Ce qu'on disait c'est qu'on allait se combattre jusqu'à nous y impliquer. Je me rappelle la période où Mamadou était mort, on a perdu 14 vies Sénégalaises à travers le pays dans ces luttes contre la dictature, contre le régime libéral. On a semé la trouble dans ce pays contre par Example Ousmane Ngom qui devait organiser une élection présidentielle.

On nous a impliqué dans tous sortes de combats. Ce qu'on déplore ce n'est pas qu'on est parti, mais ils se sont retournés de tout ce qu'ils nous poussaient à faire pour combattre le régime qui était en place, et le font aujourd'hui. C'est ce qui est le plus déploré. Le fait de partir n'est pas grave parce que y a des gens de valeur dans le camp présidentiel, même s'ils n'ont pas cette liberté que nous nous avons pour dénoncer. Par ce que c'est à chaque'un de voir là tu en es ou bien tes dispositions. Y a des hommes de valeur mais il faut admettre que ce qui est vrais et ce qui ne l'ait pas ne pu pas aller ensemble. Ceux qu'on disait hier de ne pas être vrais jusqu'à ce que le président vienne avec son matelas et aussi des gens comme Moustapha Niass prennent des pierres et font face à l'assemblée nationale. Jusqu'à ce qu'on assassine ce policier, jusqu'à ce que Mamadou Diop décède. Tout ce qui n'était pas normale s'applique jusqu'à présent. Et n'importe ce qu'ils vont faire, cela ne sera jamais normale. Ceux qui s'engageaient on les voit maintenant, on ne peut pas tous les citer. Ils sont au pouvoir disant que ceux qu'ils combattaient n'étaient pas des combats de principe, c'étaient des combats de circonstance.

Journaliste : Donc on peut dire que c'est du renouement ?

C'est plus que du renouement, je peux dire que c'est de la trahison et ça a une vergogne quelque part. Que Dieu nous en préserve, j'aime le dire que nous, Dieu nous a aidé de continuer à combattre le même combat qu'on combattait l'année dernière et l'année avant. Donc on remercie Dieu de progresser avec humanité. On prit à Dieu pour plus de protection et que pour qu'on n'ait pas ce genre d'attitude. Par ce que ce genre d'attitude que tu l'ais ou pas, que tu l'acceptes ou pas, c'est mauvais. C'est de ne pas tenir ta parole, c'est d'aller en arrière mais aussi c'est de la provocation par ce que des personnes y ont laissé la vie. Et peut-être que si tu n'avais pas fait une communication et faire sortir les gens, personne ne serait mort. Mais c'est toi qui les as encouragés, c'est toi qui les as engagés en leur disant que ça c'est mauvais il faut qu'on se batte contre. Lorsque

le président Abdoulaye Wade voulait avoir un troisième mandat on a tout fait jusqu'à ce que le pays soit en feu. Aujourd'hui lorsque le président de la république a pris un engagement ferme puis se retourne retourné et fait un parjure, renié à son engagement, renié à sa parole sur la réduction de son mandat c'est grave. Mais on se trouvent les gens qui avaient fait une sortie pour dire que le conseil constitutionnel n'a pas le droit de donner une décision. C'est seulement un avis. Par Exemple Monsieur Ismaïla Madior Fall le constitutionnaliste qui était là qui nous disait que l'avis du président de l'assemble nationale et du conseil constitutionnel ne pouvaient pas limiter le président de la république sur un engagement qu'il avait pris, ce qui fait que Abdoulaye Wade disait « j'avais dit et maintenant je renie » (ma waxon waxeet). Aujourd'hui le président de la république est allé à 9 lieux, prendre des engagements fermes qu'il a renié. Et vous faites une sortie pour dire que ce que vous disiez c'était seulement un avis et aujourd'hui c'est une décision, une dimension juridique pour limite le président de la république.

Journaliste : Donc c'est ce qui a créé la Cos M23 ?

On s'est démarqué radicalement comme que on ne peut pas faire du M23 une association que tout le monde partage et l'assujettir. Que voyez-vous aujourd'hui de cela, le siège qu'ils occupent c'est le gouvernement qui le les a donnés. Y a quelques-uns qui les a démentis aujourd'hui disant que chaque fin du mois ils vont dans le cabinet du gouvernement avec certains avantages, on ne peut pas leur refuser ça.

Journaliste : Donc ils ont perdu le combat pour le peuple ?

Oui le combat pour le peuple, en tout cas n'est plus une priorité ou bien est ce que ce n'était pas de la fausse prétention. Par ce qu'en générale comme je t'ai dit, c'est le fait qui justifie la parole. Et ce que ce n'était pas de prendre des postes de responsabilité pour adhérer le gouvernement ou bien occuper une fonction dans le gouvernement qui te motivaient, plutôt que de te battre pour le

peuple. Les gens peuvent mettre en avant comme nous on le fait. C'est pour cela qu'on a été prudent en un moment pour dire : Nous on ne combat pas pour le peuple, on combat pour des principes qui nous sont propres et que toute population qui se retrouve dans ce combat peut adhérer à notre dynamique. Par ce dés fois tu dis que je me batte pour le peuple alors que tu te battes pour toi-même, dés fois aussi tu te dis que je me batte pour le peuple, tu te retourne et tu ne vois personne. Le peuple te laisse tomber ou bien te demande qui t'a envoyé. C'est pour cela qu'on considère qu'on est libre de mettre en place un baromètre de valeur et l'incarner à travers nos activités.

Journaliste : C'est la Cos M23 ?

C'est la Cos M23 et on l'a élargi jusqu'au grand publique. Il est né le 11 août 2012 jusqu'à présent et si j'en parle maintenant je vais attarder l'émission. Mais comme je vous l'ai dit tout à l'heure on a tout fait ici. En 2013, c'est nous qui étions les premiers à organiser une campagne pour la réédition des comptes, je pense que c'est là que vient les problèmes de Karim Wade. Mais n'empêche que lorsqu'ils ont vu comment CREI marche, ils ont dit qu'ils vont violer les droits de Karim Wade.

Merci