University student agency, representation, and activism:
A case study of students studying English at Université Cheikh Anta Diop
(Dakar, Sénégal)

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Mom, Sis, and Jo for your consistent love, support, and grace and to the students at UCAD, for teaching me the value of persistence and reminding me that the educational process is about the journey.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Universities across Africa have become hotbeds of discontent, occupying a dangerous place at the intersection of politics and crime.

Lydia Polgreen, *The New York Times*

Young people[1] now constitute the majority of the African population, and their integration into society, in terms of both civic responsibility and membership, has had enormous economic, cultural, political, and social consequences. At the same time, the condition of young people in Africa, as well as their future, is heavily influenced by the interaction between local and global pressures, the fragmentation or dissolution of local culture and memory, on the one hand, and the influences of global culture, on the other…young Africans symbolize the uneven trajectory of an Africa in search of its rhythm and its identity situated in a temporality both indigenous and global, they express longings and demands that are much more creative than murderous!

Mamadou Diouf, Columbia University

Statement of the Problem

The excerpts from Mamadou Diouf's (2003) influential article on African youth and public space call attention to the important role that African youth, including university students, play in the economic, social, and political present and future of African nations. Diouf's work also highlights the problem of representation of African youth as 'murderous' radicals rather than justly aggrieved young citizens seeking improvements in basic material conditions and political rights. The discursive representation of African youth as violent and out-of-control applies not only to the most marginalized but also to the privileged minority who manage to secure spots in African universities. As illustrated by the Polgreen quote and elaborated on below, the representation of African students as a problem extends to the representation of African

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[1] In his 1994 article, *Urban Youth and Sénégalese Politics: Dakar, 1988-1994*, Diouf defines youth as "high school and university students, unemployed youth, members of political parties" (p. 226). This dissertation is only concerned with university students, but the term "youth" will be used as an analytical category within which university students make up only one part of a larger youth social movement.

universities as "dangerous hotbeds," and, more generally, to the representation of Africa as a troubled and dangerous continent.

This study attempts to explore and interrogate dominant representations of African university students by examining how students conceptualize and act upon their own agency. It seeks to understand "the way [students] actively confront the ideological and material conditions presented by schooling," with schooling in this case restricted to the tertiary level (Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996, p. 14). My central argument is that education scholars, donor agencies, and government officials need to better understand how students make meaning of their participation in the academic and social life of the university. In order to gain this understanding, it is necessary to analyze how students conceptualize and produce agency within the university political environment that is highly influenced by the inter/national[2] context of educational policymaking, and how this experience of education prepares students for a particular kind of economic, political, and social participation in a rapidly transforming Africa.

In my pre-dissertation and dissertation research at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)[3] in Dakar and in my reading of the literature on student activism throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, the problem of student representation is very apparent. Students are consistently represented as lazy, non-studious, violent, immature, and greedy. When students are written about by journalists, scholars, and government officials, it is almost always in connection with political or social activism deemed problematic by the authors. The substance of their grievances, including poor university

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[2] I use this term to highlight the interaction between the international and the national. I conceptualize the national as being shaped by the international and vice versa (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2009).

[3] The student-generated themes and expressions discussed in this paper are derived from pre-dissertation fieldwork at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in July 2010.

management, overcrowded classrooms and dormitories, and government corruption, is rarely recognized in these accounts. Amutabi (2002), in her overview of Kenyan students, expresses cogently this problem of representation:

> From time to time, crises and disturbances in Kenyan universities have received a certain amount of attention in both the popular press and academic circles, although the main emphasis has tended to be upon incidents involving physical violence. Reports invariably suggest, especially to outsiders, that Kenyan universities are occasionally disrupted by a small group of aggressive and anti-establishment students, whose criminal activities are rooted out, punished severely, and then set aside so that the universities can get on with their main business of educating young Kenyans. Yet the democratic nature of the students' grievances, and the autocratic nature of the institutions and structures under which they operate, are often ignored. It is rarely reported that university students in Kenya are responding to authoritarian leadership, institutional decay, and management crises at the universities and in the country as a whole. The students are always blamed; in fact, they usually are vilified by the media, parents, politicians, scholars, and the public, who fail to *listen*[4] to their side of the story. The public rarely acknowledges the role that university students have played in Kenya's struggle for democratization. (p. 169, italics added)

The vilification of students for their social and political action obscures more than it enlightens about agency and the student experience with higher education in Africa. It dislocates student action from the larger political economy, and it denigrates the calls for greater democratic and social justice at the heart of many of these movements. Moreover, it acquits the state of any political or economic wrongdoing and frames the student as a burden to the nation rather than as its future leaders who may be advocating for reform. If only students would "act right," so the discursive logic goes, then the state might flourish, but it cannot when 'troublemakers' on campuses are protesting rather than accumulating knowledge (human capital) that will transform the country. Obscured is the suppression students face when they attempt to hold

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[4] In Chapters Four, Five, and Six, student voices are privileged in an attempt to listen to their side of the story.

accountable their governments and how, through this process, they are learning to participate in an established, yet often unstable democracy. Furthermore, this logic disassociates protest from educational activity, failing to recognize the ways that students are using protest in order to further their educational interests and promote their ideas about the future of the nation.

The literature on African higher education has grown considerably in the past decade as donor organizations have once again turned their attention to post-secondary education on the continent. However, this literature is dominated by technical and economic reform policy, what Aina (2010) calls the "reform perspective" (p. 24) or "reform framework" (p. 26). She (2010) refers to the "reform framework" as "a battery of discourses, practices, and policies built on a set of predominantly neoliberal and market-driven assumptions, diagnoses, and prescriptions for a specific set of situations in many African universities and the higher education sector" (p. 26). Within this body of literature, university students are virtually absent as the subjects of research or as contributors to policy. This neglect of students in higher education in Africa parallels the broader problem articulated by Levinson, Foley, and Holland (1996), who refer to students as "the voiceless objects of educational reform" (p. 1). In general, one could say that students are normally seen as 'the problem' rather than as possible participants in educational policy formation or evaluation.

In contrast to the technical, input-output models used by donor agencies and government officials to determine policy *for* African university students, this study explores the highly politicized process of becoming an educated person *by* students in higher education. In other words, I am concerned with how students negotiate and

confront the material conditions at African universities and how they confront

ideological challenges presented by their representation and their relationship with the

government. I contend that the production of student agency includes what is learned in

the classroom but also extends far beyond what students learn in the classroom. It also

encompasses becoming educated about the economic and political hierarchies that

continue to pervade social life throughout the continent albeit in different forms in

different locales. Through two months of living among Sénégalese students at one

university, I intend to document through a qualitative case study the myriad ways that

students "occupy the space of education" and are socialized into African societies

(Levinson et al., 1996, p. 14).

Significance of study

The state of Africa's universities has come to symbolize the 'African crisis' more generally
David Mills, Oxford University

Universities are in crisis. The crisis they are in is not, however, a crisis of the universities. Nor theirs alone, at any rate. And only partly, if at all, of their own making.
Zygmunt Bauman, University of Leeds

The state of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is often described in

terms of crisis, or, as in the case of Sénégal, "sheer chaos" (World Bank, 2003, p. 2).

Increased enrollment rates in SSA, the world region with the highest annual tertiary

education growth rate at 10 percent per year (UNESCO, 2009), have contributed to this

"crisis" in that there has not been concomitant increases in faculty and facilities. In

Sénégal, higher education enrollment increased by 12.4% per year from 2000-2005

(UNESCO, 2009). Although expenditures for higher education are comparatively high

within Africa at 218.6% of GDP per capita[5] and the expenditure for higher education is much greater than for primary and secondary education,[6] the higher education system faces considerable challenges, including overcrowded classrooms, under-qualified faculty, dilapidating facilities, lack of resources, and technological barriers (UNESCO, 2009). A growing unemployment rate, with youth accounting for 20% of its unemployed population (Sack and Witter, 2005), and a lack of opportunities in the job market for students further complicates the higher education sector in Sénégal.

Most of the research about higher education in Africa (and "the developing world") proposes solutions to the "chaos" of universities in technical terms, searching for best practices to address organizational and macroeconomic concerns. These solutions are commonly in the form of organizational restructuring, especially decentralization, of the higher education system or structural adjustments of its funding system through privatization. These 'reforms' are often led by external funding agencies, the World Bank being the most prominent in Sénégal. The technical reports produced by the World Bank and higher education scholars who share its rational, neoliberal assumptions usually assume that the African university, as riddled with inefficiencies as it may be at present, could be a panacea for the economic and political challenges on the continent: if its problems are fixed with technical tools, the university will play its role in national development. The focus on technical fixes predominates in the literature because of the presumed underlying links between higher education,

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[5] According to the Global Education Digest (UNESCO, 2009), only Niger (371.4% of GDP per capita), Burundi (363.1% of GDP per capita), Central African Republic (305.2% of GDP per capita), Chad (384.2% of GDP per capita), and Ethiopia (at a staggering 785.5% of GDP per capita) spent more on higher education as a percentage of GDP per capita.

[6] In terms of United States Dollars (USD), the Sénégalese government spent USD$285 per primary education student (1.9% of GDP per capita), USD$524 per secondary student (32.9% of GDP per capita), and USD$3,481 per university student (218.6 % of GDP per capita) (UNESCO, 2009).

human capital, and national development (Altbach, 1987; Dillon, 1963; Wiewel & Perry, 2008; Talati, Vellani, Herberg, Sutton, Qureshi, Pardhan, & Bracchus, 1998). The purpose of higher education, from this viewpoint, is to create macro-level economic growth by matching professional training for university students with the skills needed for business and industry (Tikly, 2003). From this perspective, higher education is being promoted as a major resource for "technological catch-up" in Africa. For example, a recent study of higher education on the continent suggested that if countries "increase the stock of tertiary education by one year…the rate of technological catch-up [would be] at a rate of 0.63 percentage points a year, or 3.2 percentage points over five years" (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2005, p. ii). This study, and many like it published by the World Bank, have led to increased funding for higher education from international financial institutions, bilateral donors, and African governments themselves after nearly two decades of privileging primary and secondary education.

These studies may be technically sound, but they fail to address two important issues facing universities in Africa. First, the recommendations for economic restructuring suggest that the solutions to Africa's financial and educational problems "are to be found within Africa" so that decentralizing and privatizing the university system will be sufficient to foster long-term change (Samoff, 1992, p. 70). This perspective, however, does not take into account inter/national economic, social, and political issues that greatly affect postcolonial societies (Samoff, 1992), including dependence on a limited number of commodities and tenuous democratic structures at the national level. As previously mentioned, Aina (2010) refers to this set of discourses on higher education as the "reform framework" (p. 26). Its dominant theme, she

contends, is "crisis and reform" in African higher education (p. 25). This has created an environment in which the focus on higher education is short-term change following a standard set of neoliberal prescriptions rather than a focus on deep-seated power relations within these institutions and between these institutions and inter/national donors (i.e. financial dependence). As Aina (2010) explains about this process:

> Originally a set of short-term, emergency prescriptions and approaches emphasizing rehabilitation and revitalization, [the reform framework] has become an ossified culture and mode of thinking about African universities with its own functionaries, ideologues, and practitioners. As a result, it has tremendous potential to stifle innovation, vision, and long-term thinking, and it precludes any real and enduring transformation of African universities and the higher education sector. (p. 26)

The second element missing from these technical studies on African higher education is the students' perspective on higher education, especially a sense of their lived experience within this 'chaotic' system of higher education. The body of literature in which university students are most written about deals with student activism. This literature utilizes the term "activism," which generally refers to coordinated, organized student group activity that serves the purpose of voicing disagreement with governmental decisions or actions. This type of activism generally takes the form of protest—violent and non-violent (although this literature is preoccupied with violent student protest, as noted by Amutabi)—such as rallies and strikes. African students in general and Sénégalese students in particular have turned to activism of this nature for multiple reasons. These include promoting their collective interests (i.e. contesting rising student fees, advocating for better living conditions and food options) and mobilizing for national political campaigns (i. e. the election of President Abdoulaye Wade in 2000). In the same way that African universities are often represented as

mismanaged, poorly governed, or inadequate in the body of research described above, African students are often vilified for their activism by African government officials and the popular press.

The literature on student activism, represented by Bauman's statement in the epigraph above, suggests that the crisis of universities is more complex than simply placing blame on African universities as poorly managed or African students as unruly. Research on student activism in Africa and elsewhere shows how universities are complex sites of negotiation over local and global tensions in which students seek to secure space for engagement in political, social, and economic dialogue often through the use of strikes, sit ins, and other forms of demonstration (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008; Amutabi, 2000; Konings, 2002; Bathily, Diouf, & Mbodj, 1995). This study contributes to the literature on student activism and, more specifically student agency, by exploring the complex social relations within one African university and between it and the national and international institutions that fund institutional reform and, in some cases, fund the students themselves. By focusing on the everyday lives of Sénégalese students at Université Cheikh Anta Diop, I examine the ways that their lives express collective sentiments about individual students' views on the present and future of their country within the global system.

Drawing on critical postcolonial theory, social constructivism, and concepts of agency and cultural production, this research attempts to discern analytically how multiple higher education discourses and practices shape the everyday lives of African students and the meanings students make of the purposes of higher education for themselves and for Sénégal. Scholars have shown that the relationship students have to

schools, particularly publicly funded schools, reflects the current relationship between citizens and the state (Summers, 2002; Mlambo, 1995). This study makes a similar assumption that a case study of students' lives as young scholars and activists will provide a valuable lens through which to view the socio-political terrain in the country.

French West African higher education/Sénégalese student response

This study is focused on contemporary Sénégal, but to address the socio-political context it is necessary to first present an historical overview of French West African higher education. Additionally, I will discuss the Sénégalese student movement, which was often responding to the inter/national context within which students were studying, by tracing the lineage of higher education in French West Africa from the colonial period forward while acknowledging a history of higher education prior to the colonial period. The colonial and postcolonial periods have tremendously shaped higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa today; an overview of shifts in the purposes of higher education and trends in external influence are at the crux of this section. I will highlight three distinct periods: Colonial, post-independence (early 1960s-early 1980s), and structural adjustment (1980s to 1990s). In the following section I will give a more complete overview of the current state of Sénégalese higher education.

Colonial Higher Education (1900-1945)

Education has long been viewed as a panacea for the social and economic ills of Africa. Missionaries, after realizing that literacy would greatly influence Bible understanding and potential conversion, began to focus on education, religious and liberal, as a means to "civilize" African peoples. Colonial administrations differed in the

extent to which higher education played a role in their colonial outcomes. In British

colonies, eventual self-government was the goal of a populace educated at least to the

lower primary level, with education rates beyond the primary level remaining very low

in most parts of Anglophone Africa. In French colonies, an educated elite (*évolués* in

French*)* was intended to rule the rest of the colony so that a few Africans did receive

higher education. L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (1967) differentiated between the

systems of education in Africa in this way:

> The French aimed at creating a small Gallicized elite; they emphasized
> intellectual achievement and urban values. The Portuguese… shared the
> preference of the French for teaching in the metropolitan tongue, but otherwise
> set their sights much lower and differed from the French in always using
> religious instruction as an integral part of instruction. The British… allowed
> each of their dependencies to formulate its own policy. Their theory of
> education stressed the values of rural life and local rule. (p. 279)

The metaphor often used to describe this period of higher education across

colonial Africa is "starvation" (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 53) as there were only a few

institutions of higher education established anywhere on the continent. Most students

from French West Africa were trained in French universities in France rather than

having post-secondary education offered in the colony. However, there were some

institutions of higher education beginning with the Ecole William Ponty, established in

1903. It was originally a teacher training college and prepared cadets for the medical

field. The Ecole William Ponty became the premier higher education institution in

French West Africa, training many of the educated elite of the early 1900s. In 1918, the

Medical Institute was established in Dakar and, in 1939, a polytechnic was opened in

Bamako (Mali) to train engineers and other public workers (Ajayi et al., 1996). The

focus of higher education during this period was to produce skilled workers for the

colony, workers who would help administer the colony under the supervision of the French.

Bathily, Diouf, and Mbodj (1995) call this period for students a period of assimilation. As they explain, students' debates were preoccupied with the options of becoming a full-fledged French citizen or a citizen with special status and access to the opportunities afforded to French citizens in the metropole. This desire for French citizenship made it difficult for students to criticize the French system. As Bathily et al. (1995), explain, "… as Sénégalese students seemed to seek privileged positions in the colonial system, neither they could criticize it nor could they see its wrongs. They sought acceptance, assimilation" (p. 373).

Bathily et al. identify four distinct student trends during this period. First was a total acceptance of the colonial system and its order wherein students submitted fully to the colonial leadership. The second was an attempt at "hybridization", bringing together the best from French and African civilizations. Third was the defense of Islam as the primary religion. The introduction of Christianity caused a threat to practicing Muslims: Even though Islam was the religion of the majority, students were adamantly opposed to a "defeat" of Islam (p. 374). This led to the establishment of Islamic student organizations on campus. Fourth, many students strictly opposed the assimilation approach, arguing that Africans could provide solutions for Africa's problems and. The first black student association was founded in this period by Sénégal's first president, Léopold Senghor, and Aimé Césaire in 1934. Despite the advancement of some Sénégalese through the educational system, access was limited during this period. When

access to university-level education increased during the nationalism period, Africans

quickly took advantage.

Nationalism and Post-Independence Higher Education (1945-1975)

       In 1950, the Institute of Higher Studies was established in Dakar, and this

Institute eventually became the University of Dakar in 1957 and was renamed

Université Cheikh Anta Diop in 1987. When established in 1950, the Institute was a

part of the Faculties of Science and Medicine at the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux

(Ajayi et al., 1996). In 1959-1960, there were only 94 students at the University of

Dakar, and enrollment did not increase rapidly until the structural adjustment period.

Each of these institutions was considered an overseas French institution, constituted

under decrees from the French Ministry of National Education (Ajayi et al., 1996). The

language of instruction was French and most of the instructors were from France as

well.

       During the nationalism (and decolonization) period leading up to independence,

there was a major focus on "manpower" development, including the creation of jobs

that led to infrastructure and improvement, most importantly engineering and

economics. The purpose was to create economic and physical infrastructure within

African countries so that capitalist economies and democratic states could be sustained.

To achieve these goals, African universities were considered to have a key role to play

in the future of the country in terms of nation-building, unifying the continent, and

research (Dillon, 1963). Education, at all levels, was especially linked to nationalism

and the move toward modernization of the economy and democratization of the political system.

During this period, students became very involved in political organizations in French West Africa, and Sénégalese students dominated West African student politics (Bathily et al., 1995). Students' political interests ranged from the creation of a Marxist state to the reconciliation between competing objectives of different student movements. Instrumental in breaking down the colonial system during this period was the Muslim Association of Black African Students in Dakar (AMEAN), as the defense of Islam and critique of Christianity led students to challenge the ideological bases of the colonial system and to the establishment of an Islamic identity.

Moving into the post-independence period in Africa, the period is often referred to as a period of "Africanization," as institutions of higher education slowly hired more African professors and staff, and higher education students themselves came from Africa rather than from Europe as in the colonial era. For instance, by 1970-71, 45% of the academic staff at the University of Dakar was African (Max, 2009). Increasingly, the curriculum also began to include African scholarship. Additionally, African governments became more involved in sharing the costs of higher education. During this period, cost sharing became a major focus of the Sénégalese government as it agreed to pay for some of the costs of the University of Dakar, along with the French government.

During the period from 1960 to 1970, students became increasingly political as well. Bathily et al. (1995) refer to these years as "the anti-imperialist period" (p. 392). Much of this political participation (through strikes, demonstrations, etc.) came as a

result of decreasing material conditions on campus. Students' elite status, a holdover

from the colonial period when European students dominated African universities, was

beginning to deteriorate in material terms. In addition, students saw themselves as the

conscience of the nation and wanted to be involved in national discussions during their

university years. Bathily et al. (1995) describe the role of students during the post-

independence period as follows:

> As the historical process of accession to independence accelerated, new
> discourses, new practices, indicative of the new trends in the Sénégalese society,
> developed in student activities. The burning issue at the time, that is 'who will
> benefit from the transfer of power', could be especially sensed in these shifts.
> Not surprisingly in this area, students claimed the historical responsibility of
> spearheading their people, of being the depositories of modernity, of being the
> vigilant censors of a political class which had already proved its potentials for
> compromise. Presenting themselves as the emerging future leaders of the
> country had therefore become quite immaterial. What was of the utmost
> importance was to appear as the upright conscience of an emerging nation which
> is, of necessity, progressive. (p. 393).

This shift in thinking from "future leaders" to "national conscience" led to a change in

tactics. Students began to favor street demonstrations that involved the general public

over direct forms of communication with the university administration, such as student

strikes or protests (Bathily et al., 1995). Underlying student movements during this

period was also an adamant anti-capitalism. Students aligned themselves with leftist

organizations and with Marxist movements in particular. However, students had

difficulty winning over public opinion in this period as Senghor, who was a nationalist

but not a Marxist, and his government were able to dissolve some of the student

organizations and limit students' ability to serve as an opposition to the government.

The Structural Adjustment Period and Higher Education (1980s-1990s)

Prior to the 1980s higher education was tied to national development and was, thus, viewed as a public good. Beginning in the 1980s, however, the World Bank and other donor organizations began to view higher education as a private good, favoring primary and secondary education instead because of its presumed greater contribution to social welfare. Additionally, the World Bank imposed structural adjustment policies on African nations. These policies included "devaluation of currencies, reduction of public expenditure, and shifting resources from higher education to elementary and secondary education" (Ajayi et al., 1996, p. 113). Universities were expected to generate their own funds, and the privatization of higher education throughout Africa began. Student numbers increased throughout this period, but their tuition did not cover maintenance to the physical campus. For instance, the enrollment during the structural adjustment period grew to over 20,000 students at UCAD without much growth in the infrastructure. The analogy used by higher education scholars to refer to this period is "economic starvation" because during this more recent period there were vast economic reductions within existing institutions. As Kenneth Berrill explains in the foreword to *Resources and Higher Education*, "the alternative to adequate resources is a starvation diet which may possibly begin by stripping off surplus fat but will in the end debilitate and ruin" (cited in Ajayi et al., 1995, p. 145). The results of the structural adjustment period continue to be felt by African universities today. Some of the outcomes of this period include "the squeeze on student accommodation, crowded classrooms, teaching reduced to chalk and talk, frustrated teachers who must hustle for additional income,

libraries whose acquisition votes have been nominal for years on end, and impoverished research" (Coombe 1991).

Bathily et al. (1995) refer to the structural adjustment period as one of "corporatist setback" for Sénégalese students (p. 397). In the student activism literature (reviewed in Chapter Two), scholars usually use the term 'corporatist activity' to describe situations when students act in ways that further their economic and material interests. Although students were still interested in Sénégalese politics, they were primarily interested in dealing with overcrowding, decreased stipends, and other student interests. By this period, the French West African student movement was becoming almost entirely a Sénégalese student movement with 76% of almost 10,000 students at UCAD being Sénégalese. The corporatism of this student movement referred to the preoccupation of students with improving housing conditions and food on the UCAD campus. In this period the university was only prepared to provide housing for 20-30% of the student population. However, by the late 1980s, the student movement again gained power as a result of the increasing unemployment rate of Sénégalese youth and university graduates (Bathily et al., 1995). The students also changed tactics again, choosing to forego political parties and, instead, take to the streets to voice their frustrations. The structural adjustment conditions from the World Bank and the IMF had a very negative effect on students because government positions for which university graduates were qualified and had counted on for employment in the past were cut. The student movement morphed into a corporatist battle due to structural adjustment. As government's slashed funding for universities, the student population continued to grow so material conditions were a major concern for students. University

students, who saw themselves as the "moral conscience" of the nation, were relegated to approaching the government on its own behalf during the post-independence period, limiting their impact on the nation.

Since the structural adjustment period, the World Bank has played a major role in Sénégalese higher education policy formation and implementation. Student numbers have expanded greatly because the World Bank has shifted its policies to support higher education lending in this era of the 'knowledge economy,' but on-campus accommodations and food continue to be major student concerns because both are inadequate and of poor quality. Despite the continuation of these material problems for students, today, UCAD students seem to be as concerned with serving as the moral conscience of the nation and fighting corruption at the national level as they are with protesting for more dormitories and better meals.

The compelling case of Sénégalese higher education

The long history of student activism leadership in French West Africa and the continued involvement of inter/national donor agencies in the higher education sector in Sénégal make it an excellent case to explore higher education on the continent. On the national level today, students' desires to access higher education are increasing and so, too, are the numbers of students eligible to attend tertiary institutions due to the successful Education for All campaigns that have greatly expanded the number of children in primary school.[7] Additionally, there is increased government spending on higher education and expanded access through the establishment of new public and

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[7] Between 2000-2005, Sénégal experienced a 12.4% growth in higher education enrolment (UNESCO, 2009).

private colleges and universities. At the inter/national level, the focus on higher

education as a means of economic catch-up, nation-building, and strengthening

democracies through the engagement of university students creates added pressure on

the Sénégalese government to pay attention to its higher education institutions if it is to

secure loans from foreign donors. On the other hand, the material conditions of

students' lives, the country's unstable democracy, and limited economic opportunities

even for the most educated call into question the purposes of higher education in this

developing country context.

The case of the Sénégalese student experience is particularly important because

Sénégal was one of the first sites of student movements in Africa at Ecole William

Ponty, and student movements in the country continue to exemplify trends across the

continent (Bathily, Diouf, & Mbodj, 1995). For example, in 1968, amidst a worldwide

student movement, Sénégalese students advocated for the "Africanization" of the

University of Dakar (UCAD today) (Max, 2009). This activism resulted in a growth in

Sénégalese student enrollment from 20 percent of the total university population in the

early 1960s to 50 percent by 1968 and the first appointment of a Sénégalese rector in

1971 (Max, 2009). This strong tradition of activism continues today, with medical

students protesting a reduction in student stipends in July of 2010 during my fieldwork,

students protesting delayed grant payments in May 2010 ("Protest over unpaid grants,"

2010) and postponement to the university semester ("Student riots cause widespread

damage," 2010). Therefore, Sénégalese student activism as a part of the student

experience is a useful lens through which to view the multiple social, political, and

economic roles university students have played over time, including in the present.

Student activism, as a collective form of contestation, provides a unique entry point into the student experience and student agency, and it speaks directly to the state or "crisis" of African universities as most protest has a material basis arriving from this "crisis."

The student experience at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) is a fruitful example of student agency because its students deal with many of the major issues facing other African students (i.e. overcrowding and underfunding) and the donor agencies continue to fund higher education projects in the country. UCAD is both the oldest institution of higher education in French West Africa and the site of multiple World Bank projects since 1989, including the *Concertation Nationale sur l'Enseignement Supérieur* (the National Consultation for Higher Education, or CNES) from 1989-2003, the first project of its kind in Africa (Max, 2009), the *Projet d'Amélioration de l'Enseignement Supérieur* (the Higher Education Improvement Project, or PAES), and, most recently, the *Programme Decennal de l'Education et de la Formation* (Ten Year Program for Education and Training, known as PDEF). These projects have dominated higher education in Sénégal for 20 years. In addition, UCAD faces other common challenges for Sénégalese universities, such as rapidly expanding student enrollment, deterioration of campus facilities, and aging faculties. Moreover, it is deeply integrated into the national political situation because it has been the recipient of state-funded higher education expansion during the presidency of Abdoulaye Wade, who was elected largely on the votes of university students.

Focus of the Study: UCAD English Department

The focus of this study is the student body in the English Department, the largest departments at UCAD, which is housed within the Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (FLSH, or Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences), the largest of the UCAD faculties. FLSH students, and English students in particular, deal with many of the worst of UCAD's physical conditions and are very involved in student activism. As students in the largest department, they must deal with overcrowding inside and outside of the classroom; additionally, these students face very limited job prospects upon graduation due to large graduating classes and already saturated markets. What could be learned by examining the quotidian experiences of these university students that might lead to a reconsideration of their representation as African university students? How might a rich description of the lives of African university students who protest the state of higher education affect educational policymaking at the international/donor and national levels? These are questions derived from my month of pre-dissertation fieldwork in which I spent a great deal of time with the FLSH students.

At UCAD, students lament the conditions in "the campus", the area in which students live, eat, and sleep. The lives of students, especially those who live on campus, are highly affected by "the conditions," a term they use to describe the deteriorating physical environment of the campus and mental and physical difficulties facing them as students. These difficulties include struggling to find books and other resources when few are available on a campus of approximately 60,000 students, fighting their way into overcrowded lecture halls, eating cheap but very low-quality food in the cafeteria, and trying to manage financially when government stipends are paid late. Moreover, the students often deal with violence as the government sends in the university/national

police after students protest for better food and the payment of stipends. There are also occasions when soldiers come onto the campus using tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse students or when soldiers enter student rooms to destroy student possessions, often resulting in injured students (and a student fatality in 2003).

Each of these realms of student life is locally situated but also greatly influenced by education and economic policy decisions made at different inter/national levels, particularly those decisions that affect life outside of the classroom. For instance, the conditions on campus are very basic, stripped down to the bare minimum even though there were once comfortable dormitories and dining halls when the university opened in 1957. These conditions today are largely due to the shift in funding priorities during the 1980s and 1990s away from higher education to primary education, the crippling of the university during this structural adjustment period, and the growth of the student population as access to UCAD has been granted to baccalaureate holders. As a result, today, students compare the experience of living on the spartan campus to soldiers living in *Bango*, the military barracks located in the northern city of Saint Louis.

The dialogical nature of becoming educated in the classroom and educating oneself in how to act as a social agent outside of it attests not only to the material reality of the present-day student experience; it also shapes how students imagine their future and the future of their nation as university graduates are the most likely ones to become the scholars and leaders of the continent. From my political-economic perspective, it matters that four to six students sleep in dormitory rooms designed for one; it matters that they must wake up at 6:00 a.m. to secure a seat for an 8:00 a.m. lecture or risk being relegated to a spot outside the window and 20 meters from the lecturer; and it

matters that violence erupts on the campus intermittently when students protest for conditions and rights that youth elsewhere in the world take for granted. It stands to reason that without accounting for these conditions experienced by students in Sénégal (and in many other African countries), policy decisions about higher education are likely to remain devoid of the realities students face and devoted to finding rational, technical fixes for what are, in fact, highly political, economic and social problems. The conditions faced by Sénégalese students did not emerge overnight, and the reasons given for them vary depending on one's perspective, such as the one emanating from the donor community and its "reform framework" that champions reducing the size of the state, to the Sénégalese students' perspective regarding government mismanagement of funds and political corruption. Of course, this bifurcation is too simplistic, and there are other competing perspectives within and among these groups. The point of this research is not to stake a claim in this debate and determine conclusively who is right or wrong about the reasons for the decline in the quality of university life; instead, I seek to examine the impact of these debates over economic, educational, and political reform and student representation on the lives of Sénégalese university students and how students manage their education amidst these multiple challenges.

To understand the ways that university students produce agency in the classroom and beyond it, I intend to explore how their everyday struggles, including organized student activism, inform understandings of higher education policy and practice within the broader political-economic context of the emerging democratic Sénégalese nation.   Therefore, the primary question in this dissertation is: What do the quotidian experiences of Sénégalese university students reveal about the way they

conceptualize agency, student-nation relationships, and the political-economic context of Sénégalese higher education? The multiple layers of student experiences, from the academic to the activist, are vital to explore if one is to use research into the lived experience of the targets of policy reform to inform policymaking.

Introduction to key concepts

Thus far, I have argued that little is known about the everyday lives of African university students or how students make meaning of higher education in contexts where they do not officially help to establish the inter/national "reform framework" shaped by neo-liberal policymakers. Additionally, I have shown that UCAD is a particularly important site for this study as its English students have struggled and continue to struggle with difficult conditions similar to those faced by other African university students. Before I move forward with the statement of study purpose and present the primary research questions in this study, I will address two key concepts and the way I will utilize them in this study. The key terms—postcolonial conditions(s) and student agency—are defined differently depending on the bodies of literature in which they are located; therefore, I will clarify how they are utilized in this dissertation.

The Postcolonial Condition(s)

In this study, I draw upon two meanings of the postcolonial condition(s), and, thus, the reason for making "condition" into a plural noun throughout this dissertation. The first meaning of postcolonial condition refers to the intersection of European colonization and contemporary relations of economic inequality and international

development in the global South. As Gupta (1998) explains, this condition pertains to "a specific set of locations articulated by the historical trajectories of European colonialism, developmentalism, and global capitalism" (p. 10). The postcolonial condition, in this usage, is an analytical category that captures the position of Sénégal within inter/national political, economic, and social relations that reflect continued colonial relations of power even as Sénégal continues to 'Africanize' its educational system and promote a distinct, sovereign identity. In Chapter Two, I utilize postcolonial theory to elaborate further on the postcolonial condition and how the continuities of colonialism influence Sénégalese society today.

The second meaning of "condition" relates to the term "the conditions," which UCAD students use to describe the poor material situation on campus, particularly food, housing, and equipment, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Similar to how Vavrus (2003) described the way Tanzanians use the local expression *maisha magumu* ("difficult life" in Swahili) to express the poor material conditions of life on Kilimanjaro, I will utilize "the conditions" throughout this study to refer to the poor living conditions on campus. As previously mentioned, students use "the conditions" in a negative way to express their discontent with the physical campus; however, the term is also used to express the mental and ideological conditions that students face, such as the stress of paying for a meal ticket when stipends are not paid on time. Whether in reference to physical or mental conditions, it is my view that the use of "the conditions" expresses the material reality of the current postcolonial "location" of Sénégalese society (Gupta, 1998).

Student Agency and Cultural Production

In the United States, a high degree of agency among students has been linked to educational success (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Fine, 1991; Kozol, 1991; McIntyre, 2000; Paulsen, 1991). In Africa, student agency is particularly important because failed states and decaying institutions (such as UCAD) "produce new spaces for political assertion and the creation of identities" that affect educational pathways (Durham, 2000, p. 114). This research project is significant in part because there is a dearth of research on university student agency in Africa, but also because the outcomes of better understanding the role of student agency in education will have significant implications for educational policymaking in Sénégal and the broader international community.

In this study, agency is situated within cultural production theory. I hold the view that the cultural production of student agency at the local/university, national, and inter/national levels is intimately interconnected with the process of becoming an educated person. It assumes that experiences inside and outside of the classroom can be powerful and transformative and may lead to transformative societal changes; this view also assumes that students are agentic and, under certain circumstances, their collective agency can have a large impact on society. However, I also believe that agency (discussed further in Chapter Two) is always being negotiated within the social structures in which individuals find themselves.

Building off the work of Bajaj (2009), Davies (1991), and Walker and Unterhalter (2007), I define agency as one's ability to recognize and act upon multiple subject positions within a given context and to choose if and how socio-cultural practices determine identity and action. The first influence on this definition is Bajaj's

(2009) view of "transformative agency," which differs from other definitions of agency because it includes how a person conceptualizes her ability to impact society. This is important because I seek to understand how agency affects student's view of national development in Sénégal. I do not assume one's experience of education, or the process of being educated, is always a transformative process, but it is an experience in which agency is constantly being negotiated within certain locally circumscribing structures. The second influence on the definition of agency is Davies' (1991) definition, which from a poststructuralist perspective, includes the discursive constitution of agency. In line with my critical perspective, she argues that agency and freedom cannot be produced without understanding discursive relationships. Lastly, I draw on Walker and Unterhalter's (2007) capability framing of agency, which frames people as responsible individuals with goals that drive their decision-making.

My definition is intended to link directly to cultural production theory, as discursive relations and culture are key elements in how a person responds to the cultural system, in this case, university life. There are three important themes in cultural production that I draw on for this study. The first is the notion of "confronting ideological and material conditions" (Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996, p. 14). In my view, this confrontation moves beyond collective action and expands the current definition found in the literature on student activism that limits such activity to collective, organized, and highly corporatist forms of student action. Cultural production theory, in contrast, suggests that activism, or protest, is also individual and is not only limited to economic and material concerns but includes ideological concerns.

Secondly, the broad conceptualization of agency within cultural production theory fits well with the way I view the specific instance of student agency. From this perspective, agency is "active" and "creative" well beyond the spaces in which 'confrontation' occurs, allowing for "understandings and strategies which may in fact move well beyond the school, transforming aspirations, household relations, local knowledges, and structures of power" (Levinson et al., 1996, p. 14). In line with Bajaj's (2005) view of transformative agency, this view of agency moves beyond the individual acting or protesting in the here-and-now to affect his/her imagined future as well as social structures and power/knowledge relations that radiate outward from the agentic person.

Lastly, the discussion of identity from the perspective of cultural production theory fits well with my definition of agency. Identity, like agency, is "contingent and fluid" (Levinson et al., 1996, p. 11) and is not static. It is provisional and changes based on one's position and social circumstances. Educative sites like universities are, from this perspective, particularly rich for exploring how circumstances like "the conditions" at UCAD help to produce certain kinds of identities among students. It does not assume that these identities are innate or that they will necessarily endure beyond graduation, but they might be the engine for wider social transformation in a postcolonial country like Sénégal. In sum, then, the postcolonial conditions and student agency are central concepts in this study and will be elaborated further in relation to relevant literatures in Chapter Two.

Statement of Study Purpose

As presented in this paper, one might see the plight of university students in Sénégal as hopeless; however, this interpretation would be to misread and misunderstand my purposes for this study. One might question: What are students to do? Rather than viewing the situation as impossible to resolve, I hold a more optimistic view and choose to focus on how students are challenging their circumstances in collective and individual ways. As Africanist anthropologist Ferguson (1994) underscores in his study of 'failed' development projects in Lesotho: "Indeed, the only general answer to the question, 'What should they do?' is: 'They are doing it!' (p. 281).

Building a conceptual framework supported by the study of how agency is culturally produced in a postcolonial state marked by an unstable democracy and poor material conditions, my purpose is to understand what students are 'already doing' at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD). The following research questions are designed to help me understand how students make meaning of higher education in Sénégal and how they engage in inter/national economic, social, and political activity for their own putative benefit or the benefit of their nation.

Research Questions

- How do UCAD students perceive the purposes of higher education in Sénégal?
    - What does it mean to be an educated person in Sénégal today?
    - How is the educated person produced within this context?

- How, if at all, does the UCAD student experience produce students' sense of agency, and their ability to affect their societies?
    - How is agency produced within the English students' classrooms?
    - How is agency produced outside of the classroom?
    - How do students conceptualize their ability to contribute to national development?

- How do UCAD students engage in the sociopolitical arena in Sénégal?
    o How do students respond to and fill spaces of engagement provided by the university?
    o How do students create their own spaces of engagement while at the university?
    o How does this engagement help us better understand the social, political, and economic context within the country?

The first set of questions will be used to understand how students make meaning of higher education in Sénégal. The answers to these questions will shed insight into why students 'endure' the conditions at the UCAD campus. From my pre-dissertation fieldwork, it is clear that students see a diploma as a way to make a difference in the country and to further oneself professionally. This is no surprise as students around the world would likely give a similar answer, or, at the very least, view the diploma as a personal or professional stepping-stone. However, it is my hypothesis that the UCAD experience has greater political and economic implications and that the experience these students have had greatly impacts their futures and their ability to transform their societies. It is necessary to better understand the conceptualization of higher education before I can attempt to understand a student's experience, their conceptualization of agency, their activism, and their relationship with the inter/national arena.

The second set of questions attempts to address students' sense of agency and the effect of agency on one's ability to affect his/her nation. From my pre-dissertation research, I learned that English students are very active in politics at UCAD. By answering the second set of questions I am better able to understand the relationship between what is being learned in the classroom and action in the UCAD plazas. As many of the English students are writing their Masters theses on Martin Luther King or

Gandhi and approaching topics of resistance, slavery, and social justice, it is my assumption that what is being learned in the English classroom is affecting student's conceptualization of agency, resistance, and political involvement. My pre-dissertation fieldwork, however, led me to believe that what occurs outside of the classroom has a major impact on a student's sense of agency. The discourse of development and serving the nation is very strong at UCAD, and I seek to understand how students understand these discourses and how they intend to act upon them. In other words, I want to understand how agency 'works' at UCAD, if at all.

Lastly, the third set of questions attempts to address the sociopolitical terrain in Sénégal and how students negotiate the structure of the inter/national arena. It is necessary to contextualize this case study by better understanding the economic, social, cultural, and political context that is manifested in higher education policy, donor funding, and donor influence on the higher education agenda setting. Moving beyond an understanding of these levers, I want to understand how students create space within which they can operate and affect the economic, social, cultural, and political present and future of the nation. Together, the answers to these questions will provide a more complex and nuanced understanding of student agency amidst the conditions at UCAD and the structure of Sénégalese society.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study as proposed. First and most importantly, is the limited amount of time I spent in the field. Officially, the UCAD school year runs from October-July. However, students normally begin classes in

January and end in July, just before the beginning of Ramadan. My time in Sénégal was limited to March 2011-May 211, or about two months due to personal and professional commitments. This fieldwork, however, is complemented by document review, personal communication, and interviews in the United States. The focus of these two months was observing students, including their in-class and out-of-class experiences. Two months of fieldwork suffices for this project as my month of pre-dissertation fieldwork at UCAD in July 2010 provided many insights into life at the university as well as contacts that facilitated the research project. I was able to start observing students as soon as I arrived in March in order to make the most of my time in Sénégal.

Secondly, I intentionally delimited this study to the experience of UCAD students studying English. One reason for this decision is, as noted above, these students are involved in protests and student activist organizations. Yet the other reason for this decision was language preparedness. In my experience, students prefer to speak Wolof and English rather than French, and my French speaking skills are much stronger than my Wolof skills. Therefore, I chose to work with English-speaking students but did not limit my interviews or my interactions to English. In fact, I participated in Wolof and French language study while in the field. In the end, the medium of communication with which we were both most comfortable community was English due to students very high level of proficiency. Therefore, I do not believe that using English, as the medium for the research was a hindrance to collecting high-quality data, but it did limit my ability to engage in comparable discussions with non-English speaking students at other parts of the university.

Lastly, as an advocate for student participation in policymaking, I understand that I go into this study with a bias towards viewing activism in positive terms and advocating for greater student influence in institutional and national decision-making. However, I am fully aware of the violence students have caused and the negative impacts their protest can have on their campuses and cities. I will attempt to articulate my own subjectivity throughout my fieldwork as I did during my pre-dissertation research, when much of my fieldwork took the form of autoethnography as I used my changing opinions and impressions of students as a key source of data. I will attempt to learn from my participants in a way that opens my eyes to their *emic*, or insider perspectives, while also remaining attentive to my own views on activism and student engagement in policymaking.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to lay the foundation for the following five chapters of the dissertation by presenting the problem of how African students are represented in various literatures and by explaining the privileging of the "reform framework" within higher education literature. I made the case for the significance of studying student agency within a postcolonial context because this insight has the potential to greatly influence educational policymaking and the way African students are represented in the popular press and in the higher education literature. The overall purpose of this study is to examine how students are confronting these representations of themselves and, most importantly, how they are engaged in changing material conditions—economic, social, and political—through their activism. My research

questions are derived from a framing of student experience consistent with cultural

production theory and my own definition of student agency, which will guide my

methodology as elaborated in Chapter Three. In the next chapter, I turn to a more in-

depth examination of the literature on the postcolonial condition in Sub-Saharan Africa

and in Sénégal, in particular, by focusing on postcolonial theory as used by critical

scholars in the field of comparative and international education. Additionally, I expand

upon the literature on agency and cultural production and why the current student

agency literature is limited for examining the Sénégalese case. The aforementioned

research questions, when answered, attempt to speak to these bodies of literature in

direct and indirect ways.

CHAPTER TWO

SITUATING THE STUDY IN ITS FIELDS

The purpose of this chapter is to situate this dissertation within literature on the postcolonial condition and agency as conceptualized by cultural production theory. I will begin by explaining my reasons for restricting the discussion of postcolonial theory to that identified as 'critical' to produce "critical postcolonial theory." This more restricted theory not only serves as a major piece of my theoretical framework but also serves as the lens through which I examine the postcolonial condition(s) and African higher education. Secondly, I focus my examination of student agency within the cultural production literature and its conceptualization of identity and protest. Lastly, I will examine the literature on student activism, including a critique of the current limitations of this body of literature and how a postcolonial theoretical perspective and an expanded view of student agency (and cultural production) would better explain the student experience with Sénégalese higher education. To begin, I will explain what I mean by a "critical postcolonial theory."

Critical Postcolonial Theory

Critical theories of education arose as a critique of reproduction theories of schooling in which scholars showed how schools served as sites for the reproduction of societal inequalities. Some scholars critiqued this deterministic view of schooling and showed how students were actually agents with the ability to transform their schools (Willis, 1981). For critical education researchers, the potential both for oppression and emancipation lies within the process of schooling. Drawing on Freire, many critical

theorists see the process of becoming educated as a process of "conscientization," or becoming aware of one's political, economic, and social realities with an eye toward changing them (Bajaj, 2005). Critical theory informs the way I view students as agentic social actors and how I view the process of research as emancipatory for both the students involved in the study and for me as the researcher. It guides my research methodology and the way that I seek to privilege the student voice in this dissertation (see Chapter Three).

Critical theory is central to my conceptual framework, as I view my research as advocacy on behalf of students who are often silenced or villainized by the public press and are the primary objects of higher education policy with little opportunity to formally influence it. Critical theory, informed by an analysis aimed at social justice or equality (Anyon, 2008), is useful in this study because a social justice analysis illuminates power dynamics that often lead to the suppression of student voices in various arenas (policy discussions, political discussions, on campus advocacy). Suspitsyna (2010) refers to social justice as "the silenced discourse" because of the privileging of the discourse of "national economic competitiveness" in the global arena (p. 67). Similarly, Samoff (2009) underscores the dominance of economic, technical terminology in higher education reports and how this suffocates discussions of social justice within higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Samoff elaborates:

> As they work in an aid-dependent settings, often without being fully aware of the transition, African educators and decision-makers discard education as the vehicle for national liberation, for reducing inequality, and for constructing a new society in favor of education that consists of upgraded facilities, more textbooks, better-trained teachers, and improved test scores. (2009, p. 147)

Social justice research moves beyond a focus on production-function models typically used in higher education research and critically approaches the topic of human capabilities. A social justice, or human capabilities approach (Sen, 1992), allows us to move beyond the dominant assumptions of the human capital model that continues to drive higher education research and policy making, and instead allows us to examine "what education enables us to be and to do" (Walker, 2006). The capabilities approach connects agency and well-being so as to push forward, from a critical perspective, a social justice agenda for education. Additionally, the capabilities approach focuses on resources available to persons. Resource allocation is central to critical scholarship and an examination of power resources, material resources, and education resources is necessary to alter power relations.

Informed by a social justice approach to research, critical educational research, according to Levinson, Foley, and Holland (1996) is "fundamentally local and ethnographic, yet moves beyond the school to examine links between local cultural practices and the community, the region, the state and the economy" (p. 2). Although this is an important point, most studies of education from a critical perspective to date come from Western advanced democracies. Levinson, Foley, and Holland, in their book *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*, present critical studies of education in multiple locations, including non-Western societies, and they call for more research in this vein; this study aims to meet this call.

The critical perspective on education is important because it draws attention to power relations that are often unexamined in education policy and practice. However, it

does not fully encompass the postcolonial condition and its effects on postcolonial societies, which is where postcolonial theory becomes useful. The theoretical link between critical theory and postcolonial theory is social justice. Critical research has long been attuned to the perspective of the "other", be it critical race theory, queer theory, or feminist scholarship. In a similar way, postcolonial research has been used to look at race, gender, and ethnicity within the postcolonial state to better understand how these categories are appropriated and have been appropriated from the colonial period. Although postcolonial research does not have the same material emphasis nor as explicit a social justice agenda, the understanding gained from postcolonial research has the potential to alter power relations when a critical lens is applied.

Critical theory aimed at understanding the postcolonial condition in Africa—one use of postcolonial theory—shapes my understanding of the sociopolitical and sociohistorical context within Sénégal. As a general body of scholarship, postcolonial theory focuses on the remnants of colonialism and how they continue to affect people living in formerly colonized countries. Postcolonial scholars take a longer view of globalization than is sometimes found in U.S. studies using critical theory, arguing instead that global economic relations transformed African societies during the five hundred years of economic, social, and political exploitation by European powers and continue to do so today. From this perspective, colonialism, through vestigial colonial relations, is being transformed through the process of globalization, particularly because markets are dominated by former colonial powers, but it is not 'over' in the sense that colonialism no longer shapes social and economic relations in Africa (Tikly, 1999). Globalization, for instance, greatly affects the job opportunities of higher education

graduates in Africa because the competitive global (knowledge) economy privileges Western, non-African forms of knowledge, including but not limited to knowledge of English.

Postcolonial theory is useful for this study in two ways. The first is that it provides a unique way of examining the current political economy of postcolonial states, drawing on historical continuities that linger from the colonial period even though they take on somewhat different forms today; this is a major limitation of critical theory in educational research in the U.S. as it tends to focus on domestic inequalities without necessarily situating them within broader global relations in which the U.S. is also a part. Therefore, postcolonial theory may have benefits for the study of higher education in the U.S. by placing the U.S. within a world-systems perspective, rather than focusing on U.S. higher education only in isolation as many U.S. higher education scholars do. Secondly, postcolonial theory is important because it broadens higher education scholarship to include the ways that donor-driven priorities, such as those of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and neoliberal globalization more broadly affect education policy in heavily indebted states like Sénégal (Ninnes & Burnett 2004; Crossley & Tikly, 2004; Tikly, 1999; 2001; 2003a; 2003b). In particular, Tikly has provided multiple critiques of donor-driven higher education policies in Africa that focus on a skills development approach (technical and input-output based) and has insisted on the application of a skills formation approach (focusing on social justice) in higher education that accounts for issues of race, gender, and class that remain from the colonial period. He also critiques the economic perspective used by donor organizations in their approach to higher education in a similar way as Aina

(2010), who, as noted in Chapter One, critiques the neoliberal economic focus on higher education in Africa.

Despite the many strengths of postcolonial theory for educational analyses in Africa, there are numerous critiques of it. These include that it is pre-occupied with the West and its knowledge/power configurations; that it is more concerned with the way people think and with discursive relations of power than with improving people's material conditions (Sylvester, 1999); and that postcolonial studies focus too much on the past and detach from issues of contemporary movements of global capitalism that "shape a seemingly shapeless world" (Dirlik, 1994, p. 355). Although scholars like Tikly have begun to bring contemporary movements of global capitalism into the discussion of postcolonial societies, I agree that many postcolonial scholars, particularly in literature and development studies, have lost sight of material moorings and are not explicit about a commitment to social justice. Therefore, I bring together critical theory and postcolonial theory in a *critical postcolonial theory* that aims at social justice through education while also accounting for discursive and material linkages from the colonial period to the present.

The Historical Lineage of Postcolonial Theory

In his 1963 work, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, Hodgkin wrote about nationalism, highlighting the predominant, underlying theme of the period: modernization. Hodgkin compared African nations to European nations in the mid 1800s. The comparison prescribed policies for African growth and normalized African nationalist movements in light of previous European nationalist movements. His writing

appears to have been influenced by Rostow's (1960) "takeoff theory" of development, in which Rostow, also writing in the early 1960s, proposed a model of development whereby societies move from 'traditional' to 'high mass consumption.' This linear stage model of socio-economic change was created using the example of modern, industrial societies in the 1960s. Because modernization was the common paradigm during this time period, scholarship drawing on this perspective did not take into consideration colonialism and its positive impact on European development at the expense of African underdevelopment. Modernization theories, including Rostow's, generally assume that Western societies should be studied as a template that developing societies can follow. In other words, these theories purport that African nations can follow the template used by European countries, but they fail to recognize that African nations cannot benefit from the exploitation of other countries in the same way that European nations did.

Latin American scholars, such as Frank (1966), began to critique this view of modernization and, instead, highlighted center-periphery relations in order to explain dependency and underdevelopment. Frank's writing examined the role of capitalism in the underdevelopment of Latin America, but his insights can be applied to most African countries as well (see Rodney, 1973). Frank took class struggle to a global level in his exploration of the global division of labor. Specifically, he argued the exploitation that has led to the underdevelopment of Latin America was a direct result of the development of capitalist systems set in place and controlled by the metropole (France, or Paris, more specifically, in the case of Sénégal) in relation to the satellite (Dakar, in this case). In his own words, Frank (1966) explains that "a whole chain of constellations of metropoles and satellites relates all parts of the whole [global

capitalist] system from its metropolitan capital in Europe or the United States to the

farthest outpost in [the satellite countries]" (p. 29). His emphasis on limited resources,

economic interdependence, and systemic underdevelopment were useful contributions

in understanding long-standing inequality and structural obstacles to modernization.

However, Frank's work and the other dependency theorists did not question

modernization itself in that the goal of development, even the form of socialist

development that most 'dependistas' advocated for Latin America, was industrialization

and manpower development as in most Western countries (Sylvester, 1999).

Postcolonial theory arose, in many ways, as a critique of dependency theory

because of its shortcomings in dealing with the problematic of the modernization

paradigm (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004; Tikly, 1999; Sylvester, 1999). Postcolonial scholars

took to task the privileging of economic development within the modernization

paradigm and created theoretical space in which to think about non-economic forms of

development. Additionally, postcolonial scholars critiqued dependency theorists'

framing of satellite countries as completely dependent, and, instead, showed the

contestation and negotiation that occurred throughout the colonization process that

continues today.

Postcolonial Theory as a Political Economic Approach

In addition to critical theory's attention to social justice, it also attends to the

political economy, which focuses on changes in the larger economic superstructure of

society (in Marxist terminology, "modes of production") to understand social

phenomena. This element of critical theory is often missing from the more postmodern

understandings of postcolonial theory but is useful for this analysis to situate UCAD

within the inter/national political and economic environment (Bajaj, 2005, drawing on

Frank, 1980; Wallerstein, 1984). Without focusing solely on the economic

superstructure of society, a critical postcolonial theory would examine the ways in

which former colonies negotiate their participation in the global economy, which

continues to extract raw materials and single crops like coffee, cocoa, or nuts (in the

case of Sénégal) from most African countries and blocks African farmers from trading

competitively with their U.S. and Europeans counterparts (Crossley & Tikly, 2004;

McMichael, 2004).

Postcolonial theory is useful in analyzing developing country contexts because it

opens up new theoretical space for examining the problematic of development beyond

solely economic relations of inequality (i. e. gender and ethnic inequality). Sylvester

(1999) calls for development scholars to create hybridity, or space that would "be both

critical of and empathetic with the problematic of development" (p. 718). In other

words, he sees postcolonial theory as that which "can read itself into the in-betweens of

established and new disciplinary thinking and places" (Sylvester, 1999, p. 718).

Similarly, Dirlik (1994) concludes that a major contribution of postcolonial theory is its

abolishment of distinctions between center and periphery as well as all other

"binarisms" that are the legacy of colonialism, even though scholars like Frank who

used these categories are critical of the unequal political economic relations they signal.

Instead, postcolonial theory can be used to explain societies globally in their complex

heterogeneity and contingency by exploring the nuances of political, social, and

economic relations in postcolonial societies.

Tikly (1999) argues that postcolonialism is central in moving away from the nation-state—center or periphery states—as the unit of analysis and focusing instead on two related areas of scholarship: (1) Colonialism not as a period that has reached its conclusion but as a process that it is being transformed due to globalization, whereby, for instance, contemporary markets of goods and people follow similar paths as those of European expansionism; and (2) The experiences of former colonized and colonizing peoples themselves rather than on the history of nation states. Thus, postcolonial theory maintains the commitment of political economy to addressing larger inter/national systems, but it goes beyond the primary focus on the economy of nation states to include race, gender, class, ethnicity, and language as a means of understanding the social and cultural results of colonization that continue to affect these societies.

Postcolonial Theory and Higher Education

If one applies critical postcolonial theory to the study of higher education in Africa, one would then be attentive to the material and discursive inequalities faced by postcolonial societies. Postcolonial theory is useful for my analysis of Sénégalese higher education because it illuminates both the economic and the non-economic forces that shape higher education reform and emphasizes the importance of looking at lived experiences with these forces. Put another way, postcolonial theory is a critique of hegemonic processes of male, white, heterosexual, and Western frames of reason and practices that have long shaped scholarship on higher education in Africa (Welch, 2007). It assumes that the colonial legacy of a country is central to its ongoing processes of reforming education systems and an important element of pushing for socially just

policy reforms rather than an insignificant part of the analysis as in most technical reports about higher education in Africa (Tikly, 1999). However, postcolonial theory, unlike a strict political economic analysis, explains current economic and intellectual arrangements not in dichotomous modern/traditional or center/periphery terms but rather suggests that the modern and the traditional overlap in some cases. In other word, there is a blurring of the "lines between indigenous and foreign knowledge in post-colonial history" (Sylvester, 1999, p. 711). This is exemplified in cases where Sénégalese education officials have done their studies in France or the U.S. and carry with them the same analytical tools and recommendations as their 'western' colleagues. Moreover, I emphasize this blurred line in my use of "inter/national" in cases where it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether a policy or action is solely national or international.

There are several significant contributions that critical postcolonial theorists have already made to the field of education. For instance, they have helped to broaden the approach to studying topics such as racism, culture, language, and curriculum (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004); they frame colonial education as a two-way process affecting both colonized and colonizer (i. e. cultural knowledge taught to colonizers by the colonized) (Ninnes & Burnett, 2004); and they tend to focus on the agency of colonized persons under colonialism and postcolonial educational regimes.

From the standard economic perspective, higher-level skills need to be developed in order for countries to achieve national economic growth (Brown, 1999; World Bank, 2005; World Bank, 2007). A postcolonial approach, in contrast, has been important for shifting from a skills development to a skills formation approach in SSA.

A skills formation approach can be defined as "the development of the social capacity for learning, innovation, and productivity" (Brown, 1999). The skills formation approach recognizes that learning is not only a technical endeavor but also a social and creative process (Brown, 1999, citing Dewey, 1916, Brown & Lauder, 2000). Tikly (2003), for one, has shown the importance of postcolonial theory in the creation of skills formation programs in Africa that recognize how students' lack of certain skills is related to the colonial legacy in language policy, gender relations, and cultural issues so that the 'crisis' today is historically situated and extends beyond solely economic reforms.

In line with Tikly's focus on the social-historical rather than only the technical aspects of education, I intend to privilege the contextual and procedural aspects of education rather than the technical outputs it might produce. The standard "reform framework," as often applied by foreign and African bureaucrats and politicians, focuses on technical aspects of education and obscures learning that is non-quantifiable, such as learning to be active citizens and educated persons. Moreover, it ignores the social justice dimensions of education that students at UCAD, among other universities, are actively trying to address. I view education as a vehicle for increasing social justice with the potential to construct a more just and equitable society. This potential, though, is not likely realized when one's own experience of becoming educated is not socially just or equitable, making it difficult to imagine graduates of African universities transforming their societies.

Agency and Cultural Production

In this section, I will examine the literature on agency in educational theory and cultural production. I situate my view of agency within a cultural production framing of the student experience, while understanding the limits of cultural production theory for an analysis of agency. I will give an overview of agency and the cultural production literature, but I will also focus on the discursive framing of students (and their identity formation) because I view this as directly related with students' conceptualization of agency and their ability to transform their societies. I will begin by illustrating the relationship between discourse, "the ensemble of social practices through which the world is made meaningful" (McEwan, 2009, p. 121) and identity construction. By examining how African students, as particular types of educated persons, are constructed and construct themselves, I am not attempting (nor do I believe I am capable) of fully understanding the identity of any African university student. Instead, I am attempting to use "student" as an analytical category for the educated person to further explore the identity construction that occurs at African universities and its relationship to student agency.

As I have argued thus far, students' voices have been silenced within the African higher education literature, but this does not take away their ability to construct an identity that both aligns with discourses available to them from external sources (the media, government, fellow students) and to reshape or challenge these discourses. Within these discourses, "dividing practices" have been used to divide the student from the rest of society in which the subject—the university student—becomes an object through a process of being divided from others in society or by self-dividing on the part

of students to highlight their difference for strategic purposes (Foucault, 1982).   To

dislocate the student from society is to analytically relegate the student to the

"student"/"other" status, thereby marginalizing his/her claims on the state as a citizen

with similar concerns as farmers, businesspersons, and politicians. This construction of

a 'given identity' within state or inter/national discourse does not account for the

multiple roles students play in Sénégalese society (Rabinow, 1984), but this identity of

student first and foremost has been used both by the government and by students to

further certain goals.

Privileging the African student identity above others functions to obscure

students' relationships to family, social groups, and religious organizations. It also

constructs them as not quite adults, not quite responsible, and not quite mature enough

to understand complex issues like economics and politics. As McEwan (2009) and

others have shown, the dominant discourse in international development has

constructed African nations in similar ways, as "developing [i.e., not yet developed]

nations" as "childlike" or "irresponsible, carefree, and not to be trusted" (p. 136).

Today, however, these nations are to be 'partners in development,' yet youth in these

countries continue to be constructed as immature. The World Bank, for instance,

suggests that Sénégalese university students are lazy, saying they are "able to live and

eat on the university campus without charge, while devoting little time to academic

work" (World Bank, 2003, p. 6). Another common representation of Africa—and

Africans—has long been as those who are "savage and dangerous" (McEwan, 2009, p.

136). Today, the student movement in Sénégal is similarly described by the press and

frequently the government as "agitating" and "destabilizing" (Bathily, Diouf, and Mbodj, 1995, p. 369), and as "violent" (Konings, 2002, p. 184).

The infantilization and vilification of university students is closely linked to the ways students contest "the conditions" of the university. It depicts them as ungrateful, violent children whom the government/policy makers need to control. The more students skip class to take part in protests, the more the image of the 'lazy' and 'troublemaking' student is reinforced, thereby crystallizing representation into commonsense truths. As Foucault (1980) argues, "truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which induces and which extend it" (p. 133). From a Foucauldian perspective, however, students are not only made into objects and subjects through discourse, but they are active participants in creating their own discourses and reshaping those available to them. Through their music, dress, sexual and other bodily expressions (dance, physical exercise), they play an active role in creating their identities even when they play off of those in society that cast them as deviant. For instance, UCAD students frequently use hip-hop music to represent and voice their concerns with the future of the nation. During my fieldwork, students were adamant that this hip-hop was specifically African or Sénégalese, distinguishing between themselves and "American hip-hoppers" who, according to them, wear baggy clothes, only rap about sex and drugs, and do not represent themselves well. These students, in contrast, are concerned with representing themselves as intelligent and understanding the larger inter/national context of Sénégalese society. Thus, students represent themselves in particular ways based on the discursive, material, and political condition in which they live even though these

representations are then subsumed within dominant "social" representations of students

as negative societal actors. As Torfing (2005) summarizes:

> Identity is always constructed within a particular discourse. However, the
> formative order of discourse is not a stable self-reproducing structure, but a
> precarious system that is constantly subjected to political attempts to undermine
> and restructure the discursive order. (p. 154)

In this way, discourses, rather than *concealing* power in social relations, actually

contribute to the exercise of power in social relations (Nash, 2010). They construct the

range of ways most people see the world and themselves in it; it 'governs' the conduct

of people and groups even though it does not completely determine it. In brief,

discourses operate "on [people's] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own

thoughts, on their own conduct" (Foucault, 1980, as cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 11).

Although Foucault's work on discourse, identity, and governmentality are useful

for my analysis, there is a limitation in the way he views the construction of identity as

mediated mainly by external authorities and institutions (Rabinow, 1984). Although I

agree that social structures limit the range of discourses available to people and how

they are taken up by them, I take a more agentic view of identity construction. I define

agency, in this study, as one's ability to recognize and act upon multiple positions

within a given context and to choose how and if cultural practices determine identity

and action.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter One, there are three primary works I am using

to construct this definition. The first influence is Bajaj's (2009) view of "transformative

agency," which she defines as "belief in one's present or future ability to improve

individual social mobility and transform elements of one's society" (p. 554). I draw on

Bajaj's imagined future approach, wherein she situates agency as productive. In her definition, agency is a belief, or it produces a belief, that one can have a transformative affect on society. The limitation to this definition is that Bajaj was not concerned with action. Her definition is cognitive only, and does not get at the ways that students might act upon agency within their social structures. Bajaj's work is greatly influenced by Freire's (1970) and his theory of conscientization. Unlike Foucault, who limits identity formation (and I argue, agency) to the limitations of one's relation to structure and power, Freire takes a more optimistic view and argues that education can have a transforming effect on students when students learn to navigate the contours of social structures. In other words, Freire looks for ways that schooling provides opportunities for "individual and collective action towards positive social change" (Bajaj, 2009, p. 552).

The second definition of agency is Davies' (1991) definition that "agency is never freedom from discursive constitution of self but the capacity to recognise that constitution and to resist, subvert, and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted (p. 51). Davies' definition underscores the discursive nature of identity formation and creation by first identifying how one is being produced discursively within a cultural system. From her poststructural perspective, persons are always situated within discursive relationships, but she does not limit a person's response to resistance or subversion. She allows for the space of changing discourses in order to change one's identity and to affects one's conceptualization of agency.

Lastly, I draw on Walker and Unterhalter's (2007) capability framing of agency, in which they contend that "agency is taken to mean that each person is a dignified and

responsible human being who shapes her or his own life in the light of goals that matter, rather than simply being shaped or instructed how to think" (p. 5). Walker and Unterhalter, expound upon the capabilities framing of agency and highlight personal goals. There is direction in this definition; there is progress through the inclusion of goals. Although they do not fully account for structures in this definition, it is theoretically insightful because goals point to a future-orientation and, in some ways, hope. This definition moves beyond resistance and focuses more on an individual's autonomy, similar to the transformative definition provided by Bajaj.

The Educated Person as a Cultural Product

        In this section, I will demonstrate the relevance of cultural production theory for this study highlighting the relationship between cultural production and agency and how this leads to nuanced understandings of contestation. The lineage of cultural production, particularly in the anthropology of education and sociology literature, began with studies of social production and moved to cultural reproduction and eventually to cultural production (Levinson et al., 1996). As these authors demonstrate, cultural reproduction scholars focused on the ways that schools reproduced social, political, and economic inequalities in society. Focused on structures and driven by capitalist production, schools were viewed as "ideological state apparatuses" that served to prepare students for their place within the class structures (Althusser, 1971). Beginning with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, cultural reproduction theorists (e. g. Bowles & Gintis, 1976) examined the cultural bases of privilege (Levinson et al., 1996). Scholars began to argue for reproduction beginning in the 1980s, in large part to three

primary critiques of the more orthodox Marxist view of education that underlay these earlier theories: 1) a primary focus on class structures, rather that gender, race, or age; 2) a focus on Western capitalist societies; and 3) models of structure and culture that did not account for agency, and an overly simplistic school-as-agent-of-the-state model (Levinson et al., 1996).

As a result of the work of critical ethnographers, production theories began to dominate the anthropology and education literature because of its nuanced approach to educational outcomes and its open and agentic view of social actors (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2009; Willis, 1981). By focusing on power relations, scholars analyzed how reproduction was negotiated, contested, and complex; rather than being *reproduced*, it was *produced* in new and different ways depending on context. This production underscored resistance but moved beyond resistance because it limited the alternatives for actors and into cultural production, "a theoretical construct which allows us to portray and interpret the way people actively confront the ideological and material conditions presented by schooling" (Levinson, et al., 1996, p. 14).

Cultural production scholars have paid particular attention to the way identity is formed within a cultural system (Willis, 1977, Eisenhart, 1990, 1995). From an interpretivist perspective, these scholars attempted to understand how people navigate cultural systems; sometimes this navigation includes acquiring "expertise in a given cultural system" (Eisenhart, 1990, p. 37), while at other times it includes working to establish an oppositional culture (Willis, 1977). Within the cultural context, people choose, within limits, how they will position themselves and for what purposes. Cultural production theorists, then, conclude that identities and actions can only be

understood within a cultural system. In other words, it is necessary to understand the

system in order to understand what is "produced". The "production" within cultural

production is not like an input-output production model, however. As Eisenhart (1990)

has noted:

> When we look at culture from the standpoint of the individual learner, "getting culture" appears considerably more complex. As individuals move from one sociocultural category to another, their interpretations of past experiences are influential. These interpretations include more than a listing of the experiences one has had, or has knowledge of, and more than a review of how one has learned to talk about these experiences. They also include how the individual positions herself or himself in the situation (e.g., as victim or as in charge), how she or he feels about what is happening, and how past experiences are connected to possible selves within an institutional context. In expressing their interpretations, individuals contribute to the material conditions of their ongoing participation and to the cultural models available. (p. 21)

There is a past-present relationship, as Eisenhart points out. For example, in this study,

the university study identity provides students with new cultural models, but it does not

assume *a priori* that students utilize these models over past models. Students bring with

them their past cultural models and the practices included with those models and they

position themselves based on the situation and their understanding of it.

There are three important themes in cultural production that I draw on the work

of Levison et al (1996) for this study. The first is the notion of "confronting ideological

and material conditions" as noted by Levinson et al. Confrontation moves beyond

"activism" in the collective and corporatist (or material) sense alone to include the ways

that students confront postcolonial condition(s) within their classrooms or within their

dorm rooms, in the privacy of their own thoughts or in conversations with friends. It is

the daily-lived experience that this confrontation accounts for that activism does not. By

expanding our understandings of how students confront oppressive conditions, in

individual and collective ways, this study will hopefully expand the definition of activism currently produced in the literature on student activism that assumes it is normally/only collective, organized, and highly corporatist (concerned only with furthering student's economic and material interests).

Secondly, the conceptualization of agency in this account is "active" and "creative" and includes non-school settings; it allows for "understandings and strategies which may in fact move well beyond the school, transforming aspirations, household relations, local knowledges, and structures of power" (Levinson, et al., 1996, p. 14). In line with Bajaj's (2005) view of transformative agency, this view of agency moves beyond the individual and affects one's imagined future as well as the structures of family, knowledge, and power. Lastly, and interrelated to the view of agency, is the view of identity within cultural production. As previously noted, this "contingent and fluid" view of identity is not static, it is provisional and changes based on one's positionality within a context. This serves as a critique of the privileging of the student identity and allows space for viewing students in the multiple roles they play within society.

Cultural production theory, while informative for this study, does have its limitations. Most importantly, cultural production theories tend to focus on resistance or contestation rather than agency, in the sense that students respond to authorities in productive ways. There is not much theoretical space for understanding how students experience life outside of the school, and the classroom, in particular. Nor does it allow much space for action outside of contesting an external force. Agency, and transformative agency, in particular allows for this type of inquiry. Theoretically, it

grants access to independent action and thought that moves beyond theories of contestation or resistance.

Agency in educational research has tended to focus on two types of resistance: oppositional and transformative (Bajaj, 2005) and, in Africa, scholars have used agency as a category for examining African youth and their relationship with schooling (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005; Diouf, 2003; Sharp, 2002). Oppositional resistance usually focuses on action taken against a dominant force or structure, as in the cultural production notion of confrontation. Transformative behavior, instead, includes the concept of "possibility" beyond resisting a dominant force, such as a student beginning a trash clean up day on campus (Bajaj, 2005). As Bajaj (2005) points out, agency in educational literature does not always have a positive connotation because it is used primarily as an analytical category to explore resistance to domination regardless of the outcomes of this resistance, rather than focusing on the form of the resistance undertaken. The concept of possibility allows us to move beyond resistance and into agency as it is not pre-determined nor is it prescriptive.

Cultural Capital and Agency

In the literature on agency, there is usually a concomitant discussion of structure, including the limits of one's ability to influence his/her own life or the lives of others. Cultural production scholars critique the focus on structure within Bourdieu's theories, but his concepts of cultural capital and *habitus* are useful for this analysis as they provide insights into the *culture* of the student experience. In particular, Bourdieu's (1974) notion of "cultural capital," or the symbolic credits that people

acquire to occupy a particular social standing, provides insight into the standing students occupy on and off campus. This complex accumulation of cultural capital by students serves a social function that allows one to present himself/herself as the educated person. It also plays a role in the self-censoring or disciplining that students participate in to signal to different social groups into which they do or do not fit. Bourdieu calls this function of schooling a type of "symbolic violence" in which nonelites are taught a universalizing notion of what counts as knowledge (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1977, p. 115).

I conceptualize the student experience in line with Bourdieu's emphasis on the practice of cultural knowledge, the knowledge produced through meaning-making practices in a particular context (Jasper, 2005). Through academic lectures, student organization meetings, conversations with other students, sleeping, eating, living, participating in student protest, playing sports, sexual activity, and the other myriad of student practices, a cultural knowledge of the student life is produced. The process of making meaning through these practices is integral to the way one constructs an experience.

For Bourdieu, the process of making meaning is more important than or at least as important as the ideas that come out of practice. In particular, his notion of "embodied history" or, *habitus*, influences how I view a student's experience. *Habitus* is a network of perceptions, preferences, and action, a "product of both socialization and embodied history" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993, p. 78). It is a central tenet in one's lived experience and how one perceives his/her own agency amidst structural constraints

(Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). The importance for this study is the way that Bourdieu

situates the body in the *habitus*. He explains:

> The principles em-bodied in [the habitus]… are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit: nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and, therefore, more precious, than the values given body, *made* body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as "stand up straight" as "don't hold your knife in your left hand". (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 94, as cited in Aronowitz & Giroux, 1994, p. 78)

Bourdieu's work is particularly important in constructing the university student's

participation in the social, economic, and political structures in Sénégal. Similar to the

"stand up straight" messages, students embody certain political economic values of the

government and university, such as "sleep in uncomfortable positions" (due to

overcrowding in the residence halls), "stand in line for an hour" (while waiting for food

in the congested cafeteria), or "wake up at 5:00am" (to secure a place in the

overflowing lecture hall). These messages *make* the bodies of students. In this way,

students' bodies are affected by the material conditions on campus that, in turn, reflect

funding priorities, of the state and university officials. These examples from UCAD

students' lives highlight the importance in the analysis of *habitus* of "locality" of

experience, which Carney (2009) defines as "the embodiment of practices that then

makes possible certain identity displays and responses" (p. 83). UCAD is one example

of locality but more specifically it is the students whom I view as a local *site* for

analysis. I assume that the way they shape and reshape their bodies affects their

conceptualization of agency and their identities through productive social practices.

This embodiment, coupled with discursive constructions of identity in policy, media,

and activist publications and events are all integral to my study. There are, however, limits to Bourdieu's *habitus* concept, in particular, the focus on structure that does not allow for much agency, which is an integral concept in this study.

I do not assume one's experience of education, or the process of being educated, is always a transformative process in response to oppositional forces; instead, education is an experience in which agency is constantly being negotiated within certain locally circumscribing structures constraining both the forms and the outcomes of agentic actions. In addition, I see identity as socially constructed in that students formulate their own identities alongside or in relation to the identities of relevant others (students and sibling, for instance), as well as in relation to external authority figures. In this way, I do not view the university authorities or the media as the sole forces in the creation and circulation of identity-shaping discourses; instead, I view the student as final mediator of her/his own identity formation process. Students, however, are shaped by these discourses and take them up to varying degrees, but they also make choices about them, thereby balancing agency and structure of the discursive social worlds of which they are a part.

In conclusion, students are made subjects through the discourses and practices of higher education, but they are also participating in making themselves into particular kinds of subjects. This duality makes the analytic category of "student" complex yet enlightening. By viewing the "student" identity as one of many students adopt, and by using student voices throughout the paper, I seek to examine the intersection of the process of being made and creating oneself as subjects.

Student Activism

One of the major practices of being an African university student is student activism. Most of the global student activism literature is historical and/or sociological and follows the trends in student activism: anti-racism and anti-establishment resistance globally in the 1960s and 1970s, African resistance to structural adjustment in the 1980s and support for democratic transitions in the 1990s. Additionally, activism is often the chosen vehicle for students to make claims and "prodecur[ally] engage [as] citizens" (Mundy, 2008, p. 37).

Student Activism from Berkeley to Dakar

During the 1960s and 1970s, much was written about student activism globally. Activism in this period was heavily influenced by the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the anti- Viet Nam War movement (and subsequent anti-Cambodian invasion movement), and the anti-Apartheid movements in South Africa. The Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley in the 1960s and the murder of students protesting at Kent State University are some of the well-known moments in student movements in the United States. In Africa, the Soweto riots (Glaser, 1998; Kane-Berman, 1978; Mafeje, 1978; Nolutshungu, 1982) in South Africa are also well documented, as well as riots at the University of Zimbabwe (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008), the University of Rhodesia (Mlambo, 1995), the University of Dakar (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008; Hanna, 1975; Bathily, Diouf, & Mbodj, 1995) and the role of the TANU Youth League in Tanzania during the colonial and early post-colonial period (1945-1973) (Brennan, 2006).

Before delving into UCAD student activism, it is important to examine the ways that students are represented in academic literature and the public press. I believe that discourse, , is powerful and greatly affects the way we view the world. The way students are framed, particularly the types of stories on which the press chooses to focus contributes to our understanding of student activism and aids the construction of the corporatist, privileged notions of student activism that predominate in the literature.

The complexity of student activism: students as problem and solution

African students, in general, and Sénégalese students, in particular, have turned to activism for a variety of reasons. These include promoting their collective interests, mobilizing for political campaigns (Zeilig, 2009), and responding to racism, lack of access to education, and inequitable government policies (SASCO, 2006). Yet African students are often vilified in their attempts at activism by African government officials, donor groups, and the popular press. The World Bank has often referred to students as one of the major blockage to World Bank reforms. For instance, the World Bank (2003), in its follow-up report to the Higher Education Improvement Project (PAES) noted that "the resumption of violent student protests fueled by outside political interests led to a reversal of the many earlier ambitious reforms" (p. 2). In the document the Bank framed Sénégalese students as non-academic and only interested in the social aspects of university life. In summary, the student movement in Sénégal has almost always been labeled as "agitating" and "destabilizing" (Bathily et al., 1995, p. 369).

Consistently, metaphors of violence are used to describe student activism (Konings, 2002). This negative framing conflicts with the more positive view of students as the

future leaders of the nation, which is how African students were framed in the early

independence period by development scholars and national governments. Zeilig (2009)

argues that students are viewed in either positive or negative ways, as "a vanguard for

democratic change or troublemakers manipulated by political elites" (p. 68).

In Africa, as elsewhere, universities are complex sites of negotiation over local and

global tensions in which students secure space for engagement in political, social, and

economic dialogue (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). At times, students use the university as a

site to rebel against non-democratic forms of government. Often, students upset the

status quo within the nation, disrupting the political power held by elites. However, the

portrayal of student activism as violent, while at times true, fails to account for the

complexity of student activism and stems from misinformation about students' lives and

their struggles, and, at times, intentionally reproduced to frame students in a negative

way.

Student activism does not occur within a vacuum, but it has always been

affected by the sociopolitical context within the nation, and today one of the defining

features of this context, as argued by activism researchers, is the economic landscape in

which African universities exist. For instance, Zeilig and Ansell (2008) and Mills

(2004) contend that higher education privatization reforms in Africa, which have led to

a decrease in public funding at many universities, may make it more difficult for

students to engage in political protest with the government. Students who attend private

schools do not have as much reason to protest government policies because they are

more affected by institutional policies; although in Sénégal, some students receive

government grants to attend private universities. As the population at state-funded

institutions decreases, so does activism, according to these authors. However, Sénégal is a unique case in some aspects, as students have directly confronted the World Bank's push for privatization, and spending on state-funded education remains consistently high compared to other African nations. The World Bank continues to advocate for privatization, and there has been an increase in private schools, particularly private vocational institutions to train students in business and marketing (Alidou, 2000).

Before examining Sénégalese student activism in greater depth, I will first provide an overview of literature that explores the spatial-temporal aspects of student political capital and systemic elements of activism. This research is central to my thinking about student activism and helps me establish a framework in which to examine the Sénégalese case.

University "spaces of engagement"

Research on "spaces and scales of African student activism" (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008, p. 31) provides a spatial-temporal understanding of engagement and "locality" at universities. Zeilig and Ansell (2008) show how governments use space to "control" student activism when "student action … is projected onto a national stage" (p. 31). They argue that the space of African universities, including the universities' proximity to national governments by virtue of their frequent location in the capital city, allows for a unique kind of political capital in which students create "spaces of engagement- the spaces in which people act to contest social relations" (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008, p. 33). They also illustrate how student activism often becomes a "space of engagement" for other social groups who do not have the same kind of political capital as students. For

instance, in Sénégal working class citizens "collided with" a 1968 student movement, ending in a nationwide strike. In this way, students "construct spaces of connection within and beyond the nation state" which "conditions their ability to affect social transformation" (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008, p. 41). This kind of social transformation has occurred on two recent occasions. The first was the ouster of President Abdou Diouf in 2000 and the subsequent election of Abdoulaye Wade, who was elected largely via student activism. Students traveled throughout the countryside to inform parents and communities about Mr. Wade, and this effort eventually secured him a victory. Students were frustrated with Abdou Diouf's continued attempts to decrease student grants and increase student fees. Seeking *sopi* (Wolof for "change"), students campaigned for Wade in much the same way that American youth rallied support for Barak Obama and his "change campaign." Students had high hopes for Mr. Wade, who promised continued grants for university students.

The second recent example of student involvement in broader social transformation was even more dramatic as students transcended the nation-state and affected "the reach of an extraterritorial institution," the World Bank (Zeilig & Ansell, p. 44). After the World Bank encouraged the Sénégalese government to increase student fees in 2003, student protests led to the government's decision to resist the increase and keep student fees at a constant rate. These two examples demonstrate the importance of viewing student activism as relational, as being situated in broader relations of power within national and international arenas. As explained by Zeilig and Ansell (2008):

> Spatialities of student activism are best understood as relational-operating in relation to both dominant power and to other groups in society such as peasants and workers. Furthermore, these spatialities may operate within material, symbolic, or imaginary domains. (p. 49)

One of the most in-depth analyses of student activism was Hanna's (1975) book, *University Students and African Politics* in which he proposes a model that focuses on the dominant role of the nation-state. He was intentionally focused on the nation-state and not the reach of international groups or organizations.

In his causal argument, Hanna concluded that particular kinds of sociopolitical systems lead to particular types of student activism (1975). He identified four-systems that affect the types of activism in which students engage at the nation-state level: the educational system, the political system, the economic system, and the sociostructural system. This extremely functionalist analysis of student activism does not align with my theories of agency, production, or even collective activism. However, Hanna's systems model is still the most developed for analyzing student activism.

The Educational System

Hanna (1975) argued that the post-independence educational system in African countries was elitist as students occupied a privileged social status based on educational credentials. When "careerist values [were] not complemented by career opportunities, and when elite self-images [were] not complemented by noneducational elite status" (p. 259), the costs of pushing back against an oppressive force decreased and the political rebelliousness increased. In other words, when education did not lead to elitist careers and there was no security in government positions, students protested.

Zeilig (2009) argues that Sénégalese students continue to occupy a unique status within society, but that this status has more to do with their ability to organize than their

identity as educational elites. Since students are no longer waiting to be hired into

government positions (as they were during the post-independence period), they have

become "paupers," converging with the urban poor- and other social groups they had

historically regarded as their responsibility to liberate (Zeilig, 2009, citing Mamdani,

1994). Today, any lingering sense of student elitism is tempered by campus poverty.

Zeilig (2009) argues that the decline in student privilege is linked to the dramatic status

collapse that occurred during the structural reforms of higher education in the 1980s and

1990s; the role that students play as "vectors of urban politics in rural areas" (p. 69, see

below); the lack of political organization on campus; and the dynamic and changing

relationships students have with other groups. Most of these changes resulted from the

structural adjustment period that transformed the African student experience (Zeilig,

2009).

<div align="center">The Political System</div>

The particular national political system also affects the types of student activism,

according to Hanna (1975). He purported that sanctions and forms of punishment within

the political system correlated with student activism participation. In his opinion, if the

government has a history of imprisonment, military enrollment, or violence against

political activists, student participation may be decreased, but where governments are

less punishing of political activity, it usually happens more frequently. However,

political systems also serve as an economic arena for students. Loyalty to a particular

political party may actually lead to an official position (employment) within the party,

even if there are negative governmental repercussions for participation in activism. The

punished activist, Hanna found, had the potential to become a political leader within the nation. This is still the case today.

The Economic System

According to Hanna (1975), if a student sees a job prospect in his/her future, s/he is not likely to participate in student activism. Political activism, however, might actually pave the path to employment. As Hanna argues, employment in many African countries in 1975 was politically scripted. So, for students who were seen as loyalist to a political party, they were likely to receive a job within the party or some government position. According to Zeilig (2009, p. 72), economic concerns (what he calls "corporatism") continue to fuel political activism within Sénégal. Often these concerns surround the impact of increased fees on students, but there are larger, national economic issues that rally students as well.

Sénégalese students have a long history of protesting economic reforms within the country. In Africa, the 1990s were years of economic activism at many universities, including the University of Malawi (Kerr & Mapanje, 2002) and in Cameroon at the University of Yaounde (Konings, 2000). In Sénégal, economic concerns, including state-sponsored grants for education and the increase of student fees, have often rallied students to protest. This activism is usually directed at World Bank policy interventions, as the World Bank often targets the core demands of student movements: grants, accommodations, cost of food, and medical insurance (Zeilig, 2009). Sénégalese students rallied behind Abdoulaye Wade because they were hopeful that Wade would guarantee future employment within Sénégal's growing economy. Zeilig (2009) argues

that this corporatism has long been a feature of student activism throughout Africa and

is not qualitatively different from economic activism in previous years.

<div align="center">The Sociostructural System</div>

The sociostructural system refers to the system in which students relate to other

social groups. Hanna distinguishes between the "rank-and-file" citizen and the student:

"The students are deeply involved in modernity and world culture; the rank-and-file

citizens of African countries are often illiterate, their culture is heavily infused with

traditions, and their social orbits are primarily confined to co-ethnics" (1975b, p. 264).

Hanna's dichotomy is far too simplistic and rigid. This quote illustrates the framing of

the student as "other", as not quite normal citizen, not quite national leader and obscures

the complexity of the student identity. Although students still seem to occupy a

privileged status, it is in the sociocultural arena that students also have difficulty gaining

respect. Often, students are not seen as societal leaders because they are seen as too

young or too naïve (Vilalon, 1999). Additionally, socioeconomic status and identity,

sex, age, religion, occupational identity, ethnicity, and membership and participation in

political organizations have been identified as playing a role in a student's activism

involvement (Hanna, 1975). Unfortunately, the sociostructural aspects of African

student activism have received little attention in previous literature and are the least

important in Hanna's model. This is a major critique that I make of the literature on

student activism in Africa. Instead of paying attention to sociostructural and

sociocultural issues, such as the postcolonial condition(s), scholars have instead

privileged economic and political analyses. Similar to the privileging of the economic

and rational "reform framework," the literature on student activism has been dominated by accounts of violence and corporatism by students (Amutabi, 2000; Konings, 2002).

Sénégalese student activism today

Zeilig (2009), drawing on interview research with student activist leaders from 1999-2005, provides an insightful examination of contemporary student activism in Sénégal, particularly surrounding the election of Abdoulaye Wade. Zeilig focused on the complex and contradictory ways of student activism within the country. Although students played a major role in electing Wade in 2000, by 2004, Wade won a narrow contest because he had lost much of the student support. Students began critiquing Wade within a year of his term. In this section, I will attempt to display some of the primary characteristics of Sénégalese student activism in order to understand the political culture on campus—prior to and during the Wade era—as argued by Bathily et al. (1995), Zeilig (2009), Zeilig and Ansell (2008) and as reflected in newspapers reporting on student activism. I will focus on the themes that continue to be addressed within the student activism literature, including student status/identity/privilege, corporatism, and mass mobilization and organization of student activism.

<div align="center">Student status/identity</div>

Hanna (1975) wrote about the deferential treatment given to students during the post-independence period because of their educational status. Students were viewed as elites because they were receiving "Western" degrees from universities located in Africa. For instance, UCAD was still considered a French university until 1971 (Zeilig, 2009). Hanna (1975) also argued that students in the post-independence period occupied

a unique space in which they could comment publicly about social issues within their

countries. Students during this period were considered "independent intellectuals" who

had "international frames of reference" (Hanna, 1975, p. 4) and could make sound

judgments about their governments; moreover, he argued that "… the influence of

students is magnified, an elitist self-concept is encouraged, and the students often think

that, at least by virtue of the default of others, it is their responsibility to lead critical

public opinion in their countries" (Hanna, 1975, p. 4).

Today, student identity is privileged above and beyond non-student identities (as

previously mentioned). This student identity lasts beyond the university years in

Sénégal, and, in relation to employment, it has become a permanent feature of society.

As Zeilig (2009) explains "the status of 'student', at university, as a graduate, as a

cartouchard[8] or part of the mass of unemployed – is not a temporary phenomenon, but a

permanent feature of urban Sénégalese" (Zeilig, 2009, p. 72). The student identity

seems to stick with any person who has attended higher education. The frustration, then,

arises when "students" are not in a transitory phase to employment but rather are in a

permanent state of unemployment. According to Zeilig (2009):

> The crisis for students in sub-Saharan Africa is precisely because they are not in
> 'transition'; on the contrary they are increasingly permanent 'artefacts' in the
> post-colonial impasse. Their activism – always complex and contradictory –
> retreats into a routine of 'economic' and factional contestation when wider
> popular and democratic movements in society decline or are frustrated. (p. 72)

Despite these employment problems, the student status carries with it a particular type

of privilege. As students have access to resources that most of the rural population does

not, during the 2000 elections students took it as their responsibility to educate the

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[8] Literally, "cartridges"- a term used by Sénégalese students to refer to a person who has only one chance
left to complete his/her exams (Zeilig, 2009, p. 87, citing Bianchini, 2002).

masses. This privilege, resulting from the urban-rural divide, has replaced the elitism

that Hanna (1975) wrote about, which was based on the knowledge acquired at the

university. The level of educational quality, dilapidated buildings, and overcrowded

universities no longer give warrant the same respect that students once received, but

access to political and social capital in Dakar still grants students a unique social

position.

<div align="center">Corporatism of student activism</div>

Corporatism, the concern with economic and materialist issues, is a thread that

runs throughout the student activism literature in Africa. Zeilig (2009) argues that

student activism in Sénégal has had an implicit corporatist element and that corporatism

is "neither symptomatic of a new and qualitatively different student movement or a

slide into irrelevance" (p. 72). In other words, corporatism has long been a feature of

student activism and tends to be the most highly publicized element of activism. In the

public and global press, the narrative of student activists' corporatism pursuits is the

most highly publicized.

In the World University News, articles about Sénégal are mostly about student

protest regarding economic concerns. In a May 9, 2010 article, "Protests over unpaid

grants," Marshall reports that students shut down the serving of breakfast in the UCAD

cafeteria and threw stones at police officers because their grants of ~$120 have not been

paid. The grants were supposed to be paid in October, but students have yet to receive

them. In March of 2010, students and faculty members almost shut down the

Polytechnic School of Thies over fee-paying courses. As a public institution, fee-paying

courses were only permitted to be offered at night, but faculty members were not

complying with this government provision. Amadou Tidiane Bâ, Minister for Higher

Education, Universities, Regional University Centres, and Scientific Research, claimed

that this "kind of rampant privatization" is problematic and must be controlled, and

students generally seemed to agree (Marshall, 2010, para. 12). A year earlier, publicly-

funded students at the Catholic University of Ziguinchor rioted after the university

demanded the fees the government had failed to pay ("Students riot after fee demands",

2009). These particular representations of student activism add to the view that students

are only interested in corporatism and that they only rally around issues that affect their

student status. Silenced in the popular press are stories of student democratization

movements, or movements in which students join forces with "the common man" (sic)

(Amutabi, 2002, p. 157) or the "median poor citizen" (Mundy, 2008, p. 36).

<div align="center">Organization and mass mobilization</div>

Access to political capital and "spaces of engagement" are clearly evident in the

Sénégalese student activism literature. Students have been mobilizing support for

student causes since 1968. There have been several established national and UCAD

student organizations, but they have all dissolved or been disbanded (Zeilig, 2009).

Nonetheless, due to their close proximity to one another (as many students live on

campus) and shared common interests, students have a unique capability to organize

and sustain activism. However, Zeilig (2009) points out that the organization of the

student groups and thinking about student activism is very weak. He suggests that

Sénégalese student movements are easily destabilized because of the inability of

students to construct political alternatives to mainstream politics. Additionally, in his

interviews with professors at UCAD, many of whom were former student activists, they

profess a concern that the motives for student activism have changed since their own involvement in activism. In particular, they argue that students are not well versed in political theory, mocking that students could not explain liberalism, the platform on which Abdoulaye Wade ran for president (Zeilig, 2009). Regardless, students are able to organize around the causes that they support, and the mass political campaigns during Wade's election illustrate the power of the student movement.

Critique of Student Activism Literature

In the African student activism literature, authors focus primarily on the way students negotiate national issues, with a corporatist and economic focus. Though Zeilig and Ansell (2008) show how student activism transcended an extraterritorial organization, the World Bank, their research is very focused on the nation and domestic issues that affect or guide student activism. However, in my pre-dissertation fieldwork, it was clear that students transcend the nation-state in their activism. The use of technology, specifically, computers and cell phones, has allowed greater access to other student organizations and transnational issues. Two examples—one from Sénégal and one from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe-- will help illustrate my point about students' non-corporatist activity and their non-student identities.

The first example comes from Sénégal. In his discourse analysis on the Association des Étudiants Musulmans de l'Université de Dakar (AEMUD), Gomez-Perez (1999) showed how students connect internationally to promote change and how they "Africanize" international events, particularly within Africa and the Middle East (for Sénégal). I argue that a national focus does not provide a "complete" picture of

student activism within Africa and that a focus on the sociostructural elements of activism might help higher education scholars better understand student activism and its complexity.

The Association des Étudiants Musulmans de l'Université de Dakar (AEMUD) was founded on May 31, 1984 with several goals including faith purification, responding to "detractors" of Islam, and to spread the message of Islam on campus (Gomez-Perez, 1999, citing "Statutes of AEMUD). It is clear that the students in this organization view themselves primarily as Muslims, with an "umma" (community of believers) identity (Gomez-Perez, 1999). Their student status rarely appears in the discourse analysis of AEMUD texts, including statutes and meeting minutes. Through religious and political interests, these students attempted to explain global events by Africanizing the events. For instance, they referred to the wall separating Israel and Palestine as "the Apartheid Wall" (Gomez-Perez, 1999, p. 99). Their transnational approach to global politics is informed by an Islam versus "the West" mentality, and much of their information comes from the Middle East and other African Islamic associations, forming a "transnational Islamic identity" (Gomez-Perez, 1999, p. 102). Their activities are not corporatist, and there is no mention of student fees, grants, or accommodations.

In summary, the type of student activism engaged in by the AEMUD is very different from secular student organizations in Sénégal. As their religious identity is central, their organization participates in activism around the role of Islam in Sénégalese society and on the university campus. From the discourse analysis, there is no concern with student corporatist interest, perhaps because this might actually

contradict Koranic teachings about money. This type of activism contrasts greatly from the literature on Sénégalese student activism earlier in this paper.

In Mlambo's article on the 1973 uprising at the University of Rhodesia, he illustrates from a first-person point of view how the riots unfolded and the reasons behind them. Mlambo argues that he and others used the university to get at the government. There are several interesting arguments made by Mlambo in this article that affect the way he frames student activism. First, it is very apparent that students not only were revolting against University of Rhodesia racist policies, standing up for African workers at the university, and attempting to expand their available study programs, but they were also directly aligning themselves with the national anti-colonial insurgency. The term *chimukwembe* was actually a combination of terms that were used intentionally to align with this insurgency, but the term was unknown to the White administration. Secondly, Mlambo argues that students were using their opportunity as university students to speak out for their family members. In this way, he creates a more holistic version of student unrest. The unrest at the University of Rhodesia was about much more than education; it was about family, about Rhodesian society and the effects that were greatly felt by all Africans under the Ian Smith regime. This point may seem minor, but it is important to consider students that played multiple roles in multiple venues and who chose the university as the place to contest a racist regime. Lastly, Mlambo illustrates how students used the British press to get their story to a global audience, highlighting the transnational elements of their activism.

These two articles provide insights, albeit limited, into what non-corporatist, non-nationalist forms of student activism look like. By focusing on the least written

about "system" of student activism, the sociostructural, student activism scholars can pay greater attention to the forms of activism that articulate with inter/national political, economic, and social contexts. It is my intention that this study will address those issues in great detail.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the literature on critical theory in education and postcolonial theory in order to understand how critical postcolonial theory guides my view of the sociopolitical context of Sénégalese higher education. I also situated my use of agency within cultural production theory, opening up theoretical space beyond mere resistance, and, instead, looking at how meaning is made through identity construction, collective protest, and individual protest. Lastly, I presented a synthesis of the most relevant literature on African student activism, specifically Sénégalese student activism, to show how activism authors conceptualize activism. In Chapter Three, I will present my methodology which aligns with my critical postcolonial view of educational research in Sénégal, my view of student agency, and my critique of the current student activism literature. Because so little is known about the local understanding of university student agency (in its various forms), I will present the case for a qualitative case study of the English department at UCAD.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In thinking about dance as a metaphor for qualitative research design, I find that the meaning for me lies in the fact that the substance of dance is the familiar; walking, running, and any movement of the body. The qualitative researcher is like the dancer or the choreographer, then, in seeking to describe, explain and make understandable the familiar in a contextual, personal, and passionate way.

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As stated in chapter one, the purpose of this study is to explore and interrogate dominant representations of African university students by examining how students conceptualize and act upon their own agency. To achieve this end, I used a qualitative case study design that includes varied methods: interviews with ten students who were the primary participants and UCAD English faculty; participant-observations on the UCAD campus including residence halls, classrooms, and courtyards; cooperative journaling between students and myself; and, an analysis of policy documents and a student magazine. Guided by three primary research questions that explore the purposes of higher education, student agency, and sociopolitical relationships at UCAD, this study contributes to the research on African higher education and African student agency and the concept of agency, more generally. Additionally, this research will inform educational policymaking in Sénégal.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research design including an elaboration of the qualitative case study and methods used in the study. I utilize Janesick's (2005) metaphor of choreography to guide this chapter. The metaphor is fitting because as a dancer's body is the instrument of dance so too is the qualitative

researcher's body the instrument of research. Janesick (2005) uses the improvisation dance to speak to qualitative research as follows:

> Improvisation is spontaneous and reflective of the social condition; it is up to the individual dancer to interpret an idea, given a set of problems or context in which to work. Improvisation in dance is like any creative endeavor. It relies on a) preparation; b) exploration; and c) illumination and formulation. (p. 381)

Like the dancer is centered by his spine, so the researcher is centered by design decisions. I will begin by elaborating on the influence of theory on my research, followed by my personal interest in the study and preliminary findings from previous research. I will, then, move into a discussion of the methodology and the distinct methods that drove this qualitative case study. After making the case for the case study, I will discuss my analysis plan, address validity concerns, and, finally, introduce the participants in the study

Research design theoretical foundations

The metaphor of choreography is useful in this study because a dancer approaches choreography based on what he knows about dance theory as well as his personal experience in performance, and I, too, relied on theory and my own previous research and experience to create this research design. It is choreographed, in its broadest sense, by critical research and interpretivism. Ethnographic and social historiographic approaches to interviewing, observing, and analyzing documents helped me to perform these methods in my interactions with my partner/participants.

Critical Theory and Power Relations

Critical postcolonial theory worked to guide my thinking on the postcolonial condition in Sénégal, and so, too, does critical theory. As Patton (2002) explains, "what makes critical research *critical* is that it seeks not just to study and understand society, but rather to critique and change society" (p. 131, emphasis original). I attempted, through this research, to understand the politics of higher education in Sénégal and how power relations affects agency. My attempt was to partner with students to "re-present" them so as to challenge their current "place" in society and to challenge the rhetorical power of representation. I am hopeful that through this dialogic research process (and my approach to methods) that students utilized the research process to become more aware, more conscious, and more creative about their own "condition" within Sénégal and the world, that power relations and representation might change.

Social Constructivism

This project is greatly informed by social constructivism, as I attempted to understand students' construction and enactments of agency and how they make sense of their higher education experience at UCAD. Building on the "social perspective" of postpositivism, constructivists assume that reality is constructed through culture and what local people take to be reality. As a constructivist researcher, I do not believe in an objective representation of the world, but rather, assume an inter-subjectivity between me and the research participants, acknowledging that I am biased and, in turn, that I bias my research. These assumptions, then, influence my methodology as I used dialectical methodologies to better understand shared meanings created through dialogical

relationships. My positionality, then, subjected the research to interpretation and construction. From a sociological perspective, to understand the lived experience of persons, it was imperative to examine the meaning-making effect of social interactions within a social context (Schwandt, 2000). Because "cultures (and societies) have no real existence outside the habituated bodies of those who live them", it was necessary to interpret meaning by way of "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). The thickness leads to greater contextual understanding and thus greater interpretation.

The transformative power of history

Social historiography greatly influenced my methodological approach to this research design because of the mutual focus on the socially constructed experiences of African people. African social historians have been integral in challenging dominant views of Africans by focusing on the under classes such as peasants, workers, and women. They have reframed the African peasant as an intellectual (Feierman, 1990); reconstructed colonial history from the perspective of women (Allman & Tashjian, 2000); and, reconstructed the lived experience and multiple identities of slaves (Isaacman & Isaacman, 2004). Many social historians, informed by a Marxist perspective, have participated in political and social protest, engaging deeply into the political, social, and cultural lives of their participants and making clear the link between historical interpretation and the political present (Cooper, 2005).

As critical theory guides my research, I am interested in how students negotiate power dynamics and how their agency (and activism) serves as a means of "pushing back" against forms of oppression. There is a strong social justice element to my

research; similarly, oral historians often envision a history that causes societal change. Oral historians believe that the interpretation of history has real implications for the present lived experience, as people live day-to-day in light of a "common sense" understanding gained from the telling of history. As Thompson (1998) argues, "A history is required which leads to action: not to conform, but to change the world" (p. 31). Oral history is interpreted and built around people (Thompson, 1998) and it is people for which oral history "expects to move and talk" (Portelli, 1998, p. 33).

The theoretical underpinnings of this research design are directly linked to decisions made about methodology and methods. Additionally, my decisions were greatly informed by my previous experience in Sénégal as a volunteer and student-researcher. In the following section, I describe how this experience affected this research project.

Personal experience and preliminary research

In the summer of 2001, I worked with a language and literature program for four months, teaching English to students in Ndiaganiao, a small village in the Thies region, southeast of Dakar, Sénégal's capital city, and east of Mbour, a port city situated on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. It was while working in Ndiaganiao that I met Diame, a student who was seventeen years old at the time and who had just failed his secondary school exam that would grant him admission to UCAD. With no regional access to university and failure to gain admittance to UCAD, Diame believed he was out of options in his pursuit of tertiary education. I questioned, though not directly, why Diame was unable to pass his exams. Was he simply not smart enough to enter

university? We conversed in English, French, and Sereer[9] and he was extremely

articulate about his views on the world. To me, he seemed to be the perfect candidate

for tertiary education. What was holding him back? Was it his family? His village?

These questions continued to stay with me in the pursuit of my graduate degrees, and

my experience with Diame and our renewed friendship via Facebook continues to affect

my current research. As a PhD student, my project has gone through multiple iterations,

moving from more obvious pursuits of researching access to and quality of education in

Sénégal to the current project which examines student agency at UCAD.

In the summer of 2010, my project was directly related to student protest, as I

was curious to examine how protest is organized and how students make meaning of

protest. I spent one month at UCAD, interviewing students and administrators and

collecting artifacts on campus. While I was on campus, law and medical students were

protesting about a government decision to decrease their stipends. I attempted to

chronicle this protest to the best of my ability by taking photos of the signs made by the

protesting students and destruction to a public transportation bus that was brought on

campus, as well as informally and formally conversing with students about the protest

and its meaning. From this preliminary research, I gained insight into the complexity of

"the conditions" on the UCAD campus. At the beginning of July, I interviewed students

who were involved in a program that a colleague was coordinating, and then I was led

to a group of Masters students who were studying for their Masters oral examination.

The second group of student interviews was set up in coordination with the West

African Research Center (WARC) and Dr. Ousmane Sene, Director of WARC and

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[9] Sereer is the language of the Sereer ethnic group, one of the largest ethnic groups in Sénégal.

English faculty at UCAD, as many of the students were meeting at WARC to prepare for the exam. Both sets of students were eager to speak with me about their experience. Students who were not connected to these groups contacted me to be interviewed. At the beginning of the month I was worried about finding students to interview, but by the end of the month, I was overwhelmed by the interest in my project by students and the amount of data I was able to collect through interviews with them. I actually had to turn several students away because there was no time to interview them before returning to Minnesota.

Throughout this preliminary fieldwork, I was struck by students' insistence on speaking to "the conditions" at UCAD. I realized that a larger question about student agency was more salient to address than specifically focusing on student protest. I found that students were actually quite torn about the meanings of higher education, their ability to transform their nation, and the meaning of student protest (and sociopolitical engagement, more broadly). It was through these interviews and observations that I was able to compile a list of thirty-five themes related to the student experience at UCAD, many related specifically to student agency, often as a form of resistance. These themes were used to guide the two months of fieldwork in March-May 2011 and gather the data on which this dissertation is written. The themes from pre-dissertation and dissertation fieldwork were very similar, although the dissertation fieldwork allowed for greater sophistication in understanding these themes. Each of the six major themes is summarized below.

Cross-Cutting Themes

From my research, I have identified thirty-five codes that emerged from the interviews I conducted with students as well as my own observations, journals, and document analysis. Six major themes emerged from the research and are highlighted below.

The educated person

The first theme is what I call, "the educated person". Students discussed the roles and responsibilities for national development that educated people have to play in Sénégal as well as the rights and privileges of the educated person. Aware of their own process of becoming educated, students spoke about their own goals for Sénégalese development and their intentions for being involved in national development. Additionally, students highlighted the role of becoming an educated person, specifically in the English department. Several ideas were prominent, including the following: The educated person is socially just, (s)he resists injustice and racism and seeks peace in the world, and, if an educated person works hard, s/he is deserving of a job and the right to ask for privileges.

The economics of the student experience

The second theme that cut across many of the other themes was the informal economic system described by students. For instance, the "ticket economy" was often referred to by students to explain how they survive when stipends are not paid by the government on time. Students are required to purchase tickets, small blue pieces of paper with pictures of traditional Sénégalese meals on them, in order to eat in a UCAD restaurant. When stipends are not paid, students are unable to purchase tickets, so they

rely on each other for tickets. A student who still has money from her stipend might purchase a ticket for a friend or a person might have a stock of tickets reserved for a time of need. The tickets serve as a way for students to barter with one another, but primarily they are shared between student organizations and individuals. Government officials, such as regional mayors also purchase tickets for students from their region as a way of providing for students and garnering political favor. The overarching theme is those students rely on tickets for their livelihood, and, therefore, protest when tickets are running low or when money is not available to purchase tickets.

Political engagement

Political participation was a very hot topic among students, particularly when I asked questions about student protest and student organizations on campus. Students often referred to politics as "war" on campus and to student strike as a "weapon" in this war. Contrasting opinions were given about participation with politics, but many students agreed that to participate in political organizations on campus is to engage in a selfish, nepotistic, and corrupt system. Non-engagement was viewed much more positively in the short term. However, many students expressed interest in becoming involved in politics in the future as a way of giving back to the nation.

UCAD as a "mini-Sénégal"

As previously highlighted, students often referred to "the conditions" on campus to explain the difficulties of life at UCAD. While issues were raised about physical deterioration of the campus, mental fatigue, and lack of resources, students also referred to life on campus as "freedom", arguing that they are much freer than people their age who do not study at UCAD. They also referred to UCAD as a "mini-Sénégal" because

of the diversity of ethnic representation on campus and the similarities between life on campus and life in the nation, more generally.

<div align="center">Resistance</div>

Resistance was also a major theme that cut across some of the other categories mentioned thus far. For instance, students referred to resistance activities, such as student protest in terms of democracy and framed resistance as one type of "student voice" to confront the conditions on campus. Students are aware of the relationship between resistance and violence on UCAD's campus and lamented this relationship, arguing that a more peaceful and non-violent form of resistance is needed on campus. In other words, the theme of resistance cut across the data, but there were two primary categories: non-violent and violent resistance. Students gave examples of individual and collective forms of resistance, with one major form of resistance being non-participation in political organizations at UCAD and one major form of collective resistance being the violent student strike. Lastly, students discussed the appropriation of resistance by students who have political futures in mind and the political organizations that aspire to use these students for political purposes on campus.

<div align="center">Imagined Futures</div>

Lastly, the theme of imagined future(s) cut across themes, especially in regards to national development and the individual futures of students. Employment was a major highlight in this section as each student expressed some anxiety regarding his or her future employment prospects. National development intersected with notions of student leadership because students view the university as a time for leadership training. Non-participation in the formal political organizations (particularly those of the ruling

party, PDS, and the former ruling party, PS) open up space for leadership opportunities in regional amicales, academic clubs, and sport clubs. Because so many students were not happy with the presidency of Abdoulaye Wade, they expressed hopes for a more democratic and community-focused future. The community orientation was a common element of the imagined future as students critiqued the individualization and materialism of the newly wealthy classes in Sénégal that thrived under Wade's leadership.

My previous experience in Sénégal, and my preliminary fieldwork, in particular, serves as the foundation for this study. The research questions, as elaborated on below, come from a combination of what I "know" about Sénégal through my experience, previous research on African higher education, and my pre-dissertation research. These themes will be elaborated on in Chapter Four and Chapter Five in the form of student discourses that prevail at UCAD.

Research Questions

The following research questions[10] guide this study. It is from these questions, my conceptual framework, and my personal interest that this research design has been created. The first set of questions attempts to get at student perceptions of higher education by focusing on the context of postcolonial higher education in Sénégal. The second set of questions deals with students' sense of agency and their ability to make an impact on their societies. The last set of questions addresses the nature of sociopolitical involvement by students. The questions are as follows:

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[10] See Appendix A for an explanation of how my methods allow me to answer these research questions.

- How do UCAD students perceive the purposes of higher education in Sénégal?
  - What does it mean to be an educated person in Sénégal today?
  - How is the educated person produced within this context?

- How, if at all, does the UCAD student experience produce students' sense of agency, and their ability to affect their societies?
  - How is agency produced within the English students' classrooms?
  - How is agency produced outside of the classroom?
  - How do students conceptualize their ability to contribute to national development?

- How do UCAD students engage in the sociopolitical arena in Sénégal?
  - How do students respond to and fill spaces of engagement provided by the university?
  - How do students create their own spaces of engagement while at the university?
  - How does this engagement help us better understand the social, political, and economic context within the country?

Research Design

The design for this research is a qualitative case study, and the methods used to gather data were interviews, participant-observation, document analysis, and journaling. There are two parts to this research design. The first part of the design consisted of two months of in-country fieldwork utilizing in-person interviews, participant-observation, document analysis, and journal preparation and participation[11]. The second part of the design consisted of two months of data collection from the United States; during these latter two months, I engaged in document analysis and depended heavily on cooperative journaling (defined below) and phone interviews and Facebook conversations with students to address findings from the first two months in the field. The qualitative case study presented in this dissertation is a result of the four months of research conducted.

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[11] See Appendix B for a detailed timeline of my research methods.

Qualitative Case Study

There are several definitions of a case study. Yin (2009) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Merriam (2009) is more succinct in her definition: "A case study is an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (p. 40). Both definitions, as well as most definitions of a case study highlight, the "boundedness" of a group or phenomenon, so that it is a clearly delimited case. For my research, the case is students studying English at UCAD. The unit of analysis, and not the case, defines the case study (Merriam, 2009) and in this instance, the students are the primary unit of analysis.

Furthermore, Yin (2009) argued that a case study is useful when "how" and "why" questions are at the heart of inquiry and these questions drive this research design. However, there is some debate about whether case studies are useful for generalization or only of use for the particular case of interest. For instance, Yin (2009) argues that the goal of a case study is to "expand and generalize theories", what he calls "analytics generalization" (p. 15). However, Stake (1995) argues "the real business of case study is particularization" (p. 8). In my view, the case study can be used to shed insight into a particular case, but the outcomes of case study research can also be generalized to formulate new theoretical constructs. For instance, in this study, through the examination of a particular expression of agency at UCAD, I will present implications for the theory of agency in Chapter Five.

Research Relationships

In an effort to create lasting relationships with the students and faculty members who participated in this research, I have involved them in different ways throughout the research process. One way in which I involved participants was by eliciting feedback on inferences made from preliminary analysis while in the field and by asking students to give feedback on sections of the dissertation. During the interview process, I shared transcripts with students for clarification. This attempt at member checking was only to address validity concerns, but also to give participants a sense of ownership in the project. To organize information, I created a database to house demographic and other information of those involved in the project, including email addresses, physical addresses, and phone numbers. This information was backed up on an external hard drive and encrypted to ensure confidentiality. As an affiliate of the West African Research Center in Dakar, I will also be continuing a relationship with the Center and other researchers interested in research in West Africa by sharing my research with them. As an affiliate, I am required to submit two copies of the dissertation to the Center. Lastly, I have worked to help students with their Masters projects, primarily focusing on collecting resources for their research and providing feedback on drafts of Masters theses.

Participant Selection/Sampling Decisions

I based my decisions for who to involve in the study by using Spradley's "informant requirements" (1979, p. 46). He included "enculturation" as one requirement, suggesting that informants have at least one year of experience in the

setting/institution/process of interest. My participant selection process was based on criterion sampling and maximum variation sampling. In order to meet the sampling requirements, I surveyed Masters students at UCAD to discover if students meet the three criteria for this study:

(1) Student was currently enrolled in the UCAD English Department at the time of research fieldwork.

(2) Student had studied at UCAD for at least three years

(3) Student had participated in student protest at least once.

I also gathered data on student's home region, religion, gender, and ethnicity, as well as contact information. Once the criterion sample was established, I used maximum diversity sampling to identify a sample that represented regional, ethnic, religious, and gender diversity within the English department and these students became the focus of this study. My goal was five male and five female students, which I was able to accomplish. However, one student, the fifth female, was only able to be a part of the study remotely as it was very difficult to find girls interested in being a part of the research[12]. I notified students that they met the requirements via phone calls and met with them in person to request their participation in the research study. Once the stuents agreed to participate and were informed of the consent process, they became the critical informants for this project. I used my status as student, friend, activity partner, teammate, and researcher to build trust and rapport with each of the participants, and they, in turn, "taught" me about their experience as a UCAD student.

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[12] One female who met the criteria for the sample was not involved in the research due to inappropriate communication with the researcher.

For each student, I provided small incentives to be involved in this project. First, involvement in the study provided students an opportunity to practice their English speaking and writing skills with a native English speaker. Secondly, I offered to provide feedback on Masters theses. Lastly, I attempted to sell students on the idea of creating a UCAD student history. The documentation of their experiences, their expressions of agency, their journal thoughts and opinions will hopefully become a valuable history for them that they can share with their family members now and in the future. To do so, I will be providing each student with a write-up of the research.

I also interviewed faculty members to provide greater context to this case study. I interviewed English faculty to better understand how they perceive agency and if they attempt to cultivate agency in their classrooms. One of the faculty members was a student during the Zeilig and Ansell (2008; 2009) research and was very helpful in providing insight into this case. I was also interested in how policymakers and policy influencers (like World Bank officials) understood the student experience at UCAD, but I was unable to connect with any World Bank officials while in Dakar. Access to policy makers and UCAD administrators was also an issue as they had limited availability and, in the end, I chose to focus on student interviews.

An ethnographic approach

Although ethnography is not my methodology, the work of ethnographers greatly influenced this project. The work of an ethnographer is to make "cultural inferences" (Spradley, 1979), which come from three primary sources: 1) what people say; 2) the way people act; and 3) the artifacts people use. Thus, I utilized student

interviews and cooperative journaling to understand what students said and how they constructed meanings of higher education and agency. I used observations as a way of analyzing "congruence" between what student said and how they acted. Observations took place in several settings, such as residence halls, classrooms, dining halls, basketball courts, beaches, and public spaces on campus, enabling me to systematically analyze students and the multiple roles they play, from performer to athlete to political activist. Lastly, document analysis was used to analyze the artifacts student use and to provide insight into how students are represented in documents from the government, the World Bank, and in student publications and other forms of self-representation.

Critical ethnographers purport that "cultural construction of meaning is inherently a matter of political and economic interests" (Anderson, 1989) and serves to reproduce certain social norms. With this in mind, it was imperative for me that I attend to questions of how knowledge gains cultural power within student circles. My attempt, as seen in my research questions, is to understand the "everydayness" of the student experience as well as how agency is enacted in cases of political activism or demonstration. This required me to examine "students in the frame of their own banalities" to "dissolve their opacity" (Geertz, 1973, p. 14); that is, my attempt is to make familiar to the reader the unfamiliar life of a Sénégalese student. This presentation required a convergence in methods, expounded upon below, around the meaning making structures of students that "serve as a window into human experience" (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 679).

Data collection methods

As previously mentioned, I utilized interview, participant-observation, document analysis, and journaling as my primary sources of data collection in order to "display the intricate ways individuals and groups understand, accommodate, and resist a presumably shared order" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. xxiv). Below, I elaborate on the methods used to collect data: one-on-one interviews, participant observation, journaling, document, analysis, and a grounded survey.

One-on-one interviews

As Spradley (1979) explained, ethnography is not about "studying people" but about "learning from people" (p. 3). Semi-structured ethnographic interviews were useful for this study because they aided me in learning about the meaning making structures and processes of Sénégalese students. My interpretations of interview responses allowed me to better understand the cultural repertoires used to construct responses to interview questions (Silverman, 2000). In other words, I viewed respondent responses as "cultural stories" (Silverman, 2000, p. 824), and analyzed the structures used to "make their action explainable and understandable to those who otherwise may not understand" (Millner & Glassner, 1997, p. 107). This is important because I did not and do not assume that I was able to gain direct access to a student's lived experience through an interview, but I was able to better understand how a student negotiated his/her internal thoughts and decides to say aloud a response that is greatly affected by the UCAD culture and the discourses that prevail on campus.

The oral history approach to interviews shaped my thinking about interviewing. Social historiographers often use oral history interviews as a primary source of data collection, but there have been debates among historians about how to treat oral sources. Some historians have argued that oral sources are too subjective to contribute to historical interpretation, while others embrace speaker subjectivity as a "unique and precious element" because of the spectrum of emotions and perspectives provided by the speaker (Portelli, 1998, p. 36). From this perspective, oral history provides the historian not only with the "facts" of how people acted in a situation, but "what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did" (Portelli, 1998, p. 36). Importantly, oral historians view memory "not [as] a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings" (Portelli, 1998, p. 37). This approach gives insight into the meaning-making processes students utilize to construct and re-construct their experiences and their participation in an event (such as student protest). A practical reason for embracing this perspective before going into the field, was that I had no guarantee that student activism would occur while conducting the research; therefore, the interview allowed me to access the meaning given to previous participation in protest.

The interviews conducted occurred in different locations, depending on access to space, particularly classroom space, on a given day. I intentionally changed the space for many of the interviews so that I could interact with students on and off campus, in formal and informal settings. The purpose of the interviews was to gather a student's individual perceptions of higher education and to analyze the way s/he constructed and enacted upon agency. I was only able to involve nine of the students in the interview

process. The tenth student was only involved in journaling and miscellaneous

communication. I conducted multiple interviews with each of the nine students and

totaled 41 student interviews. I conducted interviews with three faculty members in

addition to the student interviews. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed,

and, when possible, I provided interviewees with a copy of the transcription to check for

accuracy.[13]

Participant observation

Because interviews do not allow a direct entryway into a student's experience, I

also observed and participated with students in formal and informal university settings

as well as non-university settings. I took on an "active-member researcher" role (Adler

& Adler, 1987), or "participant as observer" (Merriam, 2009, p. 124), in order to engage

in the activities of the student experience, such as 5:00 beach work-outs, attending

classes, and attending sporting events. As an "active-member", I was able to gain the

trust of my participants and provide a greater understanding of, appreciation for, and

involvement in my research. Because I viewed the research in terms of collaboration, I

moved away from thinking about observation as method to thinking of observation "as

a context for interaction among those involved in the research collaboration"

(Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000, p. 676). This dialogical approach allowed me to

tack back and forth between my knowledge and the knowledge of the students in the

study. Van Maanen (1988) calls this "cracking open the culture and the fieldworker's

way of knowing it so they can both be jointly examined" or, more eloquently, "braiding

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[13] Because of the faculty strike, the last month of my fieldwork was tightly scheduled with classroom observations, meetings with faculty members, and interviews with students, limiting time to devote to transcriptions.

the knower with the known" (p. 102). My role, therefore, was central to the research just as the dancer is central to choreography, as my own biases and subjectivities greatly influence the research. By living on campus with students, participating in classroom observations, eating meals in the campus restaurants, living on a budget similar to students, I was able to more fully examine how students construct and maintain their cultural milieu.

Observations occurred in classrooms, student housing, and other sites of "hanging out" such as dance/music venues, the beach, and the UCAD plazas. Space was very important for my observations because I sought to understand how students make occupy university "spaces of engagement" (Zeilig & Ansell, 2009) and how their sites of hanging out contribute to their attitudes about agency, their role in national development, and sociopolitical engagement. I also engaged in Sénégalese dance, drumming (mbalax), basketball, soccer, and cultural events to gain access to student conversations about political, social, and cultural processes in the country.

During these observations, I documented my notes via audio-recordings when possible and kept an observation journal when I was unable to use the audio recorder. I sought feedback on my observations when possible, asking participants to "teach me" from their own perspectives about what was witnessed. In classroom settings, took notes in my observation notebook and audio-recorded my thoughts after each class.

Journaling

I utilized journaling as the major method in the second portion of this research design, while I was no longer in Sénégal. Journaling has been used by few researchers,

but when it has been used it has provided insight into the way students make meaning of their worlds (Bajaj, 2005; Bell, 2005; Andrews & Ridenour, 2006; Humphreys & Hamp-Lyons, 2004; Hudson, Hudson & Steel, 2006). The internet connection in the UCAD campus was too slow to fully rely on Skype communication and or reliable Facebook connections and Skype calls to cell phones in Sénégal are very expensive from the United States. Therefore, journaling was useful because it is dependent only on e-mail and a word processing program, which all UCAD students have access to and use regularly. However, this practical consideration was not the only reason I chose journaling as the venue for communication during the second phase of research. In many ways it is fundamental to the epistemological underpinnings of this research project. As a researcher, I am aware of the inter-subjectivity of my research endeavor, and I wanted to utilize a method wherein the co-construction of knowledge could be realized. I referred to this style of journaling earlier in this paper as "cooperative". What I mean is that the students and I kept a collaborative journal, where we both participated and responded to one another. We used Word documents and emails to send our journals back and forth with new entries each time, including questions, observations, comments, and opinions. I asked many questions, but I also wanted to share my thoughts with students. Daphne Patai (1991) raised concern that researchers often approach a research project with expectations that participants will be extremely open about their opinions, to trust a researcher to a point of vulnerability. She indicted researchers who are often not as willing to be open and honest about their research projects, lamenting that "deception is an ever present part of fieldwork" (citing Daniels, 1983, p. 196). Journaling not only worked to create a more equal research playing field,

but it also contributed to challenging assumptions made by myself and the students about the nature of the project, ideas about higher education and national development, as well as political participation. Journaling provides a written record of the research, and gave students opportunities to practice their written English skills.

Document Analysis

The final method I utilized in this study was document analysis, which included the analysis of transcripts (and other forms of texts created by making what is said, written), higher education policies, student magazine articles, and mass media newspaper articles. The approach to textual analysis was ethnographic in that the discourse was examined from a "wholistic" (Anderson, 1989) perspective, paying attention to economic, political, social, and cultural contexts that affect the construction of the particular text. The ethnographic approach to textual analysis, coupled with the interview and observation processes, led to a richer interpretation of the UCAD student experience.

This analysis allowed me to analyze student ideas and opinions and to analyze their representation and their knowledge of their representation. Hot button issues and current topics often manifest themselves in written documents, such as newspaper articles, policy documents, and student writing (such as Masters theses and journaling). I analyzed national policy documents, World Bank documents, a student magazine, online newspapers, student journals, and student's Facebook pages by reading them critically and looking for key themes that arose from the perspective of students (in a student magazine) and representations of students (in newspapers, policy documents).

Although student media is limited on campus[14], I was able to obtain a copy of the first student magazine, *Campus Bi*, published in April 2011. In each of the documents examined, I looked for constructions of student agency, activism and resistance, and themes in student representation.

Survey

After one month and a half, I conducted a grounded survey to gather demographic information about students and to explore some of the salient issues arising from the student interviews and observations. I conducted the survey in collaboration with a professor during his lecture to a classroom of Masters I students. The survey was completely voluntary and I received 180 completed surveys. In a check-the-box format, students were asked questions about influences on their decision-making, whether or not they are employed, who holds power on UCAD's campus, and the reasons for strike. An "other" category was included and students were allowed to fill in the blank box. The third section of the survey was open and I asked students for suggestions on how to improve the classroom and out-of-classroom experience. This survey will be very useful for future research and plays a secondary role throughout the analysis in this dissertation.

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[14] During pre-dissertation research, I was informed that there is an English Club newspaper called "The Rainbow". Unfortunately, funding ran out for the publication and was not in press during my fieldwork. Additionally, I was unable to attain a copy of past issues as few were printed and none of the participants were able to obtain a copy. There is no student newspaper on campus, but the newly formed *CampusBi* was formed in April 2011 and I purchased the first printed copy.

Student biographies

Before presenting the narrative of the student experience, the biographies of each of the students who participated in this study will be presented. Any identifying characteristics about the students have been removed. However, it is necessary to present the diversity of their experiences to give a full picture of the complex lives these students lead. Each student has give consent to use her/his first name and first initial of surname for the two students named Ndèye.

Rokhaya

Rokhaya is a 28-year-old ethnically Sereer female who lived on the UCAD campus. A first-generation college student, she enrolled at UCAD in 2004 and is currently in her 8th year after repeating years three and four. At the time of this study she was not on a scholarship although she had been previously. Both of her parents received their baccalauréat degree (high school completion). She is a very committed Muslim, and most of her ideas are highly influenced by Muslim philosophies and teachings. She chose to attend UCAD because she wanted to study with Sénégalese people rather than going abroad and because she greatly admired Cheikh Anta Diop because of his love for Africa. She hopes to become involved in the agricultural industry following completion of her education.

Amadou

Another first generation student, Amadou is a 26 year-old male. He enrolled at

UCAD in 2003 and repeated years three and four. His mother was educated to the primary level and his father did not attend formal schooling. A local, from Dakar, he was a commuter student, commuting almost one hour each way each day to attend classes, access the library, and participate in campus social life. The middle of five children, he was concentrating on British literature, and he was receiving a government scholarship. He would like to become an interpreter after obtaining his masters degree.

Ndèye S.

The activist of the group, Ndèye's trajectory while attending UCAD included a major five-year pause in her studies. During those years, she worked and attended training schools specializing in communications and journalism. A high-achieving student, she had never repeated a year at UCAD and is the oldest of her father's children. All of her siblings are educated, including a sister studying in France, and many of them attend UCAD. Her father attended university and her mother dropped out of university when she became pregnant with Ndèye. She would like to complete her Ph.D. and continue to be involved in activism in Sénégal, specifically focusing on agricultural awareness.

Idy

A 24-year old male, Idy enrolled at UCAD in 2006 and has never repeated a year. Although some of his extended family members attended college, his parents did not, so he is a first-generation college student. He had been on scholarship at UCAD since his second year, but he received "help" his first year, meaning meaning he

received a reduced scholarship. He is the leader of his regional *amicale* (student organization) and a commuter student; his commute takes between 10-15 minutes each way. His goal upon graduation is to become an interpreter or a teacher, and he would one day like to be a professor at UCAD. He is currently living in the United States and is teaching French at an immersion school.

Ami

A 26-year-old, British civilization major, Ami is also a first-generation student. She would have liked to have studied abroad but chose to enroll at UCAD at 26 because she wanted to pursue study in her home country rather than studying abroad. Neither of her parents attended school and both are physically disabled. Two of her uncles attended UCAD. Ami did not have a scholarship in her first year but received one her second year, as do all students who succeed in their first year of study. However, she repeated the second year. Ami lives on campus and has aspirations to pursue her PhD. She is one of two students who had attended a training school as she was enrolled in a training program during the research process. She attended a full-time import/export training course-load[15] at a private training school for free because of a connection made by her father.

Tapha

Tapha is a 26-year old male who has never repeated a year at UCAD. He is a high-achieving student who has currently completed his memoir and his master's

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[15] Many UCAD students attend training school if they can afford it, in order to supplement their theoretical degrees with applied training.

program. He is the only student in this study who has graduated since the time of this study. He did not receive a scholarship during his first year, and his parents did not attend college. However, many of his cousins did so, and he has a cousin who graduated with her PhD from UCAD. He would like to secure a job in telecommunications now that he is finished at UCAD. During his time at UCAD, he was one of two students highly involved in the Collective student movement.

Ndèye B.

Daughter and niece to political officials, N'Deye is a 24 year-old student who has never repeated a year at UCAD. Her father has a master's degree, and her mother received some education at the primary and secondary level. She has many cousins at UCAD. She lived off campus, in downtown Dakar, but she lived on campus for one year. She has dreams of opening a school that will provide an affordable African and Western mixed curriculum. She would also like to work in an organization focusing on human rights from an African perspective.

Oumar

Oumar is also involved in the Collective Student Movement. He led an important student organization on campus and was the most difficult to student to interview because of his intense involvement on campus. He is a 25 year-old student from Dakar, and he commuted from a community nearby the campus. His father finished his A-level and attended a training school, his mother has her primary diploma,

and some of his cousins currently attend UCAD. He has plans to be a professor at UCAD and then he would like to pursue a future in politics on the continental level.

Sira

The only full-time teacher in the study, Sira was completing her coursework from afar, relying on email and telephone communication with her advisor. Sira was only involved in the journaling portion of the study because of limited access to the city and face-to-face interaction.

Abel

The only Christian student in this study, Abel enrolled at UCAD in UCAD in 2006. He attended for five years after repeating his first year, and he studied American Civilization. One of his brothers attended school and stopped at the primary level, and neither of his parents attended school. He chose to attend UCAD because he has family members in Dakar and those relationships were important to him. None of his other siblings attended university. He is a first-generation student who lives in the campus. In the future, Abel would like to pursue a position as a translator.

Analysis process

All interviews were audio- taped and then transcribed and member-checked for accuracy, when possible. The transcripts were kept only in an electronic format; however, in a few instances, copies were printed and given to participants for verification and agreement on the accuracy of the transcription. Once verified, the paper

copy was destroyed to ensure confidentiality and safety of the student. Electronic transcripts were kept in an encrypted file on a password protected external hard drive. All notes from my observations were documented in an electronic format and kept on an encrypted file on my password protected external hard drive.

Document analysis began while in Sénégal and continued in Minnesota. I shared share my analysis with students when possible as a means of member checking and as a means of conscientization. Students were shocked at the "insider" knowledge I had obtained about higher education in Sénégal because of my prior reading of higher education policy documents. I am hopeful that my insights into policymaking and inter/national relations in Sénégal and students experience of these policy decisions resulted in students' consciousness being raised. Lastly, journals were exchanged on a bi-weekly basis with each student. The journal entries were also be kept in an encrypted file on an external hard drive.

Continual reflection, or "constant comparative" analysis, was my focus during the data collection process as I attempted to build from the thirty-five codes created from pre-dissertation research (Glaser, 1965, p. 437). From my perspective, my analysis began, in many ways, in 2010 as I continued to interact with UCAD students I met in July. Additionally, I have continued to work with the data collected during preliminary research and it continues to shape and re-shape my thinking on this project. Throughout the data collection and analysis process, I have tacked back and forth between theory and my findings to listen to the voices of students, but also to listen to the voices of higher education and agency scholars. I entered the field with a list of codes from pre-dissertation research, utilizing a combination of inductive and deductive coding (Miles

and Huberman, 1994), or what Glaser (1965) calls "joint coding and analysis" (p. 437), a process of comparing data collected with other pieces of data to discern what is analytically similar and different between the data. The outcome of this process was the construction of emergent themes and categories that became my codebook and led to the six themes discussed in this chapter.

The analysis stage included reviewing my field notes, interviews, and any additional analysis each day in search of emergent themes. I coded and categorized the data to identify frequently occurring ideas using a self-created system of marking printed copies of the data corpus. Once data collection finished, I read through my entire data corpus twice and added additional codes from my fieldwork. After reading through the data corpus, I began making assertions and looking for texts from interviews, observations, journals, or documents that illustrate my assertions. This process led to the text in Chapter Five as well as much of the writing in Chapter Four.

Writing process

As mentioned earlier, during my interactions with students in July of 2010, I was impressed by the determination of UCAD student to have their stories heard. Some students interpreted my project as a sort of chronicling of the student experience— a telling of a "day in the life of…", for instance. Although this might have been a focus of mine at the time, my focus has shifted away slightly from student experience to student agency. A study of the student experience would emphasize the lived experience of students and how they make meaning of their experiences, which is one element of this project and the focus of Chapter Four; the purpose of this dissertation, however, is to

understand how students understand their experience and act within those experiences, how agency is acted upon, and how this might affect their individual and collective futures. The reason for maintaining a focus on student experience while focusing on agency is that I am aware of the misinformation about the African student experience and there are no ethnographies, to my knowledge, of African universities. In order to meet this gap in the research, I have reserved Chapter Four of my analysis for the student experience to highlight "the conditions" on campus and the power relations that exist within the political economy on UCAD's campus.

The primary "findings" section of this dissertation, however, analyze student agency. Throughout the writing phase, I wanted to highlight excerpts from students, including their journal entries and interview responses. I privileged the student voice; while simultaneously attempt to account for my own role in these responses and my interpretive role in displaying what "counts" as student voice in this dissertation as I only selected parts of the interview and journal data to analyze.

Addressing validity concerns

Using Lather's (1986) validity structure, I focus on triangulation, construct validity, face validity, and catalytic validity to ensure that my research survives attempts to prove my data as false (Cronbach, 1980). The validity measures taken throughout the research process are expounded upon below.

Triangulation

Triangulation was achieved using data source triangulation, methods triangulation, and theoretical triangulation. Students are my primary source of data, but there are multiple forms of data that I hope to obtain from students, including oral and written sources. Students with differing opinions will serve as a source of triangulation. However, I also used archival sources, other person sources, including faculty members, as well as *CampusBi* and student journals.

I employed four primary methods of gathering data: interview, observation, and document analysis, and journaling. These methods allowed me to note convergences in the data as well as counter patterns by using the oral, active, and written representation of student experience. By systematically "cross-checking" words with actions and then again with written representations, my results have been rigorously tested for validity. Lastly, by employing several theories, including critical theories, postcolonial theory, and theories of student engagement, my analysis is informed by a range of constructs that have enabled me to process information in different ways and from different perspectives. This process has contributed to a richer analysis section.

Construct validity

I have employed what Lather (1986) calls "systematic reflexivity" (p. 67) through which the research analysis is guided by theoretical consideration but not determined by theories being considered. By creatively exploring the data from multiple theoretical lenses and remaining open to alternative interpretations, construct validity has been advanced. For instance, I have, at times, worn a critical, postcolonial hat and

attempted to look at power relations that underpin the context and construction of what students say. On the other hand, while wearing an interpretivist hat, I was less concerned with power relations and more concerned with the meaning of what students say and how they act.

Face validity

Member checking has been employed as the primary source of face validity. I engaged my participants in the project (of course keeping in mind confidentiality of responses from other participants) in an effort to increase face validity. Because my research in grounded in critical social theory, and the results seek for emancipatory ends, it was necessary for me to involve my participants and to consistently refine my results so that the results are as student-driven as possible.

Catalytic validity

Catalytic validity attempts to prepare participants in research to "gain self-understanding and, ideally, self-determination through research participation" (Lather, 1986, p. 67). The social knowledge gained by participation in my research might have life-altering consequences for participants. For this reason, I have attempted to ensure that my research process accounts for these consequences and enabled participants necessary time and space to consider these consequences. I described the process in as much detail as possible throughout the consent process, answering all questions that participants asked, and allowing for withdrawal at any point in the project. Feedback from students about their increased understanding throughout this process assures me that the strides taken to achieve catalytic validity have indeed materialized.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. First and most importantly, is the limited amount of time I spent in the field. Officially, the UCAD school year runs from October-July. However, I learned from my pre-dissertation fieldwork that students normally begin classes in January and end in July, just before the beginning of Ramadan. My time in Sénégal was, therefore limited to March-April to ensure that students would be in classes followed by two months of data collection in May and April. The focus of the two months in Dakar was observing students, including their in-class and out-of-class experiences and conducted as many interviews as possible with the participants and faculty members. Despite the limited amount of time in Sénégal, two months of fieldwork and two months of additional data collection from abroad have sufficed for this project because my month of pre-dissertation fieldwork at UCAD in July 2010 provided many insights into life at the university and contacts to facilitate the research project. As this is not an ethnography but rather a more circumscribed case study, the expectations for the fieldwork period were more limited, and I was able to begin my research as soon as I arrived in March to make the most of my time in Sénégal. This two months, while limited, provided me enough time to complete the face-to-face interviews, observations, and document collection that needed to be done to prepare me for further analysis in May and June. However, more time would have allowed for a slower research process, more in-depth analysis, and, most importantly, more input from students.

Secondly, I intentionally delimited my study to the experience of UCAD students studying English. One reason for this decision was, as noted above, these students are quite involved in protests and student activist organizations. Yet the other reason for this decision was language preparedness. In my experience, students prefer to speak Wolof and English rather than French, and my French language skills are much stronger than my Wolof skills. Therefore, I chose to work with English-speaking students while not limiting my interviews or my interactions to English. In fact, I participated in Wolof language study while in the field and sought after intense, and intensive, discussions with students about their lives in multiple language mediums. Students and I primarily communicated using English because they took advantage of the opportunity to speak with a native speaker. In the end, I do not believe that using English as the medium for the research was a hindrance in collecting high-quality data, but it did limit my ability to engage in comparable discussions with non-English students at other parts of the university.

Third, as an advocate for student participation in policymaking, I went embarked upon this study with a bias towards viewing activism in positive terms and advocating for greater student influence in institutional and national decision-making. While some might view this as a limitation, I was and am fully aware of the violence students have caused and the negative impacts their protest can have on their campuses and cities. I attempted to account for my own subjectivity throughout my fieldwork by seeking after student ideas and looking for negative cases that did not support my assumptions. I attempted to problematize my assertions so as to account for my biases. In other words, I attempted to learn from my participants in a way that opened my eyes

to their insider perspectives, while also remaining attentive to my own views on activism and student engagement in policymaking.

Lastly, I was uncertain of how long students would be able to continue to correspond with me throughout the journaling period. As many of them were in the thesis writing stage of their degree programs, I was acutely aware that their time was a major resource. I was hopeful that by providing incentives, I would be able to keep students interested, and there were mixed results. Five students communicated with me throughout May and June (and even today) but the other five did not have the time to commit to the project. With the exception of one student[16], I was able to journal with each student at least once.

Conclusion

The research design for this project was designed as a qualitative case study utilizing interview, participant-observation, journaling, and document analysis methods over a four month period. This research was designed to most effectively answer my research questions while taking into account personal and professional commitments. Despite the limitations inherent in this project, I am confident that the research design enabled me to complete the project in a "contextual, personal, and passionate way" (Janesick, 2005, p. 381).

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[16] This student has contacted me on multiple occasions to express his apologies.

CHAPTER FOUR

"A REFLECTION OF SÉNÉGAL": THE STUDENT EXPERIENCE AT UCAD

If you are interested in knowing what is going on [at the university], you may [realize] something is being done. If not, well, you may just assume that [the students] are always on strike, demonstrating after the food or classes, something like that.

Interview with UCAD Student, Ndèye S.

The villagers knew quite well, that their kin had got his High School Diploma and had gone on to university for at least another five years and had graduated, though they could not precisely tell you the name of the degree in question. He had then been to the country's teacher training college for another one year. How could another gentleman from a neighboring village, who had only completed his secondary school without any degree at all, be richer and more influential?

A Leap into the Darkness, by Gorgi Dieng

First of all, UCAD is something like Sénégal; it is a reflection of Sénégal. You can say that if you come from abroad and you want to understand Sénégal, just come to UCAD.

Interview with UCAD Student, Idy

The three epigraphs above point to the three main purposes of this chapter and allude to the findings in this dissertation. Ndéye points to the assumptions made about university life in Sénégal, and this chapter will provide insight into university life and reveal that much more than striking and demonstrations for food is taking place at UCAD. The second epigraph is taken from the first English novel written by Gorgi Dieng, a Sénégalese author. Though it comes from a fictional story, students face real-life difficulties finding jobs after graduation and are competing with persons who are appointed through nepotism and political favors. In other words, the purpose of education is called into question, and this chapter will expound upon the value students

today place on education and the role of educated persons in contemporary Sénégal. Lastly, this chapter will demonstrate how life on campus is very much a reflection of life in Sénégal.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe a day in the life of a Sénégalese college student at UCAD so as to demonstrate how life at UCAD is a reflection of life in the country. The research collected during two months of fieldwork, including multiple student and professor interviews; classroom, residence hall and off-campus student observations; and two additional months of journaling with students has allowed for great insight into the daily routines and socio-cultural practices of university students at Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD). The lived experience of a student, then, provides an "in" to studying how higher education policy, funding strategies, and national politics "work" at the campus level. The daily experience of a student reveals much about how students are negotiating the inter/national arena of policy decisions and the imprints of structural adjustment and colonialism through the national political arena and on campus politics. In other words, crowded classrooms and restaurants are a result of decreased higher education funding in Sénégal, and the structural adjustment period policies are still in effect, limiting public employees and promoting educational privatization at the tertiary level. The storied effects of structural adjustment policies on UCAD is clear (see Max, 2010), while, instead, the story in this chapter chronicles how students confront and act upon the effects of these policies and the discourses of failure that permeate the campus on a daily basis. The experiences described in the pages to follow depict how they confront those "ideological and material conditions" (Levinson,

Foley, & Holland, 1996, p. 14) provided by access to and experiences of university

education inside and outside the classroom.

In my view, it is important to track the life of a single student and how s/he

makes meaning of her/his opportunities and navigates the political economy of the

university. This tracking not only provides great insight but also constructs the student,

and her/his body, as the site of contestation over inter/national policymaking and

funding. The body, mind, and spirit of the student become the site for competing

discourses, such as "students are the future of the nation", "UCAD is difficult, you have

to be strong to make it", "you don't deserve to receive your scholarships on time", and

"you should become involved in a political party because it's lucrative and you're

poor". This chapter, as narrative, privileges the student experience in a social justice

attempt to analyze the impacts of policy at the individual level.

Because I lived with and had the greatest access to Tapha, a male English

student, he is the inspiration for Moustapha, the student whose life is chronicled below.

Theodore Sizer, in *Horace's Compromise* (1992), tells the story of the myriad of ways

an educator, Horace, an amalgam, compromises his teaching ideals in light of

constraining policies at the school and district levels. Moustapha, is an amalgam, like

Horace, but his story is based on actual events in the lives of the ten students central to

this study. Our interviews, conversations, and collaborations serve as evidentiary

support for the narrative. A male student was chosen because most of my time was

spent with male students due to limited access to females. This male-centeredness is a

major limitation to this study, but there were no ways that I, as a male researcher, could

work around cultural conventions about the separation of men and women in private spaces.

This chapter will do three things for the overarching argument of the dissertation regarding the ways that student confront the difficult conditions on campus and seek after pathways to success. First, it will chronicle the daily happenings of a UCAD student in order to provide insight into the cultural experiences of these students. The chapter will help to fill a major gap in the academic literature regarding the lived experience of African university students. Additionally, the major discourses about higher education, political participation, and international development among UCAD students will be identified to expound upon the ways that students engage, act upon, appropriate, and deny these discourses in their words and actions. Lastly, through this narrative, the social structures that shape how students study, attend classes, and hang out with friends will be discussed as groundwork for Chapter Five's analysis of student agency.

The chapter is arranged in the following way: First, I will introduce the global movement of protest that emerged with the Arab spring and fostered unrest in Sénégal just as I was beginning fieldwork. Second, I will discuss the problem of authorship and representation and make the case for the use of the amalgam, given the literary focus of each student involved in this study. Third, I will provide context for the narrative, placing it in its historical epoch, and will highlight three major discourses throughout the chapter by using text boxes placed within the narrative. These discourses will be expounded upon in the discussion section at the end of the chapter.

Global uprising context (March-April, 2011)

The global and local histories in which this study is situated must be highlighted to place this local narrative of student experience at UCAD in a broader context. On the global/continental level, 2011 was a year of protest with great movements taking place across the globe. *Time* Magazine's Person of the Year was the Protester, and computer and televisions screens were fraught with the scenes of often-bloody citizen movements in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, North America, and Australia. First, there were two January revolutions, one in Tunisia (beginning in December 2010) and one in Egypt. In Egypt, protesters and rioters ousted the Mubarek regime and called for reforms that are still being fought for today. The Tunisian protests led to democratic elections after the overthrow of the Zine El Abidine Ben Ali-led government. These uprisings were followed by Libya, which became a hotbed of contention in February when protesters clashed with national security forces. By March, Cote d'Ivoire was experiencing unrest that had begun following its 2010 November elections but peaked in early 2011. In September 2011, the Occupy Wall Street Movement took the United States by storm, spreading to Europe and Australia; by November, large-scale protests were occurring in Liberia as it held its presidential election.

During this tumultuous year, national politics in Sénégal grew more unsettled because of rumors that 85-year-old Abdoulaye Wade, president since 2000, would seek re-election. Constitutional amendments in 2008 paved the path for his re-election, but citizens were torn over the amendment and the potential of another Wade campaign. President Wade had just appointed his son, Karim, to lead several ministries, and students lamented that Sénégal might become another Libya, with a leader continually

making constitutional amendments allowing for perpetual rule. Rumors also spread that Mr. Wade was grooming Karim for the presidency. Citizens were also discontent as electricity outages were becoming more frequent and prices were rising for basic products.

On the campus of Université Cheikh Anta Diop in 2011, there was a confluence of events that led to protests, including a faculty strike, student strikes, and the possibility of an *année invalide*, or an invalid year. The uprisings in Morocco, Egypt, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire were on the minds of students and arose frequently in conversations with UCAD students. As activism and protest is a common occurrence on the UCAD campus, students were beginning to collectively perform a new type of nonviolent protest on campus after years of resorting to violence to grab the attention of the government. The backdrop of increased activism globally, much of it seeking to be nonviolent, provides a spotlight with which to highlight new forms of activism and protest on campus.

UCAD professors went on strike in the beginning of March 2011 in an attempt to increase the budgets of Sénégalese universities and to advocate for more recruitment of teachers, better wages, increased health benefits, and timely payment for overtime work (Professor interview, April 26, 2011). The strike lasted for more than one month and ended in mid-April. Because of the faculty strike and a four-month delay in the payment of student scholarships, student protests and striking were also on the rise. The students were very concerned that if the faculty strike continued, the school year would be deemed invalid because faculty members would not have the amount of classroom time required to legally administer year-end examinations. Faculty members ended the

strike with only days left before the year was deemed invalid. The result was that students had to begin coursework in April and be prepared for exams in June. Although grateful the year would remain valid, two months of schooling—down from the "official" October-June, eight-month academic year—left students scrambling to attend courses, write their memoirs,[17] and prepare for exams.

I arrived on campus March 6, 2011, amidst the turmoil on the campus and in Dakar. Four days later, students clashed with Sénégalese police officers, and this resulted in the payment of scholarships. On March 15, 2011, student members of the Collective, a student organization created by students in the Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines (FLSH) to promote students interests in place of the defunct amicale,[18] marched peacefully from the campus to the faculté and requested an end to the faculty strike. This successful move by students might have saved them an entire year of coursework. Thus, by the end of my first two weeks on campus, there had been two student protests and both resulted in outcomes sought by students, which only piqued my interest in student perceptions about power, authority, and agency.

The problem of representation and authorship

Issues of power and authority are also evident in the authorship of this dissertation, and particularly in the stories of students in this chapter. Before turning to

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[17] The Memoir is a Master's thesis, between 25-30 pages in length, which must be successfully defended in front of a panel of 3-4 faculty members in order to receive the Masters degree.
[18] An *amicales* is a body of students gathering around a similar interest, with an elected student governing body. The *amicale* for FLSH is important because it is the largest amicale on campus, and the leadership has access to resources, such as tickets to the campus restaurant, and it controls the disbursement of rooms on campus. The amicale is responsible for liaising between a student and the administration if a student has an issue. The faculty of FLSH disbanded its amicale in 2008 due to violence around the time of elections.

these accounts, it is important to acknowledge that this narrative is constructed from the researcher's perspective. Had it been possible, students would have collaboratively authored this chapter with me; however, funding and time spent in the field limited this option. Nevertheless, the approach to this research and acknowledgement of my own position of power as researcher helped to create a collaborative interview, observation, and journaling environment. By this I mean that my knowledge of Sénégalese higher education policy and its history came together with student's knowledge of their experience with these policies. Yet this environment does not mean that authorship was collaborative in the conventional sense of the word. Instead, this chapter, like the ones that precede and follow it, is authored by a white, Southern American, outsider, doctoral student. I have no delusions of complete objectivity in the writing of this chapter, and I assert the subjectivity of my research design, process, and authorship. However, my goal is to make prominent the words and actions of students without imposing too heavy an analytical hand in discussing their daily-lived experience. In so doing, I hope to re-present the story of these African students and confront the appropriation of their studenthood by political leaders and policymakers through a descriptive account of one day in a student's life.

The story that follows is not authentically African, nor is it authentically American. This story-writing process was collaborative, and my biases were made known to students as they shared their opinions and views with me. Both the knowledge that I procured during fieldwork and the ideas I had about student activism before entering the field were shared with student-participants. Concurrently, they shared with me their knowledge about activism in Sénégal and their involvement in student protest.

Students gave accounts of this process in our final interview together, when I asked

them to reflect on the process, on what they learned about themselves, on being a

student, and finally on Sénégal and UCAD. Some answers are as follows:

> So many things I didn't know about UCAD. It is after you asked me that I knew
> it (Interview, April 29, 2011).

> As to university, I have my ideas as to what is happening there, but I never
> stopped to really think, a deep reflection about what is going on over there and I
> did this. Well, I did this with our interviews (Interview, April 29, 2011).

> Yes, I learned too many things. During the second interview, you were talking
> about life at campus and I realized that sometimes in life we may think that
> something is difficult and we may realize that it isn't. In the first interview, I
> said things are not easy, and I came back home and said why did you say things
> are not easy? And I was thinking and thinking and I realized maybe it was just
> because people said things are difficult. Yes, things are difficult but not for you.
> You have some things and God helps you to not be in positions that others are
> (Interview, April 29, 2011).

This continual, collaborative reflection on what it means to be a student, on

questions of power, and on negotiating the political economy on campus constructed the

methodological space for meaningful exchange if not necessarily for co-authorship of

this dissertation. For instance, in the interviews, I interjected my thoughts and opinions

through questions, such as in the following conversation about student power on

campus. Ndèye S. and I were going back and forth about student power and a specific

student organization on campus. We were working through the definitions of power and

influence and the differences between these words and which word might best describe

the position of students in the national landscape. Although not representative of my

approach to interviewing, the conversation reveals an extreme example of the

collaborative approach:

Casey: ...when students stop traffic on Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop, is that not a certain type of power to stop traffic on one of the major roads in Dakar? And when that happens doesn't that get spread to Tambacounda, Louga, and everywhere around Sénégal people hear about what students are doing. And, also what about the role of students in the 2000 election?[19]

Ndèye S.: Ah, yes.

[...]

Casey: You seem to be saying that you don't think students are as powerful. But, I wonder if there is a distinction between influence and power?

Ndèye S.: Ah, yes. Well, I… well, I have not thought of it. They have… *comment dire [how to say [this]]*? They have power, but, like they can stop the traffic, but this has not… it may have an impact like they can be given their scholarships and all this, but I think the university could be… could have had a greater… well, they may be powerful. Well, powerful or influential, I don't see the difference, but I think it's not. As I said, it's just, they are just *les satellit-quoi* [like satellites] of the others. I don't know.

[…]

Casey: But then could the head, or whatever, could it function without the satellites?

Ndèye S.: No, not really.

Casey: This is what I am trying to figure out, this is my question: where do students fit in this kind of equation of power and… because I think you're right that they are instruments of power.

Ndèye S.: But, I think they fit within the political parties and the intellectual leadership.

After reminding Ndèye of what she already knew, she remembered these examples, reframed her answer in terms of satellites, and came to a decision on where students belong in a hierarchy of power.

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[19] This information about student involvement in the election of President Wade came from Zeilig and Ansell's (2009) research on political geography, and student conversations at UCAD confirmed these assertions.

In the journal entries, there was also an effort at collaboration as I shared with students my daily life, my experience as a student, trying to make things work while dealing with life pressures just as they shared their experiences with me. We collaborated by sharing our opinions and exploring what it means to be a student in our own contexts, and in general. Below is a sample of one of my journal entries and a student response representative of this collaboration:

Casey, May 15, 2011

The economy is taking its toll on me. I'm thankful to have a job, without a doubt. But, it's frustrating to know that the job is only part-time and won't provide enough money for me to be able to live for the summer. Once the semester comes and I have two jobs- my assistantship and my part-time job- then I will be able to pay my rent and buy groceries. I'm beginning to worry a bit about finding a job once I finish the PhD. The economy is so weak that I fear that all the work that I have put into the PhD program and the entire process will not be 'worth' it. I've had to take out loans in order to pay for school, and I will be paying those loans for a long, long time. I just need to know that it is going to 'pay' off in the end. As a first-generation college student, the first in my family to pursue a college degree, it's unnerving to think that my sacrifice won't lead to a job in the end.

Ndèye B. Response, May 21, 2011
This is life Casey, a continual struggle.

This is just an experience. Be sure that through it, you are building something in you, for both your personality and your future profession. I am now used to positively view my hard experiences in life by acknowledging that nothing is easy but everything is possible and, the most important is what you are aiming at. I believe that faith and determination are the best weapons.

You can realize that something has changed in you. For instance, what you were before this and what you are presently. Just make a comparison between them and wonder which Casey you prefer? The first or the latter, the future Casey will surely come from the mixture but your choice will have a weight. From your text, I have felt a will from you to fight for students in the world: from their conditions of study to their future, I mean after studies. This is noble, you may not realize it but, once all of this finished and your hope realized, you will understand that this experience will be what will give a meaning to your life. I am telling you because I know what that means.

Ndèye B. then went on to journal about her attempt at finding a job in Dakar. Without knowing it, she, too, had been struggling to find financial independence. The synergy between the two stories revealed a larger economic picture that frames the lives of youth in many countries today and underscored our struggle as students to finance our studies and to find a place in our societies. In the next section, I focus on the use of narrative to tell the story of the UCAD student experience.

Literature and the student experience

English students at UCAD often speak in terms of "characters". Characters come from stories they have read, like Brutus Jones in *The Emperor Jones* or Daisy [Buchanan] from *The Great Gatsby*. They also use the term character to refer to historical figures like Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, or Gandhi. As Tapha explained about these characters that come up in class readings:

> Let's say that they have influenced me many times, or, because as far as I'm concerned I'm doing American literature and civilization that's the reason why most of the books I have to deal with or have dealt with in the time being, you can find that kind of character, like Malcolm X, Ghandi, or MLK. Let's say the freedom fighters that were fighting for better conditions for African Americans in the US, to have their rights, to gain back their rights, to have jobs, okay, everything that will make them live in a better living condition. That's why many of the times, we talk about those characters, try to see what was their ideology, what were they defending, what they were fighting for, who they were. [Interview, April 14, 2011]

In the UCAD classroom, the characters in these novels are used to talk about modern-day Sénégalese life. For instance in my first classroom observation with Professor #1, he was lecturing the class about George III and his fight against instability in Hanover. The professor referenced President Wade as the manager of political stability in Sénégal because of his age and his long tenure in politics (Class

Observation, April 22, 2011) Students model this behavior, speaking in the language of

these 'characters' when they speak English. For example, in a student interview and in a

speech given to the March 15th crowd gathered for the Collective march, students used

the words of John F. Kennedy:

> Because, as a good person, *we are not going to ask what the country is going to do for us, but what we have to do for our country.* (Interview, April 21, 2011)
>
> *Don't ask what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country.* (Quote from speech given by leader of the Collective on March, 15, 2011)

A professor posited that students interact with these characters because of the

proficiency with which they speak English (including Barack Obama):

> Yes, I think it is not as such, an influence from what they learn from the teachers, it's simply because we have, when you listen to people like Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, the rhetoric, you know? These people are excellent speakers, and the language has to do with that. Students are fascinated by the beauty of the language and the oratory skills of those speakers, [more] than anything else. (Professor Interview, April 26, 2011)

Although the beauty of these leaders' speech may have appeal to students, I argue that

students use these characters as moral figures. The Collective even used these quotes in

the speech given by the Collective Leader, quoting Martin Luther King's "I Have a

Dream" speech imploring students to stand up for their rights and for the administration

to commence classes (Field notes, March 15, 2011).

Literature influences the lives of these students, specifically in the way they

interact with one another. For example, Ami was often referred to as "Daisy" (even

when the students were speaking Wolof or French), the lead female character in *The*

Great Gatsby, and students joked that another friend was "the man of the (female)

people" playing on a line from *The Great Gatsby* and the title of a Chinua Achebe novel

because the male student was always flirting with female students. Ndèye S. sums up

the student view on literature best stating, "I think through literature… literature is

formidable. Like I read somewhere that fiction *c'est l 'expérimentation de possible*. You

see what it is? (Interview, April 27, 2011). The "experimentation of the possible,"

fiction, serves as a fitting analogy for these students and the narrativization of their lives

mirrors the way they currently bring literature into their own lives. Given this

terminology and the fact that English students at UCAD are primarily focused on

literature, I will use a narrative form of writing about the characters, in this case

students, within this chapter.

Positioning the Narrator

As previously mentioned, conversations with students and observations are

integral to this narration of this story, and the majority of the narration of the day-to-

dayness of students life is based on my experience in living with other male students on

campus. I was only able to visit a female residence hall once, as visitors are not allowed

without a UCAD student card. Most of my time was spent with male students in the

residence halls, restaurants, etc. During my first month on campus, I spent time in two

dorm rooms. I vacillated between the two so as not to be too much of a burden on one

room and its nine students. My luggage stayed in one room, occupying precious closet

space, but I spent more time in the room where my luggage was not located to balance

the amount of space I took up in each room. In early April, I was able to procure a

single dorm room at the Ecole Nationale Economique Appliquée (ENEA) and lived

there throughout the duration of my field study, while spending most of my time on campus, only leaving to sleep at ENEA.

The Setting: The Campus

"The Campus" (literally, the social campus) at UCAD is the place where students live, eat, and spend the majority of their time when they are not in class. Even for students who do not live on campus, many of them spend time on the campus throughout the day as they commute early in the morning and later at night to avoid Dakar's traffic gridlock. The campus includes university restaurants, where students eat at a reduced price, but it also has many small shops that sell food throughout the day. Additionally, it houses the administration offices for Centre Oeuvres Université de Dakar (COUD)[20], printing shops, kiosks, a track complex, abandoned tennis courts, and a basketball court reserved primarily for the basketball club, another abandoned basketball court, and a mosque. Residence halls dominate the campus landscape and skyline.

Figure 1: Pavillon Q on the UCAD campus

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[20] The offices of COUD deal with all non-faculty student issues from housing to the restaurants.

A social justice approach to narrative

Rather than focus on students as a collective, the rest of this chapter uses the singular—a student—and explores how this student deals with the competing discourses and interests on campus. I make this shift intentionally to move away from the analytical category of "students" in an attempt to minimize the political connotations attached to the collective, which sets up "students" as a problem; instead, I seek to focus on the individual, **the** Protester as agentic. The "I am the 99% campaign" coming out of the Occupy Movement set social media sites on fire and proved to be much more identifiable by a larger portion of the American population than the 'troublemakers' who, en masse, broke shop windows and burned tires in the streets. These stories brought the discontent of individuals in the Occupy Wall Street movement to a human, individual level; in the Sénégalese context, a focus on a student and her everyday life seeks to show that students, as a group, are not lazy, and only concerned with social aspects of schooling (World Bank, 2003). Rather, they each have reasons for their frustrations/disappointments with the university and the State, which has led many to join with others in protest and activism.

On a broader scale, the higher education experiences of a single UCAD student walking into a building on registration day and finding no information regarding how to register or how the course schedule works or a cafeteria without enough chairs for all students are not only her story. It is one that is being lived out on other Sénégalese campuses, and being performed by students around the globe. Thus, there is a metonymic quality to the narrative that follows in that 'Moustapha's story' is certainly

his, but it is stands in for 'student experience' more broadly because of the close association between his life and that of many students around the world today

Context to the narrative

The purpose of this story is to highlight one day in a student's life during a week when manifestations of activism changed from violent to nonviolent and to make connections between the student experience on campus and the experience of Sénégalese citizens as they attempt to participate in national politics. The setting for this story is the period between March 10-15, 2011. On March 10th, there was a student strike on campus that resulted in a student clash with police officers, tear gas, burned objects on campus as well as property destroyed in the campus restaurants. On March 15th, there was a nonviolent protest instigated by members of the Collective to urge faculty members to end the strike and continue the school year. The invalid year was approaching, and the students were very concerned that the year would not count for them. The bookends of this narrative, then, include two very different approaches to activism on campus. The first, on March 10th, was representative of the strikes that often occur at UCAD in that it involved police firing tear gas bombs on students, students hurling rocks and insults at police officers, and police officers and students were responsible for physical damage to the UCAD campus. However, the second, the movement on March 15th showed that the students in the Collective were adamant that they were commencing a new kind of activism on campus in which their intellect became the key instrument to having their voices heard. This tense period serves as the backdrop to this narrative about Moustapha's day. The temporality of this setting

reflects a change from a violent to a non-violent approach to activism at UCAD that was apparent during my pre-dissertation research six months earlier, but it also signals a change in the way students chose to represent themselves. Students, collectively, 'fought back' against one of the major discourses about students in Sénégal, namely, that they are violent.

A day in the life of Moustapha

Moustapha awakes every morning at 7:00. He does not set an alarm, but he is very consistent in waking up each morning at this time. It is very important to Moustapha to get an early start on his day in order to accomplish the many goals he has set for himself. Moustapha sees himself as a "serious" person, and he strives to act in a way that is becoming of an educated person.

Normally Moustapha would sleep on one of the two beds in the room, but because he is hosting a guest—me—he has taken his place next to another student on the floor. The mattress on which he sleeps measures three feet wide and seven feet deep. One person could comfortably sleep on the mattress, which is normally squeezed tightly between the wooden casing that rests on a concrete base. Last night, as with all other nights that I am in his room, his roommates who share the bed slept on their sides because if they were to lie on their backs or stomachs, they would not both be able to fit on the bed at all. Moustapha sleeps on the floor with four other students. Beds are reserved for older students in the room, although the concrete base of the floor and the concrete base of the bed produce the same level of comfort. There are five bodies on the

floor, four on the beds, nine total in the room designed for two. The room's

configuration is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Sleeping arrangement for students in a student room (Room measurements: 12 x 16 feet)

<table>
<tr>
<td>Closet</td>
<td colspan="2">Sink Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed 1

[sleeps two students]</td>
<td>Mattress 1

[sleeps one student]</td>
<td>Mattress 2

[sleeps one student]</td>
<td>Mattress 3

[sleeps one</td>
<td>Bed 2

[sleeps two students]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Mattress 4

[sleeps one student]</td>
<td colspan="2">Mattress 5

[sleeps one student]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td colspan="2">Desk 1</td>
<td colspan="2">Desk 2</td>
</tr>
</table>
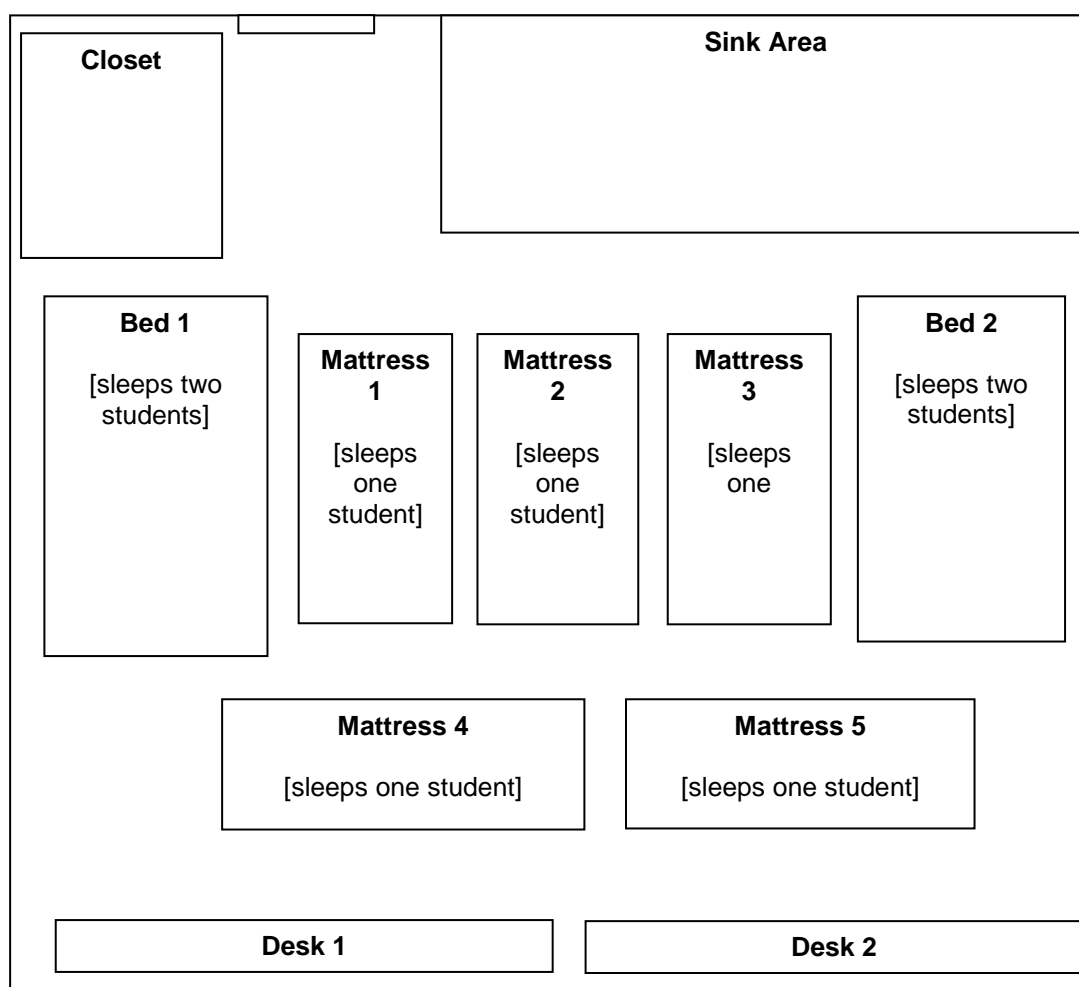
Once he wakes up, Moustapha changes into pants, sandals, and a short-sleeve

button-down shirt and heads to the restaurant. Breakfast is served between 7:00-9:00

a.m. at the restaurants on campus, what Americans might call a "cafeteria". After

returning from the restaurant, he finds some of his roommates awake, some getting

prepared for a morning shower, others preparing to pray. He takes out the small electric

plate and begins to warm water for his instant coffee. While the coffee is warming, he does morning exercises that consist of stretching and pushups, finding an open space on the floor once the mattresses have been removed.

Moustapha worked hard to secure a room since the *amicale* for the FLSH was disbanded due to violence during the student governing body elections in 2008 and no longer facilitates this process for FLSH students. There is a privatization of room distribution. The larger student organizations that can afford to purchase rooms do so, and they then sell them back to students for USD 300. Students in FLSH have no protection against this distribution process because they do not have an amicale. Moustapha is a part of the Collective, a student movement to reinstate the amicale. The process is now controlled in part by the Collective, other student amicales and the administrative offices for the campus. The process is highly political, and Moustapha's preference is to stay out of the political arena on the UCAD campus, but he is also aware the politics exist everywhere and are a part of Sénégalese society. Knowing firsthand the importance of finding a room in the campus, Moustapha purchased the room, along with other students, for 150,000 CFA (~USD 300) per year. Signs still litter the campus promoting rooms for sell.

During his first year, Moustapha lived in three different locations. His regional amicale for students from Thies had a flat off-campus paid for by the regional mayor of Thies. He was able to secure a room there because he does not live within commuting distance of UCAD. The purpose of the amicale rooms, located in an apartment complex 20 minutes walking distance from the campus, is only to give students a space until they find housing that is more permanent. Moustapha was able to live with friends' parents

for a short period of time after exhausting his days in the flat with others from Thies before finally finding space at an Ecole Nationale, located 10-minutes by bus from the campus in the room described above. Thankful for the room and cognizant of his own difficulties living off campus, he takes seriously his obligation to share it with other students. Poor students who do not have the connections with other students or regional amicales and cannot find a room are forced to sleep in the hallways of a *pavillon*, or student residence. Moustapha knows of students who sleep in a covered outdoor area huddled together for warmth in "the Titanic", a colloquial name for Pavillon N. Students find themselves in similar situations across the campus.

Moustapha is the oldest student in his room; therefore, he is "the elder". Being the elder allows for certain privileges, but it also comes with tangible responsibilities. He is responsible for teaching the new students in his room the process of making and remaking the room throughout the day. For instance, this morning, he instructed one of the youngest students in the room that the larger mattresses, the ones used on the floor because they do not fit in the wooden casing, should be piled on top of the other mattresses so as to avoid an uneven contour when the beds are used more like couches during the day. Usually only the younger students (those who sleep on the floor) do the work of room maintenance. Moustapha or another older student supervises the process while younger students clean and reorganize the space. The bed frames in Moustapha's room, like most other rooms, are fixed: They are wooden structures with a base about one foot from the floor. There is a 2-3 inch overhang of wood so that a mattress can be fitted securely within the bed. Because students use foam mattresses, they become very thin from wear so that they can place 2-3 on top on each other to form a single bed. This

is the storage space for the mattresses during the day— they only come out at night. At

least four—and sometimes six—mattresses are on the ground at once during the night.

To make space for students' clothing in this crowded environment, suitcases function

like closets and are stored in any available crevice, including underneath desks. Since

there are not enough chairs in this room designed for two, students do most of their

studying on the beds, if they study in the room at all. The reorganization of the room

only takes 5-10 minutes, but it is an interesting example of the creative use of space by

students living in overcrowded conditions and the hierarchy of power based on age that

extracts labor from younger students to benefit the older ones. These material

conditions and social relations are similar to those one finds elsewhere in Sénégalese

society.

Almost immediately after waking, Moustapha and other students make their way

to the restaurant to pick up breakfast from the restaurant and prepare their coffee.

[21]Moustapha prepares coffee and bread every morning. The same breakfast is offered in

the restaurants daily: A small loaf of French bread with butter and or cheese and coffee,

one instant coffee pack— NesCafe—and one package of powdered milk with 3-4 cubes

of sugar. The water is warmed on a hot plate and a small kettle.

One of his roommates, Omar, is still asleep on one of the mattresses closest to

the wall, and it is now 8:00. Moustapha takes this opportunity to teach Omar about

"being serious". Moustapha yells at Omar to wake up and shakes him until he stirs.

Moustapha explains that his schedule is tightly packed throughout the day, and he

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[21] Field notes, March 11, 2011, 10:00 A.M.

wakes early to achieve as much as possible for a reason. Moustapha explains to Omar

that he should distinguish himself as a student who does things the "right way," "in a

good way," that he is serious" and does not do things "in a bad way." Moustapha

believes that the good way includes setting a good example for younger students,

particularly younger UCAD students like Omar, and sacrificing when necessary for the

good of others and, ultimately, the nation. The bad way, in Moustapha and other

students' views, is seen in university administration inefficiency, government

corruption, and selfish, materialistic endeavors by those with wealth. As he instructs

Omar throughout conversation, Moustapha says the following:

> Because, me, I cannot understand that the fact that an educated person acts in a way which is not good, in a bad way. For example, you should give a good example, instead of giving a good example, if you do things badly, or in a bad way [suggesting that 'sleeping in' is a bad way to operate as a student]. […][22] I'm going to say that you are not educated. Maybe you were at school, but you were not educated. Because, me, I'm, once at home, or anywhere in Sénégal, I'm supposed to be an example so I'm not going to insult people or cry on people or drive my car everywhere I want, or do undisciplined things. Because it's the things you can notice everywhere in Sénégal. And, most of the time it is from the educated people, the authorities. They act in a bad way. […] A good thing is everywhere you may be, you should keep in your mind things you are thinking to do, or things you are going to do may, sometimes, must be copied by your followers, your brothers, or people who are at school or who are in… I don't know, younger than you. That's the reason why we have to behave in a correct way[23].

Moustapha also provides an example to Omar about how elders should help

younger students in a "good way" such as when elders offer advice to first year

students:

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[22] Throughout this dissertation when sections of text are presented […] signifies that text has been removed for clarity, and an ellipsis signifies a long pause in the speech of the person being interviewed. Additionally, large block quote citations will be footnoted so as not to interrupt the narrative flow.
[23] Interview, April 11, 2011.

… We are doing good things, welcome[ing] newcomers, we are showing them the different activities, or give them orientation at the university, and if they have some problems or something they do not understand, they take part in all their studies. As an English student, I welcome them to help them. I welcome them and give them some text to translate and after I mark that. So, it is a way of involving in life and how to help people".[24]

> *Discourse #1: The educated person does things the "right" way by taking seriously expectations and setting a good example.*

Omar's father, a friend of Moustapha's father, brought his sons to Moustapha, and he told Moustapha that he is supposed to take care of them; therefore, Moustapha allows Omar and his brother to stay in his room. Some of Moustapha's brothers told him that some of their friends wanted only to leave their mats in his room and retrieve them at night. After the second night, they were also staying in his room. Moustapha called the students "very clever" because they managed to secure a space in the room. This is a very common act by students because as many students come to UCAD from the far reaches of Sénégal, they have no other option than to find a room in the campus by any means at their disposal. Other students are keenly aware of this reality, one that mirrors the limited available monetary and material resources in Sénégalese society. Most students support one another by providing space in their rooms if they have it, offering restaurant tickets to students who can afford them, and assisting students with transitions to the university[25].

Of course, there are students who do not share this attitude of solidarity. Moustapha explains to the younger students in his room:

> There are two communities at UCAD— the one is the savage, the barbarism, they are acting as if there are some problems— they destroy everything. They do not think that they are at the university and they need to think before acting.

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[24] Interview, April 15, 2011
[25] Field notes, March 7, 2011

> They destroy the restaurants, and sometimes we have problems eating [because of them]. They destroy the windows in the rooms and other things on campus.[…] The second community is those who are against this savage community, those who think we can have other strategies, those who are more flexible, who disagree with the system. We have our own way to reclaim things to UCAD. You are a student and they expect you to use your mind.[26]

Moustapha was once a member of the latter community, what he calls the barbaric group and still has sympathy for students who believe they have no other option than to participate in violent protest. During his first year at UCAD, not having a room on campus led to transportation difficulties, shuttling to and from campus. It was also his first time on his own, and he was not accustomed to cooking for himself or finding his own meals. When scholarships were not paid, they crippled him. He had no means to pay for food, and he relied on other students at UCAD who could offer him a meal ticket or help him prepare a meal. This debilitating state led him to become involved in protests. There are no shared or individual kitchens in the *pavillons*, and most students use hot plates that exceed the wattage limit for the electrical grid on campus. Moustapha recalls when his hot plate burst into flames during his first year on campus. There are very few options that exist for food outside of the campus restaurants. The second best option is one of the private restaurants on campus, where goods must be purchased using cash; these meals are also more expensive—a hamburger, for instance, runs a student 500 fCFA (~USD 1), an egg sandwich can cost 350 fCFA (~USD 0.75). If scholarships[27] are not paid, students do not have the cash to

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[26] Interview, April 7, 2011

[27] There are two types of scholarships for Sénégalese students. The first is the full scholarship, granted to some students during the first year, and to all students who succeed during the first year. The scholarship amounts to 36,000, or US$72/month. The second type of scholarship is called "help" and is available to students who are not on scholarship; however, not all students receive help—it is a need-based scholarship. The total for help is 60,000 per year or $120.

purchase tickets or food in private restaurants. Of course this is not the case for students who have parents who can afford to give them money. Moustapha felt that he had no other option than to go on strike, to work with other students to protest against the government's non-payment of scholarships. When students strike, the government pays scholarship fees almost immediately—within a day or so—reinforcing the message to students that violent strikes work.

After instructing and reminding students of the "good way," overseeing the room reorganization, and eating breakfast, Moustapha goes to shower at 8:00 a.m. This morning he has to wait in line for 15 minutes for a shower to become available. Because there are only enough shower stalls for the official number of beds located on each floor, the showers become very crowded in the mornings with the large number of students residing on the floors. In his pavillon, there are officially two beds in each room with 22 rooms to a bathroom, where the showers and toilets are located. There are five showers for these 44 beds, but, in reality, approximately 200 students compete for these five showers each day. Moustapha and his roommates take turn showering and going to retrieve breakfast so that there is always warm water for coffee. Breakfast on campus is "to go" as very few students sit down in the restaurant, preferring, instead, to eat in their rooms. Moustapha, like most other Muslim students, prays five times a day. The first prayer, *fadiar*, is in the morning after a shower and takes 5-10 minutes.

Moustapha leaves campus at 8:45 a.m. to walk to the West African Research Center (WARC)[28] to do research for his thesis, which Masters students at UCAD refer to as a "memoir". His memoir is about racism and the civil rights movement in the

[28] The West African Research Center was established in 1993. It is the research center for the West African Research Association.

United States. It takes about 15 minutes to walk to WARC, which is located in a wealthier neighborhood just north of campus. He goes to WARC each day to study because the resources there are superior to those available at UCAD. The English library is larger than the library on campus, where the English section in the library is very small, approximately 100 books in total. This limitation negatively affects students' capability to do research even though each Masters student is required to do research on an original topic to complete her/his degree. Additionally, the Internet is faster at WARC than it is on campus. Today, I accompanied Moustapha and other students to the WARC library.

Moustapha is lucky to have had the director of WARC as a professor, where the director invited the class to come to WARC to take advantage of its resources. Students pay only 2000 fCFA (USD 4) to gain access to the library at WARC, but many students are unaware of the its resources, and as a small organization, it would never be able to meet the demands of the whole English student population.

Students who do not go to WARC to work tend to study in empty classrooms, hallways, their residence halls, and the UCAD library. Before WARC, Moustapha studied in an empty amphitheatre or the library. As the largest department in the largest faculty on campus, the English department population is around 7,000 students. Moustapha takes advantage of the faster Internet at WARC to check his Facebook page before beginning his research and checks it again just before he prepares to leave for lunch at around 12:30 p.m. While in the WARC library, he finds space at one of the four tables reserved for students. He uses his laptop and downloads books and articles.

Moustapha is among friends, as most members from his study group convened here every day last summer to prepare for the first round of oral examinations in the Masters program, which must be passed to move onto the second year. The library is very quiet as students rarely stop their work to speak to one another. The stillness of the room sharply contrasts the environment in the outdoor seating area of WARC one summer ago, when Moustapha and other students lively debated thematic issues in preparation for their examinations[29]. Setting up study groups is integral to success in the English department because the massive number of students does not allow for one-to-one attention from the professor. Students provide this type of mentorship for one another and frequently study in groups for the duration of their time on campus.

Living on the campus provides access to critical student and campus community networks that emulate the community networks in Sénégalese society. Moustapha explains this campus community this way:

> You know in Sénégal, we are living "terranga" [hospitality] – you can leave your home and go to someone else's and have dinner without being invited. You have a little something and you share it with everybody. It is what students are doing here. You can have your ticket and some students have none and you can't go to the restaurant without him so you share your ticket. And, some day he may do the same thing for you because you are not sure to have tickets every day. And you give him today and tomorrow you can be short of tickets and he'll give it to you.[30]

Like many students, Moustapha understands that newspapers in Sénégal never present this story of student struggle to Sénégalese citizens. Instead, students are presented as violent because the only news that spreads across the nation regarding UCAD students is when they engage in violence during strikes. Moustapha is aware that

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[29] I observed examination preparation on a daily basis during pre-dissertation research in 2010.
[30] Interview, March 31, 2011

the reputation of UCAD students is not what it was in earlier decades, when students

were represented as responsible, diplomatic future leaders, and he is committed to

changing this reputation. He often thinks about the role of media in representing

students and wrote on his Facebook wall:

> …for someone speaking of students to say they're all violent because that's
> what the media shows. So, the way of acting of a group of students would alter
> the image people have of students. So, now the image has changed and they
> would say students are violent and they are not there to study and the situation
> there is so bad that they have to strike and block the Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop.
> It depends on the students presently. The image of the students is much more
> negative than it was in the past. But now people would say [students] […]
> wrestle with the authorities.[31]

However, Moustapha feels that it is difficult to overcome this image as many

students perpetuate the stereotypes of UCAD students as violent and lazy. Moustapha is

aware that large numbers of his colleagues gather support for strikes as a way to make a

political statement. If a student is in the opposition party, a strike symbolizes an

inability of the current government to manage its citizens. He notes that even students in

the ruling party will use strikes as a way to advance their political careers by displaying

their organizational and motivational abilities. Moustapha witnessed the worst of

student protest on March 10th, when students were involved in a violent clash with the

police at the UCAD entrance at Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop.

Moustapha uses his Facebook page as a way to communicate with Facebook

friends about his philosophy of protest. He often posts quotes from Martin Luther King

or Malcolm X. Underlying these quotes is one message: nonviolence[32]. After using his

Facebook page to make other students aware of the upcoming March 15th peaceful

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[31] Direct quote from interview, April 19, 2011
[32] It is unclear if students fully understood the irony in co-mingling Malcolm X as a nonviolent figure
with Martin Luther King and Gandhi.

protest on campus, he searches the Internet, primarily utilizing Google to guide his

inquiries. Moustapha also uses books in the library for his research, although the

Internet provides access to more updated resources as many of the WARC resources are

older publications. He was able to purchase a laptop because his father lent him some

money, and he had some saved from a previous tutoring job. The laptop is used but it

functions well. It does not have a word-processing system installed due to the cost, and

he must rely on Notepad for taking notes and opening documents.

Conducting research is a serious endeavor for Moustapha and he believes it to

be his obligation to help younger students in their research process: "Yeah, me, the first

thing I am going to do is to log onto Facebook and then after check my emails with

Yahoo. And then after, within 10 or 20 minutes I stop it and go through my research in

order to have information on my memoir. And then before leaving, I check it next time

for my mail or Facebook."[33] I ask, "When you're doing your research, which websites

do you use the most?" Moustapha replies:

> Most of the time, I use Google, but in Google, they will redirect you to other
> sites, the other sites which have some link with the subject you are looking for.
> For example, I am looking for slavery in the United States. Each subject that is
> linked, or has some connection with slavery, Google will redirect you with those
> sites in order to allow you to have what you need. Sometimes you have exactly
> what you need, but sometimes it will give you some ideas and it is you who will
> try to understand what they are trying to tell you and reformulate or put your
> own ideas, or put it in your own words to express it in good English. [34]

Because Masters students are not required to attend class during their writing

phase, many do not; however, some students prefer to attend classes to continue adding

to their ideas for their memoirs. Unfortunately, most classes were cancelled due to the

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[33] Interview, April 21, 2011
[34] Interview, April 21, 2011

faculty strike[35], but at least one teacher that Moustapha knows offered courses

sporadically, and he plans to attend the course later in the day. Moustapha, as with

many other students, sees his contributions to Sénégalese development in terms of what

he can offer intellectually; therefore, he takes seriously his studies. Moustapha knows

some students who do not study. He even knows some former students who continue to

live on campus because housing is cheaper here than in Dakar. They live on campus

with no intention of attending class; some of them sell drugs on campus. It is difficult

for Moustapha to admit that these things take place on campus. His religious and moral

beliefs do not condone this behavior.

At around 12:15 p.m., Moustapha logs off the Internet at WARC and heads back

to the restaurant on campus. The walk takes about 15 minutes by foot, but he stops

along the way to converse with friends. He knows many students on campus because of

his involvement with the English Club, his regional amicale, and the Collective.

Walking down the primary footpath through campus from UCAD II (see campus map

in Chapter Three) heading towards Pavillon A, there are several vendors selling food,

school supplies, photocopying services, mobile phone cards, and more. This stretch of

road is a prime hangout spot on campus. Moustapha stops at a vendor to speak to a

childhood friend who runs a photocopy shop there. Moustapha needs to photocopy

documents for his application for a doctoral program at a university in Luxembourg.

The photocopies cost 50 fCFA apiece. His friend informs him that the machine has

overheated and that he needs to return in three hours. He walks by the mosque, where

several students are washing their feet and preparing to pray the *tisar*, the early

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[35] For clarification, classes were cancelled while I conducted my research. It was not until April 15, 2011 that classes resumed.

afternoon prayer. As he walks, group cheers and drum noises become louder. A student group from the Casamance, an area in southern Sénégal, south of the Gambia, is demonstrating their drumming to other students and celebrating with several non-students.

The cultural celebration is taking place in front of the COUD offices. It stands in stark contrast to the protests on campus just a few short days ago. The singing is melodic, as is the drumming. The colors are vibrant and the participants are young and old. There are two older ladies—at least 60 years old – walking towards the celebration with large silver serving spoons. Slowly, they are making their way down the primary road leading from Pauvion A, down the center of campus, towards the restaurants just before the gates to campus. The celebration is to highlight Southern Sénégalese culture; there is no religious or political significance to the event. People are carrying limbs and sticks and drummers are located in the center while everyone else dances around them. Moustapha is struck by how fast he is transported from the international space of Facebook at WARC to the world of southern Sénégal and its regional traditions.[36]

Walking together toward the campus restaurants, Moustapha and his friends continue to talk about the strike. It was only two days ago that students began throwing the metal food trays around the restaurant after barricading the exits. This image is still fresh on Moustapha's mind, and he is hopeful that the march being organized by the Collective for a few days from now will start a new type of student protest on campus that does not involve damaging property or tear gas.

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[36] Field notes, March 13, 2011

There are three options for food for students at the university-subsidized restaurants: Central, Argentin, and Self. Central is the largest, and, as indicated by its name, is located in the center of campus. Moustapha and his friends prefer to eat at Central because it is located next to his residential pavillon. There are two entrances at which long lines form well before the restaurant begins serving meals. Outside Central Restaurant, Moustapha and his friends stand in line waiting for the restaurant to break from its "pause," meaning, ,in fact, that they wait for 30 minutes. Students are being quite patient— the line has definitely gotten longer in the time they have been waiting. Rumors spread up and down the line that the restaurant will stay open later to accommodate the mass of students waiting— roughly 150+ students. There are a lot of political signs on the walls of the restaurant. It is prime advertising space since students are "stuck" here with nothing else to do but wait and read. There are also several signs posted to the walls advertising beds for sell. Moustapha and his friends enter the restaurant, take their trays with rice, vegetables, and meat, and look for chairs that have not been destroyed by the students on strike a few days earlier.[37]

The meals at all three subsidized restaurants change each day for lunch, but they usually rotate between a rice dish, a couscous dish, or a sandwich. The process of getting food, however, is the same for every meal: Students enter the restaurant through a winding line and take trays from ladies who place food on trays while banging their spoons loudly against the side of the large food pan. Bread is served with every meal, but Moustapha, like many other students, rarely eats it. Instead, he gives it to the children who wait outside the exit gates of the restaurant. These children are *talibes*,

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[37] Field notes, March 8, 2011

literally, disciples, children who study at Koranic schools under a religious guide, and who are forced to beg for food each day.

Students can purchase tickets to the restaurants on campus for 150 fCFA (~USD 0.50) for lunch and dinner and 75 fCFA (~ USD 0.30) for breakfast. The tickets can be purchased at the restaurant or from students who run mobile phone credit "kiosks" on campus that also sell other goods, such as meal tickets. These students sit in a chair next to a tree with a sign propped on a tree limb, advertising their services. The tickets are sold for 150 fCFA at any of these locations. Students often buy tickets from other students as well, always at face value. Some students are given tickets through their student organizations. The regional amicales, where students from different regions, villages, and towns come together to meet also have tickets available for free. Most of the time, the mayor of the village or governor of a region purchases these tickets as a way to garner political favor.[38]

Today, Moustapha eats quickly, offering another student his seat when he finishes. The lunchroom conversation between Moustapha and his friends focuses on one thing: the student strike on March 10th. Moustapha took notes as he was walking in order to chronicle the violence on campus through the strike two days ago. He read these notes to me:

> I can hear the police shooting tear gas. No one seems to notice. Students burn tires and buckets to protect themselves from the tear gas. As soon as the gas is fired students pick it up and throw it back at the police.

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[38] Because I was not a UCAD student, the search for a ticket for me sometimes became an issue. Also, I was not officially allowed into the restaurant without a UCAD student card, but only once was I not permitted to enter. The restaurant staff was very gracious to me.

Police stand at the entrance to UCAD- near Ave. Cheikh Anta Diop.

Tear gas is wrecking my nose and sinus cavity.

Students are throwing rocks and insulting the mothers of the police officers.

Supporters are on buildings cheering like soccer fans.

Students pass burning newspapers to dispense the tear gas.

They are pretending to be the future leaders of Sénégal

Why have we grown so accustomed to this behavior?

Four months without scholarships and one month no teaching= riot.[39]

Moustapha informs the other students about the March 15th rally, and he asks them to join the march. He explains that non-violence is the only way forward for students and argues that the physical damage to the campus only negatively affects students. In his opinion, the upcoming march will demonstrate to faculty, administration, government officials, and citizens that students take seriously the future of the nation and their role as stewards of government resources.

Because there is not enough space to sit and eat, many students stand around them eating their meals. The plastic chairs, often used for lawn furniture in the United States, are stacked upon one another to offer extra support because they are broken and/or cracked. Students scope out potential seats by looking toward people who appear to be getting ready to leave. This process can cause some conflict as students argue over whose chair is whose. Students line up around the room, often standing near the windows, so they can place their trays on the windowsill rather than attempting to hold the tray and eat at the same time. No one sits on the floor because it is dirty; one either

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[39] Fieldnotes, taken during the student strike, March 10, 2011

stands or sits in a chair. Students typically leave after eating to make space for other students. For Moustapha, leaving quickly and offering a chair to waiting students is an example of doing things the "right way."

After lunch, at 1:00 p.m., Moustapha makes his way back to his room. He takes a rest most days for about an hour, pausing to pray and to have tea with his roommates before heading back to study around 2:00. This rest period is very important to Moustapha, as is the physical training that he will do later in the day. He strives to achieve balance between schoolwork and research, resting, and training his body. Moustapha, along with his roommates, takes advantage of this rest period to drink *attaya*, hot tea, usually served with a sprig of mint and lots of sugar. The younger students in the room oversee the *attaya* preparation while the room reverberates with conversation.

Moustapha and his friends talk about a myriad of topics. Typically, Sénégalese wrestling, similar to Greco-Roman wrestling, politics, student concerns, and soccer dominate these conversations. Today the topic is politics. Moustapha was expressing his concern (even lamenting) that students do not strike for reasons other than money and food. He thinks students should strike for more Internet access and more library books. Improving the quality of academic life should be students' priority, in his opinion. He attributes much of the material problems in Sénégal to poverty and dependence on the government.[40]

One mode of dependence on the government is the student scholarship. Students who are on scholarship receive 36,000 CFA from the government each month. This is

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[40] Fieldnotes, March 9, 2011

equivalent to USD 72, or USD 864 per year. This is a considerable amount of money

for the government to extend to each student in a country where per capita income is

USD 1,850 per year (World Bank, 2011). It is not difficult to understand why so much

of the Sénégalese education budget is spent on higher education when most students are

on scholarship. However, a closer look at Moustapha's budget reveals that USD 72 per

month is enough money to just meet his living expenses, leaving only USD 11, or 5500

CFA, to account for any unexpected expenses. Table 1 shows a typical UCAD student

budget based on discussions with Moustapha and other students.

Table 1: UCAD Student Budget

Expenses	Amount per month
Food	$25
Photocopies	$4
Transportation fees	$10
Accommodation in the pavillon	$3
School supplies	$4
Money sent back to family	$10
Phone credit (cell phone card)	$2
Miscellaneous items (soap, toothpaste)	$3
Total	**$61**
Balance	$11

The discussion about students' dependence on the government quickly turns to

national politics, corruption, and power. One student is arguing that the problems in

Sénégal, especially corruption, can be attributed to political leadership. He stands while

others sit as if he is a professor. He knows a lot about Sénégalese political history and

has an advanced understanding of major Sénégalese issues because he keeps up with

political news. He teaches the other students who do not read the newspaper daily.[41]

Moustapha listens to BBC Africa and RFI, the French radio station, when he has access, so he, too, is well informed about international news. Moustapha checks out of the conversation because he has to prepare materials for his tutoring job. He instructs the students that they must leave the room as the student he tutors is about to arrive.

In order to make extra money, Moustapha has a job as an English tutor. He works between 2:00-3:00 each day with several undergraduate students who are not in the English Department. Today, he is teaching a female economics student vocabulary and the past tense. Together Moustapha and the student agreed that he would be paid 10,000 CFA (~USD 20) for two months of meetings. They meet twice per week. The money he makes from this work is minimal, but it provides something extra outside of the government scholarship. Some students have jobs tutoring other UCAD students or high school students.[42] Other students work outside the university, such as at a casino or with an activist organization. Gaining a job off-campus, however, can be very difficult because it is time intensive and some of the work is not paid. It is also quite difficult to obtain a job without some sort of nepotistic connection.

Today, Moustapha attends a class that begins at 4:00, but he must leave his pavillon at 3:00 to walk to class so that he can, as always, arrive an hour before class to stake his claim to a seat in the crowded amphitheatre. I will attend class with him today and, on the way, Moustapha tells me about the conditions on campus:

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[41] Field notes, March 10, 2011 in non-participating student's room
[42] In a grounded survey conducted with 180 students, only 13 had a job; 10 were teachers, 1 was a driver, and 1 was a hostess at a restaurant during the holidays.

I may say, often the conditions, for instance, one it is very hot. My first year we used to sit on the ground, trying to see the board, and to take some notes and to hear the teacher and often the microphone was not very good and there are some classrooms where there is no microphone. And, I think, [with] this kind of situation, you have to arrive earlier. For instance, you may have class at 9:00 and have to be there at 7:00 to have a seat and have a chance to understand the class.[43]

If Moustapha does not arrive early, he has learned that he will be forced to sit on the ground or a rock, or to stand outside the window and listen from afar, hoping that the microphone in the classroom works.

Discourse #2: The rule on campus is failure, so students must work diligently to find a pathway to success.

The sheer number of students at UCAD drives many students away from attending lectures. Many come their first day, do not find a seat, and leave for good. Moustapha laments these conditions, "It is a really a pity for us, because it is not the best living conditions that we are expecting from the university because standing outside the classroom and following [the instruction], it is not something easy. If you are not motivated, you will never come back."[44] He wants other students to understand the difficulty on campus and to encourage them to work very hard and to stay motivated in order to succeed. Moustapha talks me through what to expect in the class today. Since classes have not been occurring due to the faculty strike, this class is my first at UCAD. The walk takes 10 minutes from the campus pavillon to the amphitheatre, located in the English department. We arrive to find the classroom half-full. We take our seats and place paper and pens on the desk. Moustapha opens his notebook and

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[43] Interview, April 7, 2011
[44] Interview, March 31, 2011

shares with me an experience he had when he had planned to meet with a faculty

member earlier in the week:

> I was at the English Department before 12:00. I had been waiting for [the professor] for 48 minutes; he said that we would meet at 12:00. [The professor] was around but the professors had a meeting, I was later told that he was elected general secretary [of the faculty]. It was too long, I thought: will they end their meeting? I had to go off campus to meet Boubacar. And afterwards, if I had money, go to Amina's wedding. God where will I get money from[I thought]? [The professor] finally came by 2:10. There were many students before me, so I had to wait. I met the [professor] along with another students. [The professor] explained the MLA style and gave some clues as to the general form of the writing paper. We were in [his office] for 20 minutes, and then I left, heading to [a different area in Dakar].[45]

Moustapha implores younger students to continue to be patient and to expect

these sorts of interactions from their UCAD experience. I ask why Moustapha decided

to persevere in spite of the conditions on campus. Moustapha responds, "Because I

believe in what I am doing and I believe that seeing a classroom full of people, it will

not prevent me from doing [what I want], because I want to achieve my goal, because I

want to succeed in my studies, that's all."[46] Moustapha talks me through the three years

of the undergraduate (*license*) program and what he learned each year, recalling his own

experience:

> During my first year, we learned languages such as French, English, and you had to choose another language, it may be national or international. And, about language, you learn grammar. Yes, vocabularies, to prepare yourself for the dissertation examination and to translate from French-English and English-French. And, too, if you succeed at those three things, you will be allowed to do the oral examination. And…they will [distribute] their list from those who succeed the two points: the writing and the oral. During the second year, you have to, for instance, translate from French-English and after that learn about civilizations. Linguistics. Yes. And you will be specialized on your third year. You may choose African, British, or American specialization. Or linguistic.

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[45] Journal entry, June 10, 2011.Quote has been modified to improve flow and make the writing more informative to the reader.
[46] Interview, March 31, 2011

There are people specializing in linguistics. And by this way you will deal with the dissertation too and the oral examination. And, for the fourth year, you will have some books to learn and you will be faced with a jury, an examination about 15 minutes and you will have to give your outline. First of all, choose a topic that is in the envelope. They give you the chance to prepare in a room and they call you one-by-one and you have to present your outline and defend it. This year things will change now that we have the LMD[47], however. [48]

In the classroom where Moustapha and I are sitting, there is a blackboard/chalkboard in the front of the room that has been partially covered by a dry erase board. There are five fans in the room; none of them are working. The breeze from the open doors is nice as it is a hot day—about 85 degrees. There is one blue leather desk chair at the front of the room, on the stage. The room is a true amphitheatre as there is a stage with three steps on either side. The students sit down on benches that have attached desks. At 4:11, there are no spaces left in the room. Students are gathered at the back of the room, in open space. A student is clearing the white board. At 4:15, the professor arrives to about 190 students, 15-20 sitting in the rows and on stones. His class on Tuesdays has 600 students in it. It is very difficult to hear for students seated in the last row as the open doors at the back of the room let in all the outside sounds: students passing by, other classes taking place in adjacent classrooms, and the nearby construction on the new amphitheatre. The professor uses the microphone, but it is difficult to hear what he is saying. The professor explains, "If you don't read, you don't have a space here." He says that "nothing we teach you is new, it is supposed to be known. Instead evaluate, re-evaluate, and assess the issues." On the board he writes

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[47] In the 2010-2011 school year, UCAD adopted a License, Masters, and Doctorate model, wherein the License degree is based on a three year model of classes and examinations, the Masters takes an additional two years, and the doctoral degree a final two years. The model is based on the Bologna Process and the European three-year undergraduate degree.
[48] Interview, April 10, 2011

"political stability" and "establishment of Protestant state." A student enters the room, finds no place to sit, and leaves the room. After five minutes, another student enters the room and leaves after finding all seats are taken. There is so much noise outside that the professor's voice is undetectable except for students in the front of the room. Two more students leave at 4:45.[49]

The professor talks about the House of Hanover and about ideals of freedom. The doors are closed by a student in the last row in order to keep out the noise. The professor exudes, "You should be the master of yourself, if not, it means you belong to someone else. This takes freedom and politics as central. You must have politics that allow for freedom. If sovereigns don't allow you to breathe the fresh air, there is no freedom." William IV, he explains, loved the people and knew them. He didn't visit Hanover and didn't know anything about it. "He was truly English," he argues. Moustapha begins to get warm and sweat as the closed doors have trapped in all the body heat in the room. The professor moves into a discussion of democracy, explaining that in a monarchy, "mono" equals "one", the power of one, but that in democracy the power resides with the people. "The power of one restricts the power of all, it restricts the power of all. The entire nation is restricted." There are no laptops in the room, and a couple of students are tape recording the lecture and some take written notes. The professor references Orwell while discussing voting. He says that "not all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others." Another student arrives. The professor then turns to Sénégal and addresses democracy in the nation: "We all come from countries of freedom, democracy, but see what happens on call-in radios." He

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[49] Classroom observation, April 26, 2011

gives an example of the government's attempt to restrict and control content of the wax

sa xalat (a call-in radio show), which was forced to stand up to government so that its

content would not be censored. The professor ends with this discussion and dismisses

the class. Several students stay after class to ask questions of the professor, but

Moustapha and I leave the room to walk back to the pavillon.

By the time Moustapha arrives at the pavillon, the time is 5:45 p.m., and

Moustapha prepares himself to go to the beach. As is the case with most other UCAD

males, and some females, Moustapha will go to the beach at Fann, located just outside

the gates of the university. This beach is always crowded with groups of people

working out. The workout culture in Sénégal has grown immensely in the past ten

years. Wrestling, in particular, has spawned a new generation of workout enthusiasts,

many of them hoping to be the next big wrestling star in this wrestling-obsessed

country. The beach is literally covered in bodies doing sit-ups, pushups, and running on

the beach. The exercises are led by a muscular man who chants orders at a large group

of middle-aged adults. Students from UCAD work out in groups. Prayers are

simultaneously taking place as the waves roll in, and the Corniche, the primary road

along the coastline, is buzzing with car traffic. Dakar is alive tonight as it is every

night.[50]

The workout takes place at sunset and lasts for an hour. Covered from head to

toe in sand, Moustapha wrestles with his friends after working out, and they grapple,

knocking legs, and holding each other's head with their hands. The interaction is very

physical, ending with one person being slammed into the sand. Moustapha is quite

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[50] Field notes, March 8, 2011

strong and often wins. Training has become an important part of UCAD students' lives

not only to gain strength but also to take a break from the overcrowded rooms and the

stress of preparing for examinations without classes. Most students work out just before

the sun is setting and they watch it set over the Atlantic coast, a marvelous site. This

setting gives Moustapha space to think about nonviolence and preparations for peaceful

march on March 15, 2011. Training serves as a metaphor for Moustapha and other

members of the Collective, who not only train their bodies to be physically fit, but also

train their minds and spirits to focus on the future of the nation and coming up with

solutions to Sénégal's most pressing problems.

Discourse #3: Higher education is a training ground for becoming a future leader.

The upcoming march, tomorrow, is for these students one of the first outward

signs of this training. Taking a non-violent approach is necessary because students no

longer want to put their bodies in danger to ask of their government that which they

have been promised. As a student, Moustapha realizes his privilege and his influence on

the nation, particularly when students act *en masse*. This march is a signal that a new

kind of activism is beginning. It is a symbol to the nation that students are prepared to

use their minds and not their bodies to move the nation forward.

In a conversation with Moustapha, he explains how he views his involvement in

the Collective as a kind of training for future leadership: "So, this is where it starts, so

this is why I'm [involved in] [The Collective] of UCAD, and in the future no one knows

what I am going to be, but I would like to get my training in these groups so that I will

be ready to face any kind of obstacle in my future life, as it is in the government or

anywhere."[51] In a similar way, he views the march as a chance to represent students more favorably and to advocate on behalf of students. He sees the march as a way to ask the administration to stop the strike so that the year will remain valid; to [stand] up so as to go and represent students.

A new type of leadership in Sénégal is the ultimate goal of the Collective. Moustapha explains to his friends as they walk back to the pavillon from the beach:

> The students I know who are involved with [the Collective] are trying to give birth to a new type of student and a new type of student protest and a new type of way for students to stand up for themselves, which is based on nonviolence. It is based on getting rid of injustice, and it sort of comes out of a nonviolent ideology to protest and for standing up for yourself.[52]

Moustapha goes on to say that the end goal of the march is justice: Students want to study and they are not able to because of the strike. Moustapha stops the students and begins to speak with more passion and authority. As if instructing a classroom, he elaborates:

> We want justice, we want what is right in order to succeed because [the current leaders] have already [faced] it. It's our turn now to be in the right way to get what we want. What we want is knowledge, but we cannot acquire it without learning. If we stay here, just go to the restaurant, just workout, go to the restaurant, discussing with friends, we won't achieve our goal, that's the reason why we often [think about a new activism]. That through our study we have seen a lot of example of a lot of kinds of manifestations that those [nonviolent] characters used to do in the past in order to obtain what they want. [53]

> And, last year, we decided that we're claiming to be intellectuals, we have a mind, a possibility to set out good ideas. Why not try to adopt a nonviolent way instead of destroying our own property? Because what we are destroying. the property, it belongs to us. If we destroy a chair, or if we destroy a door, next time we'll come and we'll want to have class and we won't have where to sit. And, we decided why not try to adopt another kind of student and it was where we decided to call the Collective a nonviolent group because we want to show

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[51] Interview, April 28, 2011
[52] Interview, April 14, 2011
[53] Interview, April 14, 2011

the authorities that another kind of students is now born, a nonviolent student, okay.[54]

 Everything that we are going to do will be nonviolent things, we are no longer going to destroy our own properties, we are no longer going to beat between ourselves, we are no longer going to "kill" each other because we are friends, we are students, we are the future leaders of this country. And, if you hurt your brother, or kill or wound one of your brothers, next time you will see him and you will be ashamed because he has an injury or you have wounded him and now he is no longer up to do things as he was doing it. That's the reason why we adopted the nonviolent way and try to express ourselves in a nonviolent way. And, since last year, we have noticed a kind of changing of things, because the authorities, most of them have noticed that [The Collective], if we help [other students], they will try to change a lot of minds of their friends. Because the first leaders, they were only, even the way they were expressing themselves, were in a violent way. Now we use nonviolent strategies to sensitize [other students], to tell them that violence is nothing because violence breeds violence. I you use violence to solve things you are no longer going to have what you want. Maybe you will get what you want but you won't get it as you want it. But if you use a nonviolent way, you will have what you want, and you won't have to destroy things, or to burn things to get it. That's the reason why we have adapted that kind of fighting.[55]

Moustapha discusses the difference between nonviolent and violent forms of activism, and, in the end, explains that the goal is that Sénégalese citizens will see a new kind of student and realize that many students are committed to their studies and to future leadership of the country. Walking back to the campus around 7:00 p.m., Moustapha and his friends walk past 20-30 students who are studying in the walkways and hallways of UCAD II. Moustapha points this out to his friends and expresses his discontent with the framing of students as lazy. Classes are not in session and yet students continue to revise.

Back at the restaurant for dinner, Moustapha and his friends arrive at 7:15 p.m. to find a long line winding around the building in each direction. Tired from the long

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[54] Interview, April 14, 2011
[55] Interview, April 14, 2011

day, they decide not to eat at the restaurant and instead go to shower and then get food later from one of the vendors on campus. Moustapha returns to his room to find all his roommates huddled around a computer watching a soccer match, Arsenal vs. Liverpool. They are all great soccer fans and keep up with the English Premier League as if it took place in Sénégal. Moustapha watches for 30 minutes and then takes a shower. The lines are non-existent at this time of night compared to the showering queue in the morning. He finishes his shower at 8:00 p.m., changes clothes, and goes to the vendor outside of his pavillon to order a hamburger. The hamburger is 500 CFA (USD 1), but he is willing to spend this amount of money today since he worked out and had a long day of research, classes, and tutoring. He waits 10 minutes for the burger then eats it once he returns to his room. The burger is high in calories and protein, comprised of a meat patty, usually lamb, and an egg, topped with fries, ketchup, and a bun.

Moustapha returns to his room for the night. It is now 8:30 p.m., and he decides to watch a movie on his laptop with his roommates. They choose *High School Musical*, and, since he knows most of the words, Moustapha sings along. At 10:30 p.m., he goes outside the pavillon to try to access the Internet. Moustapha is able to access a wireless network via his cell phone, but he wants to do more research before he goes to bed at 11:30 p.m. He walks to pavillon D, very close to his pavillon, where there is a wi-fi connection. He finds an available rock on which to sit and creates space among the 15 other students trying to access the wireless connection. He tries for 15 minutes before giving up. The connection rarely works, if ever.

Moustapha returns to his room and takes advantage of the quiet time to study. He reads books and articles that he has downloaded to his laptop at WARC earlier in the

day. Many students prefer to study outside of their rooms because the space is so
limited inside the room, but Moustapha has an ability to block out the distractions
around him and focus on the task at hand. Another of Moustapha's roommates is
particularly good at this, focusing on his reading while six students argue about the
results of the soccer match within two feet of him for up to 30 minutes.

Moustapha and his roommates engage in more prayers before bed, and they go
to bed at the same time because no one has a headlamp or an individual light to allow
them and read after the lights are turned off. Moustapha and his roommates are all tired
by 11:00 or 11:30 p.m. anyway, and there is a big day ahead. Students are hopeful that
the faculty strike will end and that their scholarships will be paid tomorrow. Moustapha
is excited about the march tomorrow, and he wants to get plenty of sleep because
students are meeting at 9:00 a.m. Turning out the light in the room, Moustapha returns
to the floor where he began the day.

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide insights into the daily, lived
experience of UCAD students through the story of one English student and the common
events in the lives of the 10 students in this study. Each student's story, unique in its
own way, congealed with the others to illuminate a range of discourses and social
structures that students must navigate while enrolled at the university.

The three primary discourses highlighted in the chapter are as follows:

- *Discourse #1: The educated person does things the "right" way by taking seriously expectations and setting a good example.*

- *Discourse #2: The rule on campus is failure, so students must work diligently to find a pathway to success.*

- *Discourse #3: Higher education is a training ground for becoming a future leader.*

Each of the discourses is interrelated with the others and fits within the metanarative that the university is a microcosm of Sénégalese society. For instance, Discourse #1 and the construction of the educated person is greatly informed by what it means to be a future leader of a nation that is highly dependent on the World Bank and other international institutions for the provision of resources. Likewise, the process of becoming educated on a campus where the conditions are difficult reinforces the notion that the university is a training ground for the future leaders of the nation.

Discourse #1 was evident in students' frequent references to doing things the "right way" or "being serious." For example, while I was looking for a permanent place to stay, I had a meeting with the Director of COUD. We had scheduled to meet at 9:00 a.m., and Tapha went to the meeting with me. The director finally arrived around 1:00 p.m., and Tapha told me he "is not serious" because of his excessive tardiness. I included this phrase in my interviews with students, and each time a similar answer was given to its meaning: The way that students act, dress, interact with one another all reflect an expectation that an educated person acts in a way that is efficient, mindful of time (appointments, etc.), and is respectful of others. Moreover, in each interview students gave examples of ways that they are expected to set an example for their younger brothers, sisters, classmates, nieces, nephews, etc. as educated people. Each of the students involved in this study was very serious about this obligation to society,

thereby illustrating the overarching theme in this chapter that life on campus reflects the process of preparing oneself to participate in the contested terrain of Sénégalese society.

Discourse #2 circulated widely at UCAD, where the conditions of daily life are stark. Many students, when they found out about my study, approached me to tell me their stories of difficulty at the university. Their stories included their views about the great number of students in the English department, and FLSH more generally, the overcrowding in the campus, the dependence of students on the government, and the inability to fully control one's intellectual and professional future. These issues were very apparent to UCAD students and to me, as the reality of living with eight other students in a room created for two made these hardships very real. The ways this discourse gets appropriated by students in the context of protest and activism will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

The final discourse that emerged in this study concerned students as future leaders. Varying definitions of leadership were employed to discuss a student's role in society, such as overseeing younger students as an elder and serving younger students as a source of knowledge for understanding the political landscape. Members of student organizations often spoke about being a future leader, as when Moustapha reference student leadership positions as a source of training for being involved in political or other organizations later in life. In addition, students were told that they are future leaders in the classroom, in their homes, and in their residence halls as they reinforce notions of intellectual leadership with one another; this reinforcement is most identifiable in the Collective and ideological underpinning. Students also self-

reinforced these notions of leadership, even using leadership as a coping mechanism for tolerating the hardships of everyday life because of its putative training as leaders.

Several social elements were also highlighted including the following: Morality, community on campus, classroom dynamics, life in the residence hall, student organization and activism, politics on campus, Internet usage and elder-younger instruction. These structures set up the social fabric of the campus through which these discourses become negotiated and parallel significantly with social structures in Sénégalese society. For instance, several students recalled the hardship of growing up poor and seeking education as a refuge from poverty. The classroom at UCAD continues to provide this space of "escape" from the realities of the difficulties on campus and parallel the "education-as-panacea" discourse that abounds globally.

This chapter has provided a backdrop for the discussion of representation, activism, and agency in Chapter Five. It is evident from the narrative presented here that students, at least some of them at UCAD, are intentionally re-presenting themselves as a way to redefine the privileged position as future leaders of the nation. The UCAD students involved in this study displayed deep understanding of representation and its effects on their lives. Furthermore, it is evident that students view activism as a medium for advocacy but also as the site of this re-presentation. The political arena dominates Sénégalese society, and this new model of non-violent activism has the potential to greatly affect the way that Sénégal functions as a democracy as these students are promoted into political and religious appointments. Lastly, this chapter has provided the groundwork for further analysis of individual and collective agency in

Chapter Five. The way that students negotiate the discourses highlighted in this chapter

will reveal much about the individual and collective notions of agency at UCAD.

CHAPTER FIVE

FILLING IN THE GAPS: STUDENT AGENCY, CONFRONTING REPRESENTATION, AND REFRAMING ACTIVISM

I just observed a Masters I class that was overflowing with students. Approximately 450 students crammed into the ~ 300-seat amphitheatre, filling the aisles. At his request, I joined the professor on the elevated stage to observe the class, an island in an ocean of students. One of the students approached me after the class and explained to me the difficulty he has encountered on campus. He said, "Yeah, it's really difficult to study here because of the conditions and that is why everyone wants to go to America because your universities are so different". I am always struggling with how to respond to students' notions that universities in the West are superior when they ask me, "How does your university compare to UCAD?" The major difference, in my opinion, is student support. At UCAD, I think one of the main issues is that a lot of the systems do not function well or they are really difficult to navigate and require a lot of student agency, or student commitment to making the system work, and it becomes very student-driven. And, this is something that I have struggled with, in wondering if the amount of student action and the expectation of student agency, on campus is actually one of the primary reasons that the conditions at UCAD continue to be as poor as they are. It is possible that the administration and policymakers have no impetus for making structural or organizational changes because students continue to make [the systems] work. In other words, students continue to fill in the gaps that UCAD has left for the, which is sort of this catch-22, I think, where the expectation is that students will fill in these gaps, but when they continue to fill them it gives the university no reason to make improvements. It gives the government no reason to spend extra money amidst limited resources to improve the conditions at UCAD. Furthermore, when students strike, or protest (a common practice in Sénégal when groups advocate for their needs), in the name of improvement, they are represented negatively in the media and this representation circulates throughout the nation. The government then doesn't act to improve the conditions, student continue to face difficulty and physical conditions worsen.
    (Personal Reflection/field notes following a classroom observation, April 27, 2011)

The epigraph above highlights the experience of students at UCAD as they find

themselves between the proverbial rock of deteriorating material and ideological

conditions and the hard place of misrepresentation when they attempt to advocate for

themselves in a volatile political environment. As this chapter will show, students are

not only aware of their negative representation as African university students in

Sénégal, and as youth around the world, but many of them are actively attempting to confront this negative representation. Concurrently, students in FLSH are reframing activism in terms of nonviolence, with the potential of improving their representation throughout the nation as the primary message sent to the Sénégalese public is that students are protesting violently for their scholarships. Collectively, these actions are intentional attempts to improve life on campus and to prepare students to become national leaders who use negotiation, rather than violence, to advocate for their needs.

In this dissertation, agency has been defined as one's ability to recognize and act upon multiple subject positions within a given context and to choose if and how socio-cultural practices determine identity and action. In the context of this study, there are two important pieces of this definition: 1) How students negotiate their position in society including issues of representation, identity and discourse; and 2) How students negotiate socio-cultural practices on campus (including politics on campus and activism). The purpose of this chapter is to address student agency by exploring how students confront the three discourses highlighted in Chapter Four—the educated person sets an example, the rule on campus is failure, and the university is a time for leadership training— to show that students conceptualize agency in a productive way to address difficulties on campus within an environment that lacks proper services and systems.

Politics of representation and identity underpin each of the sections in this chapter. The way students are represented and the way they present themselves is important because (mis)representation contributes to the continual cycle of difficulty on campus. Students are aware of their representation, and they are intentionally working to disrupt the negative image of university students. This endeavor not only has

potential outcomes for higher education but also for national development in Sénégal because the type of leadership emerging is focused on national and community development.

Chapter Four zoomed in on the day-to-day experiences of students in an effort to highlight the discourses and provide insight into the student experience on campus, but in this chapter, I will zoom out to analyze the student experience from the viewpoint of agency using the six themes discussed in Chapter Three: the educated person, the economics of the student experience, political engagement, UCAD as a "mini-Sénégal", resistance and imagined futures. This chapter will begin with an exposition of the way the conditions at UCAD drive discourses of failure, highlighting discourse #2 and showing how the manifestations of this discourse affect students before they arrive on campus, as well as the way that students negotiate the discourse once enrolled at UCAD. In the second section, I will discuss collective and individual agency on campus. I will show how students discursively critique the rule of failure and fill in gaps provided by a lack of institutional support to form pathways of success, in line with the educated person, discourse #1. Activism will then be explored to examine how agency works to create a new form of nonviolent advocacy, with an analysis of how students are taking seriously leadership training on campus to address discourse #3. A discussion of agency will follow, providing an analysis of the data presented in this chapter.

Politics of education and the "rule of failure"

The focus of this section is how students negotiate the "rule of failure" discourse that pervades university life, and education more broadly, in Sénégal. Multiple agendas, from the admissions and registration offices to individual faculty members, conflict on campus and create an environment that requires a great deal of student agency and initiative to succeed. These conflicting agendas, or, the 'politics of education', reflect the similar "rule of failure" in Sénégalese social life and the 'politics of citizenship' in the country.

The sense that an unwritten rule of failure exists at UCAD was pervasive among the student body. As one student told to me: "I will tell you an anecdote. When I first came [to the university], someone told me here in the university, the rule is failure. The exception is success." (Interview, April 7, 2011). This "rule" is evident in the fact that thousands of students fail out of UCAD each year because they do not pass their year-end examinations, making failure, not success, at the university the norm.[56] However, the students who are accepted at UCAD have already succeeded in the educational system far more than the average Sénégalese because only 3.5% of the population proceeds to tertiary education.

The rule of failure is reproduced throughout life at UCAD, not only in the examination system. In classrooms, in the restaurant, and in residence halls throughout the campus, students fail to find adequate space for learning, eating, and sleeping, respectively, due to pervasive overcrowding. Students are too numerous for the existing

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[56] The yearly number of students who fail or discontinue their studies could not be obtained. However, students commented that out of 3000 students sitting for an exam, only 300-500 succeed and move to the next level. There are two exam periods- one in May-June and one in October. If students do not pass their exams for two cycles of July and October exams, they are no longer admitted to the university. Using this model, for a two-year period, between 1200-2000 students would be admitted out of 3000. The remaining 1000 would no longer be admitted at UCAD.

infrastructure at UCAD, so classrooms swell, restaurants deteriorate, and dorm rooms burst at their concrete seams. The administration manages this overcrowding not by expanding this infrastructure or limiting enrollment but rather by setting quotas on the number of students who are allowed to advance to higher levels of study. In other words, rather than designating strict quotas for admission, matriculation is limited by failure at each level of the university.

The imagined prestige of attending university is often quickly dispelled by the first year difficulties, including being unsure of how to read the timetable, dealing with overcrowded classrooms, finding a room in which to sleep, and figuring out the scholarship system. These problems are compounded by separation from home and community for students outside of Dakar and financial difficulties, making it difficult for new students to succeed. Also, Dakar, compared to other parts of the country, is noticeably more metropolitan and less communal, as Rokhaya explains: "Here in Dakar, life is different, I may use in quotations, from other regions. The spirit of hospitality and solidarity, it lacks in this town" (Interview, April 7, 2011).

In fact, difficulties begin before students arrive on campus that may further incline students toward failure. Students are required to travel to Dakar to find out if they are admitted at UCAD and to register for courses. This occurs in the summer before the school year officially begins in October with classes beginning in January. Transportation costs and difficulties with the course registration process mean that students are faced with the systemic difficulties at UCAD before they step one foot on campus. If a student is unable to travel to Dakar to find his/her name on the bulletin

board where admitted students names are posted, it is necessary to contact a friend in

Dakar to check the board and report back about the admission decision.

Once on campus, the transition from high school to university can be daunting

for new students. Although this is common the world over, the overcrowding and lack

of any formal student orientation program at UCAD makes this transition even more

difficult. Amadou describes the challenges faced once students arrive on campus:

> When you are in high school, sometimes, you think when you get your bac
> (baccalaureate) you feel 'a little adult', [thinking], 'now I will go to the
> university'. It's not the case, once [students] come here. In high school, you
> have your own chair, you come at 8:00 or 9:00 and find your own chair there
> and the number of the class is limited. At university, it is not the case. If you do
> not come earlier, you will not have a place. Sometimes, the way you are learning
> in high school is very different. The first expectation is to see if your name is
> listed [for university registration], because you know there is nobody who will
> show the way to tell you if your name is out or not, where to pay the money,
> where they stick the bills, because where they put the names out, where you pay
> the money, and where you all enroll is totally different (Interview, April 1,
> 2011)

The transition to university life is especially difficult for students who are not

from Dakar. Ndèye B., who is from the Casamance region south of the Gambian border

(a 14-hour car/ferry trip one-way), had never traveled to Dakar prior to enrolling at

UCAD. She explained:

> When I left my home to come to Dakar, I did know that my life was about to
> change. It was the first time I have travelled alone and, I was physically
> separated from my family to live in a new one. What was awaiting me, I did not
> have any idea but I knew I would trust and I had an aim: succeeding. When
> things started being hard in my sophomore year, I was not ready to face that
> situation, I was not expecting it, I ignored that kind of life and that was really a
> nightmare I will never forget. (Journal entry, June 2, 2011)

Although Ndèye was succeeding in school when I met her, this is not the case

for many others. The rule of failure, most students feel, is a direct result of the political

economy and the politicization of university life in Sénégal. President Wade—and his

ruling party— were unwilling to limit admission to students for fear of political

backlash in the form of voting for a minority party. They knew that young people value

"access" to the university and believe the education should be free. These competing

ideas about access and success to higher education contribute to educational policies of

bricolage, "the improvisational rigging together of pieces and parts of policies and

programs, a process of tinkering towards solutions" (Max, 2009, p. 42). Rather than

limiting admissions and risking political failure, the government allowed universities to

admit far more students than they could handle. Yet this policy appears to be backfiring

because students attribute mass failure to overcrowding, and the overcrowding is

attributed to the government. In particular, students see the lack of government foresight

and planning as a major reason for overcrowding, as Abel explained:

> We say in French *gouvernement, c'est pouvoir* (Government is power).
> Governing is foreseeing. For example, if you have a population, say of 10
> million, and you are governing these people, you have to bear in your mind, that
> in 10 years or in 20 years, this community may double. You have to put this into
> your mind to work in this way. But, I think that it's not the way in Sénégal.
> Because I'm telling you when I first came here at the university, it was very,
> very hard. I have not a room, I was shuttling from Rufisque (a suburb of Dakar,
> 30-minute bus ride from campus) to the university and if I came, I stayed
> outside to attend the class. You have no place, no seat in the class to have class,
> so it is very difficult. And, also the fact that numerous students affect life on
> campus, you understand what I mean? And, the administration, I mean, the
> COUD, administration, used to give, for example, a room, a small room to two
> students, two students used to lodge or accommodate one room and each student
> also accommodated his friend. [The change] is due to the politics of the
> government. The government did not mention that the life at the university will
> change. So, the life at the university is somehow difficult, very difficult as I told
> you a while back. The rooms are overcrowded, we have problems to go to the
> restaurant, and we have problems to get books. It is very hard. (Interview, April
> 8, 2011)

In a later interview, Abel used a cooking analogy to explain that "things go from pan to fire", rather than progressing, first, from turning on a fire to then placing a pan atop its flame (Interview, April 22, 2011). He was pointing out that rather than things becoming better on campus, that conditions have worsened over the past 15-20 years because of the lack of planning that has led to intense overcrowding. He and the other students interviewed were aware that the conditions on campus have regressed and that students in earlier years did not deal with the level of difficulty on campus with which these students deal on a daily basis.

The rule of failure is further reinforced by the culture of striking by students and faculty. As noted in Chapter Four, strikes are the most immediate way for students to force the government to act, and yet strikes, like the faculty strike, also greatly impact the educational experience at UCAD and students' likelihood of success on exams when the number of hours of instruction is drastically cut. While the pursuit of the improvements sought by the faculty during their early 2011 strike did not involve students, students were nonetheless affected by of the reduction in classroom time. Students were forced to deal with shortened and cancelled class periods, and, for 2011, they had less than two months of classroom instruction to prepare for their exams.

In addition to dealing with overcrowding and limited instruction due to strikes, families expect great things of their university students, often working multiple jobs or borrowing money from friends to make university education a reality. These expectations of fulfilling a return on investment in the form of a diploma add to the stress of the student experience and may lead some students to quit school in their first

year or two at UCAD rather than risk failure at the end of three years. For other

students, these expectations are experienced as a burden, as Ami explains:

> Yes, [my family] sees me as the future chairperson of the family. You know it is
> a very hard burden upon me. I am doing my best not to discourage them. I am
> doing my best to become someone. That is why at the time I am learning, I am
> doing what I need to do to become what they want me to become one day
> (Interview, April 14, 2011)

Family burdens and expectations seem to compound students' sense of

disappointment because failure is experienced as a collective (familial) as well as a

personal shortcoming. These disappointments range from not passing an exam to

receiving a rejection letter from a university overseas. When these problems arise,

students are forced to reconsider their future and to determine if education is worth the

price of private admission to a training institute or they are forced to pursue

employment outside of education-required fields. As regional universities are developed

by the Sénégalese government, access to education outside of UCAD and Gaston

Berger in Saint Louis are increasing throughout the country.

Students disappointment has been fostered by not only failing to achieve

academically, but it also resulted from not receiving scholarships on time

(disappointment in the government or university) or losing a loved one, a common

experience for students in a country with a high mortality rate. These difficult

experiences shape the lives of students on campus; therefore, learning to cope with

difficulty and disappointment is one of the major strategies for success. As Ndèye B.

explains:

> I am now used to positively view my hard experiences in life by acknowledging
> that nothing is easy but everything is possible and, the most important is what

you are aiming at. I believe that faith and determination are the best weapons. (Journal entry, April 2, 2011)

For students, success at the university in the face of these "hard experiences" builds character, and it would produce a sense of agency and self-efficacy that contributes to students' hopes for a better future. As Ndèye B. wrote in her journal:

> I always say to myself that all of this is detail, the most important is my aim, and what I get from any hard moment: tolerance, patience, sensitivity, friendship, modesty, integrity, constancy in my character and justice. My wish to work for human rights, education and culture partly comes from my life in Dakar. (Journal entry, June 2, 2011)

Each of the students in this study is one of the few who has broken the rule of failure and has shown that it is possible to overcome multiple difficulties and succeed in school. This theme was common across student interviews, with a pervasive idea that "if you can make it on the campus, you can make it anywhere" (Interview, April 22, 2011).

The way many students make it on campus is by uniting through student organizations, ranging from *amicales* to political organizations. Ndèye S. calls this organizing "communitarization" and underscores not only the positive benefits of organizing to make life better on campus but also the potential for these groups to be co-opted by political organizations:

> [When working on a project] we interviewed a professor who told us that this communitarization is a way for students to solve the problems the university cannot solve, if I can put it like this. Like, they should be given proper means to study. They should be given tickets to lunch, and so on. Well, these organizations, at least, do solve many problems, like renting, they provide students with tickets and so on. Well, and these [groups] are sometimes instrumentalized by politicians. (Interview, April 14, 2011)

Ndeye's point about politicians suggests that, at times, students become the instruments of politicians and they are forced to act on political motives rather than focus on their academic success. Navigating the politicization on campus, the result of limited resources, can be very tricky for new students and they are forced to rely on upperclassmen for information as little information is provided from the university administration. Students who have access to resources, like Ndèye S., have fewer problems on campus because they are able to meet their needs without expecting action from the government. For other students, the benefits of becoming involved in a student organization (political or otherwise) —restaurant tickets, money, networking opportunities—are too difficult to turn down.

Student organizations on UCAD's campus are political bodies, reflecting the notion that "politics is everywhere on campus" (Interview, April 7, 2011). Many of the regional *amicales*, for instance, are connected with regional authorities who provide money for cultural events, tickets for students in need, and even lofts for students while they search for permanent housing on campus. The leaders of the *amicales* have access to political leaders in their regions and vice versa, the regional politicians have access to students on campus; this goes for political and social organizations on campus as well. Because the number of students is so large at UCAD, the organizations risk being used to achieve political ends that often become the focus of students' university experiences overshadowing the educational experience. The same nepotism and corruption that students critique in the government can be found within these organizations because the rewards can be so lucrative for supporting political causes. Put another way, the 'politics of citizenship' are reflected on UCAD's campus through the dominance of the

communitarization on campus, the necessity to find ways to solve problems outside of

the administrative structures, and the challenges arising from limited resources.

Limited resources on- and off-campus create this political environment which

students are forced to negotiate in their transition from high school to university in order

to succeed at university. Even when resources are available, the resources are often

misused. For instance, one student told me about disappearing funds during the past five

years when there was no representative for FLSH students:

> For example, if we have a scholarship which amounts to 36,000/month, the
> social scholarship amounts to 25,000 per month. Then the Collective fought for
> [the money] for students who didn't have a scholarship, much of them
> [received] it. What is to be noticed is that past year before the gaining of the
> social scholarships, no one said anything about that social scholarship. So, it was
> kept somewhere or given to students outside the faculty of arts. (Interview, April
> 5, 2011)

As an extreme example, one student concluded that the political communitarization on

campus is so successful and the academic administration such a failure that "the campus

has changed— it is no longer going to be the place where students are going to get

knowledge, but a place where students are going to get money" (Interview, April 5,

2011).

The more organized sites of student advocacy are the student organizations,

where students acquire knowledge, find resources, and learn the "tools" to succeeding at

UCAD. Many students, however, are disillusioned by the political process and choose

different types of organizing, and the "educated persons" discourse—Discourse #1 from

Chapter Four—drives much of this resistance to political participation. In the next

section, I will explore student agency at UCAD to show how students negotiate the

politics of education and overcome the "rule of failure".

Agency and the politics of education

In this section, I argue that students identify as Sénégalese intellectuals and frame their responsibilities as intellectuals in terms of moral leadership and social justice advocacy. This re-presentation of students-as-future-leaders highlights how students act upon their agency. The educated person discourse suggests that those who are educated distinguish themselves by the way they interact with and lead others. This discourse serves as the motivation for reframing political participation, it shapes students' definitions of success, and it frames students' ideas about national development. The educated person discourse not only affects students' views about their roles as educated persons, but it also shapes their actions.

As highlighted in Chapter One, students at UCAD are frequently vilified for their activism and represented as lazy and irresponsible by the media. In this section, I will examine how students understand these representations, their multiple positions in society, and the ways they confront this representation. Additionally, I will explore how students "occupy" the space provided as educated persons and how this shapes their political participation and views of national development. I argue that students are actively engaging in the politics of becoming educated persons by reframing success in personal and non-corporatist terms.

Student (Mis)Representation

The metanarrative crafted by the Sénégalese media and proliferating around the country is that students are non-academic, irresponsible, and violently immature. Since the late 1990s, there has been a pronounced shift in the way university students are

talked about in the media and viewed within society as well as a distinction in the way

that students talk about themselves. In the 1960s and 1970s, students were highly

regarded because of their education and they retained an elite status. As shown in

Chapter One, since the early 2000s, however, this has changed so that today students

are depicted as violent, undisciplined, and, due to strikes for their scholarships, greedy.

Whether intentional or not, this representation leads to a political and ideological

result that relegates students to a "youth" category, infantilizing them as a group in need

of discipline like unruly children or it frames them as a group to be feared because of

their violent actions and ability to mass mobilize. Students at UCAD are very aware of

their representation in the nation, often citing comments made on city buses or

telephone calls from family members in villages begging them not to participate in

violence, and they are discouraged by the public discourse surrounding their lives as

students as they feel that a handful of unruly students create problems for the majority. I

analyzed policy documents, newspaper articles, and student publications to get a sense

of the way students are represented, and I address this representation below (as well as

in Chapter One). However, I did not engage in the analysis of representation in order to

"prove" that students are represented in a particular way. When I asked each student in

this study about media representation and how the average Sénégalese citizen views a

university student, the answers given were exactly the same. The convergence around

the idea that students are violent, impolite, and undisciplined led me to believe that

regardless of the media attention given student representation, students "feel" their

representation in very real ways, especially when interacting with police officers off

campus, talking with people in their villages, and calming worried parents who fear for

their safety on the UCAD campus. The accounts of student representation provided by

students coupled with the media analysis distinctly contrasted with my observations of

these students and their personal beliefs about what it means to be a student in Sénégal.

The examples below show how these representations compare and contrast with my

observations.

<div align="center">Representation of students as non-academic</div>

> Well, already, from the point of view of many people in Sénégal, with the
> strikes and all these problems, all they see of the Sénégalese students [at] UCAD
> is that [students] are always on strike, that they are demonstrating and so on.
> They don't see that [students] are working [academically] at all. Others may
> know what is going on [at the university], but, for example, when you go on the
> university website, you don't see actually the life, the scholarly life of the
> university. There is sort of institutional information but nothing relevant to the
> students themselves. And, maybe, many people don't figure out that there are
> serious studies there; that people study up to their PhD and so on. (Interview,
> April 14, 2011)

This non-academic representation does not necessarily disrespect student intelligence,

but it, instead, frames students as lazy. As noted in Chapter One, World Bank policies

have referred to students in non-academic terms and stated that students are more

interested in social elements offered by the university. In a World University News—

"the global window on higher education" and the most comprehensive newspaper in

terms of reporting on higher education internally—May 10, 2011 report "From 'brick' to

'click' universities" addressing World Bank plans for Sénégalese higher education, one

university professor, Diaw Diouf reportedly, "agreed [with the World Bank report] that

spending on social benefits was very high and students enrolled not to study but for the

grants". He went on to say that "every year we are taken hostage by the students",

referring to the number of students the university is 'forced' to enroll (para. 4-5).

Researcher observation: Academic perseverance on campus

The faculty are still on strike but the student continue to "revise", or study. Its 19:00 and there are ~50 students walking the halls and studying at UCAD II [a sub-section of the faculté], yet there haven't been any classes this year and the campus is buzzing with fears of an *année invalide*. What strikes me is that students continue to study without protesting and almost two and a half months have passed without a single course. They could go back to their homes. They could be hanging out with friends. They could be playing sports, but they're studying, waiting for classes to begin again. (Field notes, March 9, 2011)

[Note: Four days later, students clashed with police to receive their scholarships; Six days later the Collective led the march on the faculty and classes resumed in mid-April]

What we want is knowledge, and we cannot acquire it without learning. If we stay here, just go to the restaurant, just workout, discuss with friends, we won't achieve our goal, that's the reason why we often do that kind of thing. (Interview, April 14, 2011)

In the midst of a volatile time on campus, when scholarships had not been paid in months, when classes had yet to resume for the year, with the approaching *année invalide*, students continued to study. In each of the rooms where I lived during my stay on campus, students studied every day. I asked an economics student why he continued to study the same notes over and over again. He responded that he had "nothing else to study until the classes resumed". I observed informal groups of English students meeting to talk through the books assigned for the year, the English Club led grammar and translation workshops, and students tutored one another. My observations and conversations with students indicate that students are disappointed that their academic goals continue to be compromised due to the politicization of campus life that often results in strikes.

Representation as impolite/violent

> In the past year, if you go out and you say I am a student, [non-students] will say that the Sénégalese student, in particular, the UCAD students are impolite, the only thing they know is [to go] on strike, stop the traffic, fight with the policemen, throw stones, something like that. The main idea they have upon the UCAD student is impoliteness. (Interview, April 14, 2011)

Along with the representation as lazy or non-academic, the violence label is often applied to students. In the World University News, nine of its 25 articles on Sénégal refer to students in violent terms. Article headlines such as "Violent clashes between students and special forces" in the World University News and "Still awaiting scholarships, students sack two Dakar Dem Dikk buses" further this representation.

Researcher observation: Student solidarity and community

> [UCAD] is a good community. It's like your hometown where you were born, you have some friends here. Once you come here you will have new friends, [and] it won't be long before you have friends and help each other. It is a Sénégalese philosophy, if there is someone to help you, [s/he] will. This is a great community. (Interview, April 5, 2011)

> Students often use the phrase "we are together" to refer to the bond between friends. When a student does not have tickets to the restaurant, for example, students offer him/her a ticket without questions, and often follow with "no matter, we are together". This togetherness and sense of community allows poor students access to non-monetary resources on campus. (Field notes, March 18, 2011)

Oumar's thinking about community is quite common at UCAD as there is an underlying sense of community that creates a "safety net" for all students. In this sense, students "look out" for one another, and they went out of their way to make me feel at home on campus. In each classroom that I entered, students gave up their seats for me (requiring them to sit on a rock or on the floor). This sense of community stands out against the representation of students as violent and impolite.

The students in this study were very kind to me, concerned with succeeding at the university, and focused on creating lasting connections on campus; however, the representation of students has severely diminished in the past ten years due to small numbers of students who violently protest, as one professor explained:

> We know that it is only a fistful of students who are most of the time involved in the violence and they drag along other students, who are really, who might not be willing to act like they did. But then, because they are an active minority which can drag the others along, they are depicted and when they are depicted, it is as if the depiction concerns all the students. So, they tend to put all the students in the same boat, and this is more or less, what accounts for a less positive perception that the society has of the students [as compared to ten years ago] (Professor Interview, April 26, 2011)

The poor representation of students is a direct result of the constant reporting of violent actions or "bad things" that students do. Tapha argued, "[The media] are in a rush to publish what is not good. Most of the time it is about authority, it is about students, it is about people that are about to do good things, or are supposed to act in a good way. But, if you do something which is not good, they are in a rush to be the first to publish that kind of news" (Interview, April 14, 2011). This rush to publish bad news means that news of violent outbreaks on campus spreads throughout the country very quickly. Frustrations about the blockages to Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop aggravate Dakar citizens trying to commute to and from work on this major north-south thoroughfare. The media do not only report on the violence on campus. Report topics range from new university reforms to chronicling faculty strikes, but each time students violently protest at the university, the media publishes a report about it. This consistent message serves to present students as perpetrators of violence and disruptions through television and newspaper images that circulate around the country, and as Tapha points out, the globe.

This representation, he argued, coincides with the representation of Africa as a violent

continent and Africans as a violent people:

> Because everything you are doing, whether it is good, most of the time the media, doesn't spread it around the world to let people know that African students are doing good things, but if you do one bad thing, it will be… okay, it will go around the world, around Sénégal, and then people will think that the only thing you know to do is bad things. That's the reason why they, most of the time, have a negative image of African students. (Interview, April 14, 2011)

The articulation of violent students is important because it affects the way

students are treated outside the campus. For example, students reported being targeted

by the police as a form of backlash for rioting and throwing rocks. Abel recalls an

experience of one of his friends who was on a truck traveling to his home outside of

Dakar: "My friend hitchhiked in a lorry and midway a police officer stopped them

because the chauffeur had too many people. The student gave the police officer his

student card and the police officer created problems for him" (Interview, April 8, 2011).

The reasons for this particular representation of Sénégalese students and

violence are multiple, but one of the most likely reasons is because they are often the

ones to initiate strikes in response to conditions on campus or lack of payment of

scholarship funds. The scholarship issue is linked to "corporatist" concerns, a term

used by Zeilig and Ansell (2009) to describe students' concern with money and seeking

after solutions to their economic problems. In the media, students are represented as a

group that engages in violence in order to acquire scholarships and better conditions as

though they were seeking conditions far better than those of the average Sénégalese

citizen. What is missing from the media representation of student violence is that the

government has reneged on its promises to provide scholarships and that conditions

enabled by the government inhibit students from fully realizing their academic goals. Students fill in the gaps left by this lack of support and in the filling in of the gaps envision a more moral and socially just leadership that fulfills the responsibilities of intellectuals and leaders in Sénégalese society. The way that students act upon agency to fill in these gaps on campus will be explored in the next section.

Student agency in the *in loco cura* environment

Students at UCAD are confronting the politics of education in collective and individual ways. Two primary ways will be introduced in this section. The first is how students organize themselves in order to meet their own needs in the midst of administrative neglect and inability to serve such large numbers of students. The "educated person" discourse drives students' notions of responsibility to care for one another and for their country, a concept captured in the phrase *in loco cura*. Secondly, as a collective endeavor, students are confronting negative representation and reframing activism in terms of nonviolence by intentionally advocating for their needs in nonviolent and socially just ways. Through the enactment of agency students are redefining success and seeking a new future for Sénégal.

In loco cura: In place of administration or care

Before the 1960s United States on-campus higher education policy was driven by one theory, *in loco parentis*, which means "in the place of a parent". From this perspective, the university took the responsibility for student conduct, discipline, and moral and life guidance. In Latin, the phrase *in loco* means "in the place of" and *cura* means "administration" or "care," and both terms apply to the university setting at

UCAD but with students, not paid staff, playing this role of caring parent. Students are

the ones who are filling the gap left from cuts to administrative staff (or the lack of

hiring adequate numbers of staff) due to structural adjustment, but they also fill the gap

created by university officials not working their posted hours or neglecting student

requests. This lack of administration and care is one of the primary manifestations of

the material conditions at UCAD. Students confront this problem by creating their own

formal and informal systems to advocate for student needs, such as providing informal

orientations to new students and distributing rooms in the pavillon, in collaboration with

COUD. *In loco cura*, based on the discourse of the educated person is a discursive

critique and active response to the lack of official student support at UCAD.

One way students model *in loco cura* is by filling in for the limited number of

faculty members who are overworked with too many classes and too many students.

The faculty, who are not politically appointed, are overworked, often shuttling between

private institutions and UCAD. Some even teach at the regional universities created to

lighten the student population burden at UCAD. However, there are not enough faculty

members to meet the needs of the students. In the English department, for example,

there are 39 faculty members for almost 7,500 students. Unlike the administration,

students praise professors for their care and the way they go out of the way to help

students, but there are too many students for the faculty to provide proper advisement,

teaching, and administration. Additionally, frequent faculty strikes limit classroom

opportunities for students.

Students fill in these gaps by organizing study groups, planning academic events

through the English Club, and by utilizing resources outside of the university, such as

those available at WARC. Each of the students in this study was also formally or

informally tutoring younger students, standing in for professors and earning a small

amount of money. Primarily, students utilize group consistent group study to learn the

material needed to pass the examinations, as Oumar explains:

> Since we are studying literature and civilization, if we do not see the teacher or the courses are not sufficient, we can go to [Internet] sources to make research and then after that we form groups of students, and for most of the time it is during the examination period. And, we discuss about a given subject. You are supposed to bring your knowledge from the classes and the Internet. It is a rendezvous of giving and taking. […] We've been doing it since our first year. With friends you can discuss something you can't with the teacher. Because of the great numbers of [students in] the amphis, we do not have the possibility to ask questions so it is in these gatherings that you ask your friends what you'd like to understand. So, it worked in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd year, and now we're in the 4th year. (Interview, April 19, 2011)

The English Club also hosts events for English students, such as grammar competitions

and study sessions that allow first and second year students the opportunities to learn

from older students in the English Department. Additionally, students utilize non-

UCAD resources, such as the library at WARC, local bookstores, and the Internet to

supplement their learning. While many students in the United States, for instance,

utilize group study and off-campus resources to supplement their education, the students

in this study do not have the regular professor instruction and homework assignments to

complete and must meet together in order to pass.

The problems of limited faculty are compounded by the lack of accountability

for the administrative staff. COUD, the administrative body at UCAD—not including

faculty—is comprised primary of political appointees. They are, in effect, an arm of the

government on campus, adding to the politicization of the campus discussed earlier.

Additionally, as many of the administration are appointed by the ruling party, students

lament that their needs are often cast aside in pursuit of a political agenda. In this

environment, students are frequently treated poorly in their interactions with

administrative staff. My conversation with one participant revealed a particularly

emotionally disruptive experience, one that is similar to the experiences of other

students:

Abel: I think that the most important thing is [the administration officials sit] in their office, spending all the day without doing anything. No! You are here for the students, and you have to feel it is your duty to respect the student. Without the students, your being [at UCAD] is nothing. They have to bear in their mind that what they are doing here is for the students. For example, if you need something in the administration here at UCAD, you pay much time and as we say 'time is ticking away' and we have no time to waste, okay? Instead of coming at 8:00, they do not respect the hour and the hour is very precious.

Casey: They come late?

Abel: It's not come late because you can come late and do what you like… it's different. If you come late, it means that you are doing something, but if you keep coming late every day for years, it's not coming late. It is non-respect; you don't respect people and you don't respect your job, and I don't like that. Okay, respecting the student is to come on time, you know, and to break on time. If you are asked something, do it for the student because you are here for the student. It is what I don't like here at the university, the injustice. There is some injustice here.

Casey: Have you had a particular experience with injustice that you can give an example of?

Abel: Yes, I don't know if I recall right my memory, but it was last year or something like that. When I wanted to take my report [transcript]. I went to the office and asked this lady, "I need my report, because I want to do something with it". And, I know she is not doing anything, but to show me that she is my superior, or I don't know how to call it. But, she told me the report is not yet ready. And, I wanted her to give me some explanation because every time I was there I would go there. Every time, every day, every hour, and at that time, I was coming from Rufisque. And, every time, the way she was looking at me, it means that she was looking down on me. It's not good. Okay… [puts head down]

Casey: Did you end up getting the report?

Abel: Not yet, until here now.

Casey: A year later, and you still don't have it?

Abel: I left it there. I'm fed up with this kind of behavior.

Casey: What has this taught you about life in Sénégal?

Abel: The university is a reflection of society. If you go to the suburbs, [citizens] do not respect their environment, they do not respect their duty, they don't respect what they are entrusted. You understand? But, this can be interpreted in different ways. If you spend, for example, me, who is here spending almost all my time here, I know that once [I graduate], I got a job, I will respect it because I deserve it. But, if [you obtain a job] by politics, or if you have a brother or relative who is a higher ranking person, who works in the government, and you have no experience and you are given a job, I think that you won't respect that job. You won't know what to do. I think this is the main problem—[administrators] don't respect what they should do in their office because they have no experience, or no higher education. I think this is the main reason [for this behavior]. (Interview, March 31, 2011)

Abel identifies several key tenets of the *in loco cura* phenomena at UCAD, including administrators not taking seriously the work that they have been assigned and displaying a lack of care for UCAD students. As noted in the story of Moustapha in Chapter Four, students lose a lot of time by waiting in lines at the restaurant, waiting for scholarships to be disbursed, waiting for classes to begin, and, as seen here, waiting for administrative staff to merely do their jobs. The lack of administration, lack of training in higher education, and very little student support contributes to the environment of *in loco cura* and essentially to the "rule of failure". The educated person discourse is highlighted in the next section to show how students are confronting the lack of care from administrative officials on campus.

"The educated person" discourse

The educated person discourse at UCAD drives the discursive critique of *in loco parentis*. Students identify as intellectuals with an obligation to serve their communities and ultimately the nation, and they begin such service in helping fellow students whose needs are not being met by the university staff or structures. Underpinning the educated person discourse are student's ideas about morality and social justice. As educated persons, students find themselves at the intersection of the "traditional" or "African" and the "modern" viewpoint while challenging this simple bifurcation. The discourse is acted upon by agentic students as they not only envision a leadership driven by moral leadership and social justice but also as they act to uphold the responsibilities they believe are becoming of educated individuals. One of these responsibilities is to fill in gaps left by others who are unable or unwilling to serve the community:

> What is an intellectual? It is someone who fills a gap. Filling a gap fills a very important role in life. Before leaving this world, you have to leave some very important things. If I leave this world into the other world without doing anything, for me, I think there are other people who paved this way. You understand. I could not speak English [if not for those people before me]. Who taught me this English? My professors and speaking with other guys. So, [filling in a gap] is very important. (Interview, April 15, 2011)

Students frequently linked the educated person to responsibilities far beyond those at the university when they spoke of leading their communities and, ultimately, the nation. The educated person, in this sense, has certain expectations placed on her/his shoulders that are framed in terms of morality. Students talked about morality in terms of what one "should do" and what one "should not do". The "good" way and "bad" way are also terms that students use to contrast the responsible, educated person with the person who is powerful or successful in terms of wealth accumulation but morally

bankrupt. These notions not only come from parents and other students, but they are

also learned in the classroom. Tapha recalls a time when a professor spoke to students

about his struggles as an educated person, encouraging them to stay on a path that is

unselfish and considers others, one way of framing moral behavior:

> [The professor] said…one time, he explained to us that when he was a student it was very difficult for him. He was walking many miles to get to school, but he believed in himself and he made it. Now he has succeeded, and he didn't want us to say that "it is hard, I'm going to give up", [or] "things in Sénégal, if you're not political, or if you don't have somebody to help you in your corner, you won't succeed". He said to us, "don't believe in those things". He said, also, last year, "if you take the children of the wealthy people or of the authority, most of the time they are impolite people, they don't know how to behave, even if they are educated, but because of the wealth of their parents, they think they can do everything they want, they can say whatever they want, they can go everywhere they want, without having any problem". Okay, that's the reason why he asked us to believe in ourselves and to do what we have to do, and what we have to do is to study. And, then try to gain our living in an honest way without losing our dignity. (Interview, April 11, 2011)

To students, one of the key responsibilities of the educated person is to be a

social critic. Social criticism is not solely directed at the government, but students also

critiqued capitalism, modernism, and popular culture in Sénégal; however, the

government receives the majority of this criticism. Not surprisingly, students, through

strikes and protest, contest government policies particularly those related to their lives,

but they also use social media to critique the government. In a conversation with Ndèye

S., she articulated the ways that she uses Facebook to critique the government:

> I am used to talking all this with my friends, within my family, in my Facebook I am used to criticizing to the extent that some people say that I am on Facebook just to criticize [President] Wade and his family. Which is not the case. I have never named him. Just like for agriculture, um, for his address, for his new year address he gave some statistics like everything is going right, people are not starving, like, you know. Whereas, and whenever he gave a statistic, like, there is 40% people who are… these sort of things. I have alternative statistics, and I

will write down what he said and respond to this. This sort of thing, or criticize what is being done with SENELEC, *les couper des electricité* (electricity cuts), these sort of things. (Interview, April 27, 2011)

Students also sought to bring together the traditional and the modern by critiquing the bifurcation of the two. Students critiqued notions of capitalist success and advocate for a bringing together of "modern" and "African" ways of knowing as a hybrid. Several students, for instance, advocated for more African infusion into the education curriculum at all levels so that students do not miss these valuable pieces of national and regional history and tradition. Students are proficient with technology, especially Facebook, several are on Skype, and some have blogs. They are 'modern' in this sense, but they realize they are missing some valuable cultural and educational pieces and desire to see them integrated into the curriculum and their lives, more generally. One student gave the example of Sénégalese film. There is no longer government support for Sénégalese films after Sénégalese films thrived in the 1960s-1970s under the direction of Ousmane Sembène. Today, there are few feature films coming out of Sénégal each year and foreign films are shown instead of Sénégalese films in the primary theater. Cultural films and Sénégalese comic strips used to be a part of the educational experience of all Sénégalese as the strips were shown on television and played on the radio. These cartoons were not allowed due to Abdoulaye Wade's insistence. Ndèye S. suggests bringing together Western and African traditions in order to create a melting pot that surpasses each tradition on its own:

I told you last time that there was something good in our traditional culture, and maybe this is studied in the English department. For example, in African literature, our teacher taught us that, well, maybe not to the extent that it is thought of today, but women had a place in traditional Africa, these sort of things. Well, I don't know how to put it. I think we were taught there was

something good we could have from our own, but also to… to take others', like Britain, the United States, like a sort of… I think it was a good place to show what was globalization. That you know that this is being done, I don't know, outside, but this is what we have and this is what we have to bring. And, we can take from others this and this, and melt all these things. And thinking that what is modern is not Africa. To say I am modern, is behaving like the West. You can be modern without behaving like an American or European. You can bring what is good from your tradition and you will have something far better. (Interview, April 20, 2011)

This hybridization was spoken of by several students because they fear that a preoccupation with the West, and in turn, capitalism, will result in the loss of traditional values, like living in community, *teranga*—Sénégalese hospitality—that requires that one take any person into her/his home for a meal, helping others in times of need, and solidarity. When I asked one student about the reasons why these values are being lost, she argued that imitation of the West is the reason:

Imitation of the West. American people [Laughs]. Of French people, of Indians now. And thinking that what is modern is not Africa. To say I am modern, is behaving like the West. You can be modern without behaving like an American or European. You can bring what is good from your tradition and you will have something far better. (Interview, April 20, 2011)

Students, as educated persons concerned with identity and justice, feel torn between multiple worlds, which they describe as traditional and modern, individual and collective, and they are striving to take up multiple identities within each of these worlds. Conflicts arising over life in these two worlds contribute to attempts to bring the disparate worlds together, and it also affects potential mates and the evaluation of jobs that students find worth pursuing. For instance, several of the female students insisted that they desire a 'modern' man who will help with caring for the baby and making meals, rather than one who distinguishes strictly between men and women's roles and activities.

Students oscillate between these different worlds with an underlying moral undertone that exists in terms of the educated persons' responsibilities. Tapha, for instance, discussed the differences between the world at university, where there is freedom and independence, and world at home, which is more communally oriented. Regardless of the identity he takes on, the most important to the students in this study was the awareness of duty to others, respect, and upholding a high sense of moral calling to the nation. Tapha's reflections convey this common sentiment:

> Sometimes, it can be seem like two different worlds, but if I wear the clothes of being a member of my family, it's quite different when I am in the university, because I am here in order to study, to apply what I have learned from my parents, from those who were helping me, those who were educating me. I'm trying to apply it, to apply what they have told me to do in order to become a good person. That's the reason why, if I am here, it's a kind of individuality, I am doing things as I think it will be… have good consequences, by using the experiences I have achieved from elder persons, from my family, from the teachers, in order to make my own life, in order to make things that I think are good to happen. Okay. It's just a kind of transposition, transition, not transition, but just to take, to use, what I have learned from other persons just to make my life. But, not bad things but good things. What I see as good things, for example, be serious, be a responsible, don't spend your time lying, respect the others. If a person is older than you, you have to respect him. If a person is younger than you, you have to give him respect also, in order to gain his respect and then try to help him, because sometimes they need your help because you're elder than him. You have more experiences than him. Sometimes, it's your duty to help him to grow, or to become more intelligent or to gain more experiences. That's the reason why sometimes we use other, the past experiences in order to make our life. (Interview, April 21, 2011)

The educated person discourse is acted upon by students not only by how they behave in relation to intellectual responsibilities but also in the way that they dress. Behavior and presentation together help to distinguish educated persons from uneducated people as well as younger students. However, as Ndèye B. underscores in a conversation below, the behavior and dress has changed over the past 20-30 years as job

placement has decreased on campus following graduation. Ndèye bemoans this lack of

professionalism on campus:

> Ndèye: Yes, [former students'] way of dressing was better than our way. During my second year, my Spanish teacher said you look like high school students with your bags. [The professor] said, "when we were at university, we had our briefcases and looked like diplomats". I agree with her, you cannot tell the difference between a high school student and a university student. This is not normal.

> Casey: *You think you need to be professional?*

> Ndèye: Yes, to be mature. Just like the difference between a teenager and adult. You see.

> Casey: *So, what other areas does that affect besides dress?*

> Ndèye: The way they behave on and off the campus. They way they behave should be more mature, something like that.

> Casey: *Why do you think it's not mature?*

> Ndèye: They're so… I cannot explain, but I see the difference between students here and students in training schools. Go there and see how they are and see the difference. The way they… you see me, go and see the students at the training school. I think the environment is different. I personally think that someone at the uni should have a different way of behaving, a different way of dressing, a different mentality.

> Casey: *Why do you think that?*

> Ndèye: Why do I think that? Just because we are nearly professional. Something like that.

> Casey: *But you don't act like adults, is that what you're saying?*

> Ndèye: [Laughs]. No, I act like an adult. I personally act like this. And, I am supposed to live here and work, you see. I am able to sit somewhere and participate in a debate with a certain mind different from my younger brothers and sisters in high school. If I behave like my sisters and brothers, that doesn't make sense.

Notions of professionalism are tied to notions of being an educated person with issues of dress, behavior, and maturity tied in. This message of leadership and professionalism is passed onto other UCAD students in informal and formal ways. Through organizations students provide leadership-training sessions, and the purpose of these meetings is not just to develop better leaders but also to help the group succeed in advocating for itself. Tapha shared an experience of leadership training in his *amicale* that shows how students are preparing future leaders in order to sustain the student *amicales*:

> One, I think, one month ago we were holding our general assembly in order to renew the board in order to help the newcomers to get involved in the leading of the situation because usually it is only the elders who lead the association. This year, we have said that it is high time that we give some powers to the newcomers in order to better help them to… to easily be in, okay, to be I don't know how to… okay, to be prepared, to let them better understand what the elders were facing to help them. I think it is a better way to help them, for us to be with them everywhere we go, we have some students with us and they will hear what we are saying, how we are discussing with them in order to prepare them to the coming years, in order to be maybe the president or general secretary. (Interview, April 11, 2011)

The day-to-day confrontation of the material conditions and intentional actions taken by students reveals their awareness of their position in society, but there is also among many of them an urgency to change their representation as no different from high school students or as violent protesters. In addition to the omission in the media regarding the conditions in which students are living, there is also little or no attention to the intentionality displayed by students to do things the "right" and moral way. This educated person discourse sharply contrasts the corporatist arguments about Sénégalese student behavior made by previous student activism scholars [i.e. Zeilig & Ansell, 2008; 2009] and found in the media.

The educated person discourse places strike in the larger picture of the Sénégalese political economy of advocacy and preparation for leadership that goes beyond corporatist concerns. Students agree that strikes are often for scholarships and food—"corporatist" concerns, according to Zeilig and Ansell—but the motivation for these strikes is wrapped in social justice concerns, rights of students, and reasonable governance in order to ensure that students are able to continue their studies. Unlike their representation as undisciplined, students in this study took seriously the responsibilities that accompany being educated, at least by their definition of education. Namely, they are committed to contributing to national development, building their communities, pursuing social justice, stopping violence, and upholding morality in the process. Students want to fulfill duties to their communities and the nation and they believe that they can, but more importantly, they are acting on these beliefs and affecting their representation and promoting social justice along the way. Social justice approaches to activism, in turn, affect students' beliefs in their ability to contribute to national development and also affect their conceptualizations of development.

Reframing success: "Success does not depend to the money you have in your pocket"

The educated person discourse, with its notions of moral responsibility and social justice, also leads to anti-capitalist and community-oriented focused definitions of success, with a particular role for students in national development. As previously outlined, one of the primary paths to success at UCAD is participation in a political organization. The *status quo* student experience, for example, includes participation in politics for multiple purposes. Many students are involved in student organizations that

are tied to political parties, and many have political aspirations and view politics as one of the primary paths to success in Sénégal.

This political preoccupation has led to much political organizing, and much of the violence on campus stems from the power that is to be gained from leading these groups. Students are in a vulnerable yet powerful position in Sénégalese society, in relation to politics. They are vulnerable because their organizations are often co-opted for political purposes. Violent student strikes are often organized by political parties, yet due to the massive number of students, the government respects the demands of students when they strike. Violence on campus that spills out onto Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop often results in the payment of scholarships—the fulfillment of students' requests— within hours. Yet along with these "corporatist" strikes one now finds a vibrant non-violent movement on campus and non-corporatist strikes that center on academic rather than economic concerns.

For many students, political participation is tied to success because of the rewards and connections gained from participation. Rewards come in the form of scholarships, study abroad opportunities, money, restaurant tickets, and access to rooms on campus, just to name a few. One student explains this link between the political arena and success:

> You can see many students involving in the political arena, because most of them, if you talk to them, they say that if you don't do politics, you won't succeed in Sénégal. That's what most of them say. They think that politics is the only way to succeed in Sénégal. That's the reason why many students they are now focusing on political ideas, on political philosophy in order to convince the other… members of their family, or ethnic group or something like that. In order to gain something from the political leaders. (Interview, April 26, 2011)

Similarly, another student linked political organization involvement with successful

employment:

> [All students] cannot be involved in politics. That is sure. But, most of them involve in politics. It is what I told you a while back. There is no company in which we can work and earn our life. And, the only way we think that we can take it to earn our life is politics. Okay? It is the reason why in campus we have many groups, many associations, political associations (Interview, April 22, 2011)

Some of the primary routes to employment after graduation are political

participation while enrolled at UCAD and family connections, but students are

negotiating this path and creating new routes that are not involved in politics. Of the

students involved in this research, seven had political aspirations but only two were

involved in political parties on campus. This non-participation was due, in large part, to

students valuing their educational experience over political participation as well as a

reconceptualization of what they think is required of national leaders. A conversation

with Oumar revealed not only this tension between education and politics, but also the

notion that more information is needed from outside Sénégal before participating in the

national political arena:

> Casey: Are you involved in political organizations?
>
> *Oumar: No, because I am interested in studies first.*
>
> Casey: Do you have political aspirations?
>
> *Oumar: Yeah, what I'd like to do is have my own political party to defend individuals against anything that can bring them harm. But, presently we have to get knowledge first to know how it is working inside and outside Sénégal, in the world and then do what you need to do. For now, the resources are not here, so first go get knowledge and then help people live a blissful life.*

Casey: You think you need the knowledge from outside Sénégal to change Sénégal?

Oumar: Yeah, for real. Sometimes you have to… any developed country has always adapted some program copied from another country. Sometimes is good to copy from someone else. If I see something good in somebody, I will be tempted to copy it. (Interview, April 5, 2011)

Notions of success drive decision-making decisions for UCAD students because their goal is to ultimately receive their diploma and get a job. For the students in this study, though, the purpose of higher education was not only about receiving a job; in addition, for most, the goal was to figuring out individual definitions of success and to live in accordance with that definition. Ndèye S. is a good example because she was working on her Master's degree at UCAD when she dropped out to pursue activism work in beekeeping awareness. She attended training schools and is very involved in activist organizations and works to present beekeeping as a viable industry in Sénégal. She described success in Sénégal as follows:

> Here, success is perceived as like you are working, you have got your small car, your little family, a husband who is somewhat rich, these sort of things. Well, myself, I am… some time ago I pondered that I was not successful. But, then I sort of all, well, it's not that, but, what I have been up to, meaning my studies, the activism, like, and I finally thought that I am successful in my way. Like, I am doing something that can be considered positive. And, I, well, I have my goals, I am doing whatever possible to attain them. Even though I am not yet married, I don't have a job, these sort of things. For me, anyways, I am good like this. And, I am happy, so for me, this is success. I am healthy, my family is, my sisters. (Interview, April 27, 2011)

In this example, Ndèye struggled with Sénégalese constructions of success that revolve around wealth. Like other students in this study, making a positive contribution to society and helping to advocate for others' needs is more important to her. She concluded that she is successful because she has made a positive community impact and

rather than focus on her individual needs or desires, she focused on the community. Her activism has had social justice implications, particularly for beekeepers in Sénégal, and she derives happiness from knowing that she has made a difference and that her family is healthy. Like Ndèye, students consistently framed success in ways that were non-monetary and non-corporatist.

Several students blamed this economic preoccupation and the framing of success in terms of economics on capitalism and imitation of the West. Abel argues that the pursuit of economic success has led to a decline in moral values:

> Yes! [The loss of moral values] came from capitalism. Capitalism does not mind if one is suffering or not. You know? What he [capitalism] wants is to succeed at any case, [if] you're suffering or not, it's not his problem. Success only success. (Interview, April 8, 2011)

Students heavily critiqued the notion of "success only success" in Sénégal, arguing that the *process* of becoming educated, of becoming successful, is just as important as the end *product* and that success can be found in the process. This non-economic and procedurally-focused notion of success was related to the type of leadership students employed as well as their ideas about national development. These issues will be further explored in the following section.

In summary, through their notions of successful moral and community-focused leadership, students confronted the traditional political and economic pathways to success in Sénégal. Part of the reason for this confrontation is that there is no longer one linear pathway to success at UCAD. In other words, money and scholarship are not the only determinants of success. For example, Ami succeeded her first year but failed her second year. The significance is that in her first year she was not on scholarship, but on

her second year she was. The scholarship provided a level of stability but it did not

guarantee success. The "rule of failure" is so successful on campus that students are

keenly aware that sometimes studying is not enough to succeed and that a degree is

sometimes not enough to gain employment.

Agency and the politics of activism: Nonviolent advocacy and the way forward

In addition to the *in loco cura* actions taken by students and the reframing of

success, one of the major ways they enact agency is through activism. Activism at

UCAD is tightly connected to the "future leaders" discourse identified in Chapter Four.

As a form of political participation, activism is a form of advocacy, it is collective, and

leads to the sense that the university is a training ground. It also serves as a means of

acquiring what one wants, setting an agenda, and carrying it forward. Students at

UCAD are intentionally attempting to displace their negative representation with a

nonviolent approach to activism. Through this enactment of agency, they are not only

changing their representation, but they are producing a new sense of belief in change

and challenging conventional, economic and political discourses of education.

The educated person discourse, with its moral leadership and social justice

underpinnings, underlies the promotion of a "new" nonviolent collectivism for UCAD

students. One clear example of this type of collectivism is *Le Collectif* (The Collective),

which was introduced in the previous chapter. As representatives standing in for the

disbanded *amicale,* The Collective's group leaders have committed themselves to an

ideology of advocacy based on nonviolent leaders such as Martin Luther King and

Mahatma Gandhi. They utilized these ideologies in interviews about nonviolence as

well as in large group settings to rally student support. Recalling the reason for the

March 15th Collective-led march, Oumar points out that:

> [The Collective] stood up so as to go and tell our words, as we represented students. So as not to stay there with mouths and eyes shut during this situation and I think it has been a good advancement to the strike because they had stopped it and asked students to resume classes. (Interview, April 5, 2011)

> As seen in Chapter Four, students utilize the language of human rights and

social justice to frame their activism ideology. From the quote above, one sees that

students viewed the protest as an opportunity to care for students' rights to education

and a valid academic year. The success of the nonviolent approach contrasts with years

of violent protest on campus. According to one professor:

> So, [the students] are right, they have the right to organize themselves to defend the interests of the students, but then it should be on a brand new basis which is that we should, no one should promote violence on this space because this is a space on which we should all be defending our ideas using the brain and not using the strength of brutality or force. It should be the strength or the force of the brain and nothing else, so if we all agree on that, I think we could all live in this university, in this space, with peace, live in peace, live in harmony, for the three components: the students, the teaching staff, and the administration, which is something we all, something that is very important for all of us. (Professor Interview, April 26, 2011)

The ideological foundation for the March 15th march was social justice as it relates to

power relations in Sénégal. Nowhere does the politics of citizenship interact with the

politics of education as it does in the realm of activism. The ideology of the Collective[57]

is based in a civil rights and social justice approach to advocating for rights. Tapha

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[57] The group was established in 2010 in an effort to re-establish the FLSH *amicale*. There is no official membership for the Collective, but during the March 15th rally, there were between 600-750 students involved.

vividly discussed power struggles over rights, alluding to a "new"[58] kind of non-violent

civil rights movement in Sénégal where the citizens clash with the government in order

to obtain their rights. Students, for instance, have advocated for the right to protest and

demonstrate off campus. As of now, this is not possible; once a demonstration, even if it

is peaceful, moves off campus, the police have the right to arrest students. In the

following conversation with Tapha, we discussed his ideas on students' rights and how

to advocate for increased freedoms from the government:

> Tapha: That's the reason we need to quote [Malcolm X, MLK, Gandhi, Cheikh Amadou Bamba], to understand their ideals, their ideology, what they were fighting for. That's the reason why most of the time we quote them.

> *Casey: Why is it necessary to understand their ideologies and ideas? Is there a similar type of revolution or movement in Sénégal that you think you can learn from? Why is it important to learn their ideologies?*

> Tapha: When you, … let's say, let's take the situation right now in Sénégal, we can compare it, a little bit, it's not the same thing, to me, it's quite the same thing because the only thing is that during that time it was between black and white.

> *Casey: And you're talking about civil rights right now?*

> Tapha: Civil rights, yeah. During that time it was between black and white and now it is between African people.

> *Casey: What are the distinctions now?*

> Tapha: The distinctions is that those people you talk about MLJ, Malcolm X, Mahatma Ghandi, were fighting for the rights of the black people that they should have from the white people, but now it's between African people. The enemies of Africa are African.

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[58] Students and professors referred to this nonviolent movement on campus as a new form of resistance because they contrasted it with the prior twenty years of student activism which were much more violent, particularly the period from 2003-2008. However, there is a history of nonviolent protest in Sénégal. In the mid- 1940s, railroad workers went on strike to improve living conditions and procure higher wages. There is also a history of Muslim nonviolence in demonstration against colonialist influence on the religion. (see Darboe, 2010).

Casey: What are the distinctions now, you said before it was black and white, now is it wealthy and poor? Is it? What are the distinctions?

Tapha: It is between authorities and the followers [civil society].

Casey: Citizens?

Tapha: Citizens. Because before being chosen as a president or a minister or a deputy, they go around Sénégal asking them or telling them if you vote for me, I will do this for you, I will help you to get out of your difficulty. But, once the situation changes, once you have chosen them, once you have taken them to the throne, they have forgotten you. They will do everything that they want, and by time, they will say citizens are not disciplined, they are impolite, I am not going to allow them to do things as they want. For example, we are in a democratic country and we don't have the right to march, to celebrate. Because if you march outside of the campus… we can do it inside the campus because the police don't have the right to get into the campus, but if you do it outside the campus, the policeman will beat you or catch you and take you to the police. These kind of things is rights, it's our rights that the authorities are denying. They don't want to give us the right to express ourselves, the right to march, the right to do things that we have the right to do. (Interview, April 11, 2011)

Tapha intentionally framed this conversation as a discussion of rights, appealing to Sénégal's democracy as a reason for students being able to defend their rights and to open up new freedoms for Sénégalese citizens that are academically informed, historically aligned, and that draw on a global *lingua franca* of rights. Students, at least those in The Collective, are reframing activism and focusing on a new means of asking for not only scholarships and food, but also for greater academic opportunities. In the Collective march, the primary concern was about the academic year. The representation of students as lazy and not committed to academics falls on its face when compared to the way students in the Collective responded to the potential année invalide. Although violent activism by students has been tied to corporatist concerns, my argument is that

the way students recognize their options and are intentionally choosing non-violence indicates a break with the normal, socio-cultural practice of striking. It also reveals much about students' enactment of agency in that they are actively confronting negative ideological and material conditions associated with a potential failed academic year. This argument is not to imply that students will not continue to throw rocks, but it does imply that students are taking seriously their role as educated leaders who seek to solve problems, if at all possible, using diplomatic means and they see the issues worth protesting to address as broader than/more fundamental than money and food.

Reframing politics: "You do politics to bring something to your community"

Through individual and collective action, students were reframing advocacy-through-politics on campus. Previous sections in this chapter have underscored the enactment of the educated person discourse and how it frames success and provides students with a sense of responsibility. It is also clear from Chapter Four and from this chapter thus far that student are daily confronting the narrow representation of their motives and finding pathways to succeed within the higher education system despite the "rule of failure." In this final section, I focus on activism and show that students are reframing the very thing that often leads to their misrepresentation—the large group protest. I start by working through a portion of field notes (in *italics*) taken as a participant in the March 15th march organized by The Collective to show a new nonviolent form of large-group advocacy. The march produced the outcome hoped for by students—the faculty strike ended—but it was produced a different representation of students. The actions taken by students during this march, including how they

represented themselves, the ideology on which they drew, and the intentionally peaceful

actions taken, reveal a reframing of activism at UCAD.

As the march began at 11:00 a.m., students were gathering and organizing

themselves, march around campus. They finally ended up at the Rector's office to file

their request for the end to the faculty strike. My field notes begin with the gathering of

students at Pavillon A:

> *In front of Pauvion A, on campus, the march is getting ready to begin. The
> students will proceed from the campus to the* faculté *and onto the Rector's
> office. A student on a microphone appeals to identity asking "*Qui sommes-
> nous*? (Who are we?) while imploring students not to divide on this issue.
> Another student gets on the microphone and says, "Come out of your rooms and
> participate and discuss this situation!" I ask a student, "Why are you
> participating in this march?" and he says, "Because otherwise, I am here
> wasting my time learning". He is referring to the* année invalide *that could
> happen if faculty members don't end the strike. There are at least 500 students
> and the march has not yet begun.*

From the beginning of the rally, students appealed to their identity as students. The

march was based on this understanding that students must unite as well as an

intellectual framing of how students "should" advocate for their own needs. This

concern with subscribing to a particular notion of the educated person contrasts with the

throwing of rocks and shouting of profanities in the scholarship protests only four days

earlier. Additionally, there was a community orientation to the march wherein

encouraged students to stick together in an effort to fight back against the approaching

année invalide. There was one clear goal throughout the march: Fight the *année*

invalide and continue education for the year. In contrast to the 1988 and 1994 protests

in light of potential *invalide* years, the Collective march was based in a peaceful

ideology.

*The march has now begun and students are chanting, "*Nous voulons etudier*!" (We want to study!) As we march down the road between Pavillon A and C, police officers are blockading the exit located by the women's dorms. Journalists are interviewing students as we walk. Most of the participants are male students, maybe 2-3% are women. What an interesting sight! Students demanding to study when many of them do not pay to study. The difference between the march and the strikes just two days ago is so stark: this is so calm and peaceful. There is no police presence on this side of campus. As usual, they only gather at the entrance to the campus near Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop.*

The march began with students chanting, "We want to study!" From the beginning, before they started walking towards the Rector's office students made their intentions clear. The outcome of this rally was to end the strike and begin classes for the year. In conversations with students, they often talked about the reason for strikes being scholarships and food. I asked several students why they did not strike for more Internet access or more books in the library, and most of them lamented that they do not know why. Now, it seemed that students had determined a way to march for academic reasons; however, I do not want to set this up as a false dichotomy that treats students striking for scholarships and better food as non-academic pursuits. It has been noted that many of these strikes are begun for political reasons, to cast a negative light on the government, but students requesting their scholarships is also due to the need for money in order to continue to study. Better food is requested so that they can fuel their bodies and minds in order to work better. In each of the interviews, the idea of "balance" came up. Working out, for example, is a major way that students balance physical and mental activities, as well as the stress of university life at UCAD.

Not only did students march for primarily academic reasons, but the media also took notice. Student leaders of the Collective were able to speak to reporters and

researchers and challenge their representation as violent and selfish. Additionally, this march challenged capitalist notions of education and assumptions that education is only valued when paid for privately. Many of these students did not pay for their education at UCAD, and they were protesting the end of the academic year.

> *The leader of the Collective holds up a peace sign and the crowd explodes with cheering and clapping. He approaches the microphone, taking his time to speak, eloquently articulating the reason for the strike using French, Wolof, and English. He references UCAD as the premier institution of West African intellectualism. He [identifies/notes] student representation as violent and aggressive and says "not today", then begins a chant "Nous sommes etudiants!" "Nous sommes etudiants!" Nous sommes etudiants!" (We are students!) Students wave their student cards in the air as they chant. He makes multiple references to students as the future of Africa and calls out despotism, nepotism, and corruption on campus and in Sénégal.*

Again, the leaders of The Collective were very aware of their representation in the media and addressed it directly in the speech made by the leader. In addition, he spoke in three different languages to reach the multiple audiences present and to show his worldliness and interaction with the international arena. The leader also framed his argument historically, recalling the history of UCAD in a proud way, then called upon the student identity again. He ignited students' passion as future leaders and critiqued non-moral leadership in the nation:

> *He now turns his attention to the professors and asks them to end the strike. He chronicles the history of UCAD proudly recalling that UCAD began as the only faculty of medicine in West Africa. Other references include Rosa Parks, Nelson Mandela, and MLK for their nonviolent approaches to social justice. His oratory skills are excellent. I feel myself becoming more excited as he speaks. His voice intonation is similar to Barack Obama's, but even more resolved to his point. He shouts (in English), 'We need education, They [the world] needs Africa!' He then addresses students again, "Don't ask what your country can do for you, but what you can do for you're your country! He then presents a letter to the Rector and asks him to pass the message on to President Wade.*

Here one sees how the leader of the Collective emphasized the nonviolent approach to conflict resolution and recounted the long history of UCAD as a leading West African institution. He also made an international reference, placing Sénégalese students in the greater global political economy, and he directed his request to President Wade to appeal for a continued school year.

What does this example suggest about activism as a form of political participation at UCAD by which students are attempting to re-present themselves and recast the nation? First, by taking a non-violent approach, students challenged the notion that it takes violence to "grab the attention" of the government on campus or in the suburbs of Dakar, by burning tires to show distaste for electricity cuts. Secondly, the March 15th rally had nothing to do with corporatist concerns, but it revolved around academic issues, thereby limiting the influence of political parties who work through student organizations that distribute dorm rooms and meal tickets. Lastly, the rally stayed on campus and dealt with an on-campus issue in campus terms, rather than engaging the police or national authorities. The localization of the rally was very important as Zeilig and Ansell (2008; 2009) have shown how Sénégalese students use their proximity to national politics to engage national leaders. In this case, there was an on-campus-ness that allowed students to deal with their issues without disrupting the rest of the city. By remaining "local" in their activism, students were able to achieve their goal and impress faculty and administration in the process because they did not cause destruction to the campus. Plain and simple, activism in Sénégal works to achieve short-term goals. When tires are burned in the streets, electric currents resume in those neighborhoods; when students throw burning tires and damage public buses,

scholarships are paid within days; and, in this unusual case, when students rallied

nonviolently to argue that classes should resume, they resumed within three weeks. The

difference with this rally was that it demonstrated a different kind of student activism—

non-violent, local, focused on learning—and it has the potential for long-term impact on

the broader political sphere during a period of youth-led political activism across North

Africa and the Middle East.

Students at UCAD are not only aware of their representation in the media; they

are also aware of the political environment in Sénégal and the effects that violence has

on the country. Sénégal has long been a bright African star in terms of democracy and

governance, but the students have sent the message that maintaining the *status quo* of a

good-enough democracy in Sénégal is not enough for them. They long for a change that

is guided by moral, community-based leadership that focuses on social justice

initiatives.

The activism that took place on March 15th is in line with the activism

envisioned by one student who took part in the march:

> I am for an activism that is say, like what [students] do in the English Club, they organize classes, they provide books and documents to students. I am for this type of activism which is in the view to improve your schooling. Not just the activism that deviates you from your [life as a student] because that is what they do. You came to the university to study but when you get involved in this you don't study any longer because you will be at parties, at political debates, so on. And, as for this Collective, I am for these kinds of actions and that [students] be involved in the university life, that they make some… for example… that they gather sometimes to plant trees, these kinds of things. (Interview, April 14, 2011)

Students are not only confronting their representation in collective and

individual ways but they are also confronting the negative byproducts of the political

arena in Sénégal and attempting to change the political environment. Nèye put it like

this:

> So, I think this is what I should do- to redefine what is politics. Like, you don't
> do politics to earn something, but you do politics to bring something to your
> community. (Interview, April 27, 2011)

Agency and development

Student agency, as discussed thus far, has major implications for national

development in Sénégal because students envision a different future for themselves and

for the country that they will lead one day. The educated person discourse,

communally-based notions of success, and nonviolent activism shape students

definitions of development. Additionally, the "students as future leaders" discourse #3

from Chapter Four, creates the university as a training ground for understanding

development issues and creating solutions to development problems. As one student's

definition shows, students are actively engaging with the discourse surrounding

development globally and hoping for increased independence from donor funding. The

emphasis is placed on the community rather than on individual notions of success:

> I consider development as the fact that a country is able to do things by its own
> means, not depending on other countries as many African countries are, for the
> time being. They are in debt, everything they know to do is to hold their hands
> to other countries and to ask for money or something like that. If we want to
> develop our country, we have to make jobs, we have to make the others, the
> people of the country to work. But, we, have not to think only about our
> personal interest but the general interest, to make the others, okay, give the
> others the opportunity to bring their stone to the building of the country. I think
> it's how I understand development. (Interview, April 21, 2011)

Each student in this study alluded to the need to change people's thinking about

development in order to move closer to a goal of independence, focusing first on

changing people and their opinions what is required to ensure basic needs are met and

then working to improve dependence on donor organizations. Several students discuss

this shift in thinking about development below:

> Yeah, but the development of the nation depends on the development of the people first. Look at infrastructure- they can be great but if you don't have great individuals first you won't maintain the quality of the infrastructure without knowing it. So, first we have to merge our own individuals through … the word doesn't come. For example, if you want to do something you have to see the best way to do something and once you have found it, you have to tell it to the people and have them adapt to it (Interview, April 21, 2011)

> I think that we cannot talk about development without a kind of…. A kind of mentality also. Even if riches is a part of development, if the Sénégalese can have some way of thinking, some mentality, and some facts that keep them 'backwards'. Yes [these must change]. (Interview, April 22, 2011)

Students are already acting in ways to change people's minds about the future of

Sénégal. By reframing activism in terms of social justice and fighting for academic

rather than corporatist concerns, students have begun to shift in some ways away from

an economic preoccupation of development as the personal and human development

aspects of society seem to be more important to these students. In particular, Ndèye S. is

the student who is most involved in development projects in Sénégal. She is a self-

proclaimed activist who is involved in beekeeping activism networks. She embodies the

educated person discourse and takes seriously her responsibility to be an advocate and

watchperson for Sénégalese citizens. A conversation with Ndèye reveals the difficulty

of attempting to change people's minds. Her narrative alludes to many of the points

covered in this chapter and she, like many students and government officials, is learning

how to operate with limited resources. Her story, while not the norm for students in this

study elucidates the struggle faced once students step outside of the academic arena and

into the national arena of politics and activism:

> There are days when I want to stop activism because I sort of feel like there is no way out and I will… *comment dire* (how to say)? Blow my mind off about it all. [Laughs]. Nothing will change. I sometimes have this feeling like… the environment is not suitable for good activism. And, I am often told that I should, make job applications in ministries, or even involve in politics. Someone advised me to go and… because I am an active woman that I should go to the women's ministry and have my CV there and just let them know [about me]. You know, if I wake up today and say that I will support Karim Wade [Abdoulaye Wade's son] and call the media, you know, call the media, gather some people, do some show, some noise, I will be given a big… a huge house, a good car, these sort of things, and sometimes, not that I want to do this, but there are days that I want just to have a good job and be in my corner. Just live my life and not involve in activism because I have a feeling that nothing will change at all. These sort of things… I don't see. It's difficult.
>
> *Casey: Yeah.*
>
> Ndèye: And there are days I need to earn money. And there are days I want to… I don't know, I want to be positive. I want to, not that I am not positive. I am to some extent, but, I don't know… There are days I feel like just being like everybody else, not involving in anything. Not criticizing, being in my corner, being in my house, finding a good husband, these sort of things. Anyways, it's not… it's just when I am *conjee les blues*, that I feel like this.
>
> *Casey: So, what motivates you to keep going?*
>
> Ndèye: Well, just that, like I, …. Sort of patriotism. That whatever I… I am doing something positive. I may not well estimate it, but sometimes I think that. That's it. I am bringing something to all this. It may not be…. Things may not change the way I feel them, but anyways. As I said, I won't wake up one day and wonder what have I done with my life. That I have done something positive, I have… I don't know. That I have somewhat changed some minds, I don't know, in talking to others, in sensitizing, these sorts of things. This is what motivates, and a sort of… I don't want to be among the *les bribres* (the fragments): The people who are led. I want to be among the, not actually the leaders, but the one, who anyways, who are active. Not a passive person, not bearing everything that comes up. This is what motivates me. That's it. (Interview, April 27, 2011)

In this conversation Ndèye pointed out her conflicted position, facing the difficulty of

being an activist in a system that rewarded political involvement with the leading party.

There were many monetary gains to be reaped from supporting a particular leader, and

in this case, she gives the example of Karim Wade, president Wade's son. She felt the

pressure to "be like everybody else" when she was feeling down about her position, but

she continued to be involved because she believed strongly in the causes with which she

participated. Patriotism, in her words, reflects this service to the nation that so many

students discussed. The point of activism, from this perspective, is to overcome the rule

of failure on campus and into the streets of the nation and to represent the educated

person well within Sénégal; to not be a part of the fragments of society, on the fringes,

but to be a part of the decision makers. Instead of giving up, she continued to be

involved in large projects, advocating in the media and raising funds to help beekeepers

in Sénégal, as she describes below:

> I have a huge project I started to see over it for three years, finding investments to build a huge beekeeping center, like… Well, this is how I see my activism. Not actually complaining like this is not going right, like these sort of things. But, finding the means to help see things change. If I manage to have this center built, it can provide jobs, it can be a center for training young people, for training women in beekeeping activities, and it can also be a source of incomes in terms of… Because there will be beehives to produce and to sell. There are, well, there are two centers I know of this sort, but I want it huger because the centers I know are in Kahfoutin and Toubacouda, but as far as I know it is exclusively for production. But, I want it to be something not only for production but for training, for documentation for what is beekeeping, and even agricultural matters which can be linked to beekeeping. Like, colonization [of the hive] (Interview, April 27, 2011)

As a full-time student, Ndèye was working to promote a socially just and active

Sénégalese citizenry by opening up more opportunities to become involved in

beekeeping and activism. She was committed to a community-focused development and acted upon her agency to complete projects in the midst of limited resources. Driven by the responsibilities of the educated person, she was helping to reframe development practice in Sénégal through her activism. She is one of many examples of the ways individual students are impacting upon national development in Sénégal.

Within the contested, limited resourced and politically intense environment of UCAD, students are enacting agency in productive ways that shape the student experience. Their confrontation of their representation and activism shows their ability to recognize discourses and act upon them. This moves beyond the student belief in transformation (Bajaj, 2005) to actual in-process transformation. Also, the examples in this chapter and the previous one show the importance of discourses as they "act" upon students in their day-to-day lives and contribute to a continual cycle of unequal reproduction. Not only is nonviolence ideology a break away from the previous twenty years of on-campus activism, but it serves as a model for Sénégalese society too. Whether or not their futures remain the same, if they study abroad, become involved in politics, or fail out of UCAD, students are currently active agents contributing to Sénégalese society in meaningful ways and their hopes are to continue to do so beyond graduation.

Discourses are political; they are created and circulate to fulfill an agenda. Agency can only be viewed in light of politics and competing positions/agendas. It is not whether or not a person "has" agency or "is" an agent, but more importantly, how agency operates within a particular social environment. From this study, I argue that while most scholars discuss agency in terms of "opposition" to a particular

representation to something, studies of agency have the potential to re-present people in terms of how they negotiate limited resources and increase their capability to change their positions and their societies.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This case study at Université Cheikh Anta Diop provides insight into the inner-workings of student agency, the politics of education on a campus affected by inter/national policymaking decision, and the actions taken to confront a violent history and reframe student activism on campus. Using data collected via interviews, participant observation, journaling, and document analysis during two months of fieldwork at UCAD and two additional months from Minnesota, I sought to answer questions about the purposes of higher education, agency within the student experience, and sociopolitical involvement by university students. I argued that not only do the students at UCAD act upon agency in productive ways, but that the environment of *in loco cura* requires agency in order for students to succeed. Additionally, I argued that students in the Collective are advocating for nonviolent student activism not only to reduce violence on campus, but also to re-present themselves as disciplined and worthy national leaders, potentially impacting future forms of national development. In summary, by focusing on the form of resistance and transformation— individual and collective activism within the *in loco cura* environment—I presented the roots of agency at UCAD and highlighted the non-corporatist and nonviolent lives of ten UCAD students.

In this chapter, I begin by a summarizing the main points of the previous five chapters in this dissertation. Then, I will elaborate on the contributions of this research for three principal audiences: Scholars and policymakers interested in educational theories of agency and activism, higher education scholars with a particular interest in

Sub-Saharan Africa, and, finally, the Sénégalese government and UCAD officials. I will

begin with the summary of chapters.

Summary of Chapters

In Chapter One, I presented the problem of how African students are represented

and laid out the "reform framework" that so greatly affects higher education in Sénégal.

The overall purpose of the study, namely, to examine how students confront their

representation and work within the "reform framework" was explained. I briefly defined

two key terms used throughout the study—"the conditions" and "agency"—and

elaborated on how they were to be used in this study. Most importantly, in this chapter,

I argued that this research is significant because educational policymakers and donors

must better understand how students negotiate the higher education terrain in order to

create policies that increase the likelihood of success for students.

In Chapter Two, I situated this dissertation in the literature on postcoloniality

and agency as conceptualized by cultural production theory. I explained my

conceptualization of the "critical postcolonial theory" and argued that the coming

together of critical and postcolonial theories is necessary to understand and attend to

material conditions faced by students at UCAD. I moved into the literature on student

agency with a particular focus on identity and protest, building on three definitions of

agency to create a definition that includes discursive constitution as well as belief in

one's ability to make a social difference. Lastly, I discussed key studies about student

activism and argued that significant gaps exist in the literature partly due to the type of

research conducted but also because of the theorizing of student activism researchers

who tend to focus on corporatism rather than placing activism within the greater context of the social and cultural environments of the university.

In Chapter Three, I presented my methodology and showing how a qualitative case study approach is especially relevant for the types of questions proposed in this study. I discussed my relationships with participant and provided more information on each of the participants involved. Using the analogy of the dancer, I spoke to the ethnographic underpinnings guiding my research and laid out the methods of one-on-one interviews, participant observation, cooperative journaling, and document analysis. Lastly, I drew upon previous research and experience in UCAD to identify six key themes that arose from the weaving together of pre-dissertation and dissertation research. These themes served as the foundation of the research presented in Chapters Four and Five.

The student experience at UCAD was the focus of Chapter Four. In this chapter, I used an amalgam to present a day-in-the-life of a UCAD student based on my day-to-day interactions with students, interviews, field notes, and journals exchanged with the participants. I argued that life on campus is a mirror of Sénégalese life in general and that the politics of education greatly resemble the politics of citizenship in Sénégalese society. Using a narrative form, I highlighted three primary student discourses at UCAD. The first is the educated-person discourse that entails the rights and responsibilities of those persons privileged enough to be educated. The second discourse was the "rule of failure" discourse showing how students must find multiple and varying pathways to success within an failure-is-the-norm environment. Lastly, I presented the UCAD-as-training-ground and students-as-future-leaders discourse,

arguing that students see themselves as future national leaders and view the UCAD

experience as a training ground for this leadership. I ended the chapter by discussing the

particular themes and the major discourses in order to set up the zooming out to student

agency and activism research in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five included an elaboration of fieldwork pertaining to agency and

activism as a form of collective agency. I presented data detailing the negotiation of

three primary discourses at UCAD and argued that students' productive enactment of

agency has implications for national development because of the parallels between the

in loco cura and highly politicized environments on campus and the politics of

citizenship off campus. I started by setting up the "rule of failure" on campus, then,

demonstrated how the discourse of the educated person drives a discursive critique of *in*

loco cura and motivates students towards individual notions of success. The next

section focused on the university-as-training-ground discourse, wherein I argued that

students involved in the Collective are driving a nonviolent stake into the activism

ground of UCAD's campus. Lastly, I provided an overview of students' ideas about

national development and the ways they compare with notions of success and are held

together by the moral underpinnings of the educated person discourse. This dissertation

contributes to agency theory, higher education policymaking and research, and to

student activism literature. Each of these contributions will be outlined below.

Contributions of study

This research contributes to agency theory in three primary ways. First, it

underscores the usefulness of examining discourses in agency research. As Davies

(1991) explained, the ways that individuals change, resist and appropriate discursive constitutions is very important for understanding resistance and/or transformation, as it is necessary to first understand how individuals position themselves in their social systems. By listening for primary discourses in each of the interviews, observations, and journals with students, I was better able to understand how students make meaning of higher education and how transformation and resistance are manifested within the university setting. Secondly, as Bajaj (1995) explained, often agency scholars are interested in transformation or opposition, and in this study I was concerned with the interrelationship between the two seemingly opposite terms in order to give meaning to complex enactments of agency. Although none of the students in this study were heavily involved in political parties, there are many students at UCAD who see their future being transformed not by opposition, but by conformity to the current political system. By focusing on the relationship between transformation and opposition, the complexity of an individual's life is maintained and logical equations such as opposition leads to transformation are proven overly simplistic. Lastly, I was intentionally attuned to forms of agency that were not merely cognitive but acted upon and collective. By analyzing agency through the form of student activism, this study takes Bajaj's (2005) cognitive view of transformative agency one-step further than belief in one's ability to acting upon one's ability to make a difference.

Additionally this study showed that a corporatist bias towards student activism is limiting for understanding student activism in resource-dependent locations. A student's access to resources does not automatically preclude his/her involvement in activism for corporatist concerns. UCAD students peacefully marched for academic

concerns and students like Ndeye S. are involved in activism that has no corporatist mooring. These two examples contrast the corporatist representation of students in most student activism literature, and it reveals a more complex picture of student activism at UCAD in coordination with Zeilig and Ansell's studies. The study also included an understudied piece of the student activism literature: the activism of re-presentation, how groups work to combat negative representations by utilizing different forms of activism. The primary contribution of this research in terms of activism is that it revealed how students take seriously their roles as intellectual and national leaders.

Lastly, this study contributes to research and policymaking on higher education, particularly in Africa. In general, this research underscores the importance of representation when creating national and university-level policy and places students at the center of this analysis. This student-centeredness revealed how policies made at the international and national levels greatly affect students at the tertiary education level and shows that students have the most to gain and lose from the university environment. When faculty members go on strike, they still get paid; students miss out on valuable months of academic and employment preparation. An ethnographically informed account of the daily-lived experience of an African student not only contributed to a major gap in the literature on African higher education but it also cemented the argument that students must be at the center of higher education policymaking or else tertiary education fails to meet its intended objectives. Lastly, student voices were privileged throughout the paper and student recommendations are the focus of the following section.

Policy Implications

The Government of Sénégal, in coordination with the World Bank, has created a new plan for establishing new regional universities. In this plan, the government is seeking assistance with governance and administration issues as well as conducting participatory research on the impact of new buildings on land currently farmed by Sénégalese families. This participatory research on the impact of universities on local families is very important and is to be commended. The project addresses the first major policy implication derived from this research: Address overcrowding by expanding educational opportunities in non-Dakar regions. The government, through the *Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, des Universités, des Centres Universitaires Régionaux et de la Recherche Scientifique*, has collaborated with the World Bank to create additional universities throughout the nation, including plans to reduce the stress on UCAD by adding another UCAD-like university outside of Dakar.

The plans, however, do not address many of the current problems on campus arising from increased politicization or the lack of training for higher education administrators. There are plans to hire more faculty members, which may positively affect the student experience. In concert with the newly formed policy of decreasing overcrowding at UCAD the following recommendations—generated by students—have the potential to contribute to a greater student experience. For some of the recommendations, I will use quotes from student interviews as I asked each student how they would reform higher education in Sénégal if given the chance.

Recommandations for Government of Sénégal/ *Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, des Universités, des Centres Universitaires Régionaux et de la Recherche Scientifique*

<u>Build more academic buildings, address overcrowding in FLSH</u>

Without a doubt overcrowding is a major issue at UCAD that must be addressed because it contributes greatly to the rule of failure on campus. It is clear that the government understands this need as building projects are occurring throughout the campus. These buildings must be finished, with a priority given to the FLSH amphitheatre to reduce the overcrowding in this huge department. More space would also mean more resources and opportunities for faculty members and provide spaces for students to gather.

<u>Address the information gap between secondary and tertiary education</u>

Students need to be aware of the opportunities for higher education that exist in Sénégal, and the types of program offered at each university. This could be accomplished by providing brochures or a website for high school students explaining the options and degree programs at each university, the process of admission, registration, and orientation. A website would also allow for timely updates about the beginning of the academic year and strikes that affect the start date. The diversification of higher education through the building of regional universities will only make addressing this information gap more important. Regional universities admission should be promoted to limit the crowding at UCAD, but quality issues remain a major student concern. Despite the overcrowding and difficulties on campus, students trust the UCAD name. A strategy for diversifying program offerings at regional universities

would help to increase visibility of these universities. Additionally, private and

technical offerings should be included so that students are aware that there are other

options outside of UCAD, as noted by one of the UCAD professors:

> *Casey: If you were in a position as an administrator or as a government official, what are some types of policies that you would create to help students?*

> Professor: I would first of all try to build or to create the opportunity for the students who do not wish to go for longer studies, to go directly to vocational schools and have a quick training and then start working, you know, because this is a problem.

> *Casey: So, are you saying there are students, potentially in the English department, who shouldn't be at a three-year LMD-type of institution?*

> Professor: That's what we see, most of them when they end their second year, or their third year they want to find a job, and if you go to the airport or other fields or areas you will find a tremendous number of students from this department [English] serving there. Most of them are also teaching. You see, this shows that they want to stop [their studies] very quickly and go for professional life. So, this would, this would have, you would cut the number of students that would have to stay here, and you redeploy them in vocational schools where they will be having shorter terms of study, and then find a job very quickly. And then the rest of the students, which will be left, they will be less numerous and the less they are the better the conditions will be. (Interview, April 26, 2011)

<u>Right to organize protest off campus</u>

A major issue that students brought up was their inability to protest off-campus,

even when the protest is nonviolent. This issue is symbolic, and would show a sense of

trust in the students and their abilities to be responsible citizens and reward nonviolence

efforts as a model for other citizens. Currently, this restriction of a freedom to assemble

contributes to students' notions that the government does not act unless violence occurs.

By allowing students to march off-campus, the government would send a powerful

message that would empower students to advocate for their needs in diplomatic and socially just ways.

<div align="center">Meritocritize admissions</div>

Students expressed concerns that unqualified students are admitted to the university based on easily falsified grades at the secondary level. Criterion for admission should be expanded beyond grades, to include an educational goals statement asking students to express their desired program, their reasons for choosing the program, and their goals after graduation. One student (see below) recommended the implementation of an interview process, but this would obviously be very difficult given the large number of potential applicants each year. Students suggestions are below:

> Do a better selection as to who is to enter university. Set a criteria so that just anyone doesn't enter in the university because he wants to get there, but because he has the ability to (Interview, April 14, 2011)

> Rokhaya: The grades are important. But also the, maybe the commitment, and… because grades may be falsified. But, have an interview with students and see their mindset. Require, a template…

> *Casey : Like a cover letter?*

> Rokhaya: Yes, like a cover letter and there would be a committee to look down over all of this (Interview, April 14, 2011)

Recommendations for UCAD officials

<div align="center">Invest in students as future leaders</div>

An intentional investment in Masters students is needed to train future faculty members; hiring more faculty would allow for more time given to this endeavor.

Leadership training opportunities could be created in the campus by partnering with

students who are already running informal orientation and residence hall programs. In

order to achieve this end, the administration must be de-politicized and professionalized

to meet the needs of students and provide leadership training and mentorship. In sum,

administrators for COUD should not be political appointees, but they should be

qualification-driven job placements. One suggestion for meeting the current gap in

mentorship provided at the university is to hire retired faculty members who understand

the university and how it works to become emeritus-type mentors and administrators.

Additionally, the World Bank and other donor organizations should include higher

education administration courses and training for administrative staff in order to create a

more student-centered environment and to provide them with challenging yet supportive

environments. Another option is to provide students with more resources to do what

they are already doing by providing resources for orientation with the option of paying

students to provide orientations. One student summarized this suggestion as follows:

> The first one is about orientation. Since I think, and before that, I think it will be interesting to let people aware about their decision. I think there are some students here who are obliged to follow some studies but they don't want to and they don't have any abilities. They don't have much money and I think that to my point, it is important if you do something and you, you, you… you feel yourself inside it and I think that you may success. (Interview, April 7, 2011)

Offer an orientation

Over and over again, students argued that the lack of information about reading

the timetable, how to find classes, how to find a room, where to pay bills, where to

receive scholarships, is greatly contributing to the rule of failure on campus. One way to

help students in their transition is to provide an orientation focused on providing

students with logistical information that would contribute to success at the university.

Student leaders could be involved in providing tours on campus and walking students

through the time-tables. Much of this orientation activity is happening informally, and I

suggest the university invest in standardizing the process for all new students.

Students are already working hard to find success at UCAD and to engage in

different networking and social activities on campus to supplement their studies. By

implementing these suggestions, the government and UCAD would send a message to

students that they are a valuable resource in the nation. In the end, students are seeking

an education in order to better their lives and the lives around them as Ndèye so

eloquently states:

> If the scholarship was an important amount, any student would not need to
> work. If anything to keep students at school and concentrated to their studies
> without less financial worries, was encouraged, many students would pursue
> long studies and be what they exactly wanted to be since a teenager and, at last
> if long studies assured quick work with a respectable salary at the end, study and
> research would be better encouraged. We students should struggle for this
> because education is the key of peace and reason. Thus, just as I said, your
> struggle is noble. It is useful to everybody and to the world. Do not give up and
> just as you believe in your research, believe that every sacrifice you have done
> or you will be doing is worth it. Education does not have a price.   (Journal
> entry, June 8, 2011)

Conclusion

This research study has contributed to theories of agency, activism, and higher

education policymaking. By placing students at the center of the analysis and making

recommendations based on their assumptions, I hope that the "rule of failure" on

UCAD's campus can become a "rule of success", even if a student's success does not

occur on UCAD's campus. The recommendations resulting from this research, if

implemented, would mitigate the primary concerns of students and place a priority on

the academic preparation of students instead of the negotiation of logistical issues. The

recommendations derived from student interviews and journals are meant to emancipate

students from the difficult ideological and material conditions on campus.

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APPENDIX A- CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM
UCAD STUDENT AGENCY STUDY

You are invited to be in a research study of the UCAD student agency project. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Casey Stafford (staff116@umn.edu), PhD student at the University of Minnesota who is advised by Dr. Frances Vavrus (vavru003@umn.edu), a professor at the University of Minnesota in the Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy, and Development.

Background Information

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to explore and interrogate dominant representations of African university students by examining how students conceptualize and act upon their own agency. It seeks to understand "the way [students] actively confront the ideological and material conditions presented by schooling," with schooling in this case restricted to the tertiary level (Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996, p. 14). My central argument is that education scholars, donor agencies, and government officials need to better understand how students conceptualize and produce agency within African universities, which are themselves highly influenced by the inter/national context of educational policymaking, and how students' experience of university education prepares them for a particular kind of economic, political, and social participation in a rapidly transforming Africa.

Research questions are as follows:
- How do UCAD students perceive the purposes of higher education in Sénégal?
  - What does it mean to be an educated person in Sénégal today?
  - How is the educated person produced within this context?

- How, if at all, does the UCAD student experience produce students' sense of agency, and their ability to affect their societies?
  - How is agency produced within the English students' classrooms?
  - How is agency produced outside of the classroom?
  - How do students conceptualize their ability to contribute to national development?

- How do UCAD students engage in the sociopolitical arena in Sénégal?
  - How do students respond to and fill spaces of engagement provided by the university?

- o How do students create their own spaces of engagement while at the university?
- o How does this engagement help us better understand the social, political, and economic context within the country?

Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in one-on-one interview with the researcher. There will be three to four follow-up interviews, as more information is needed and you agree to the additional interviews.

- Allow me to audio-record and/or take notes during the interview, which should last no more than 1.5 hours at a time.

- Read the transcript of the interview that I will type and give to you and correct any information that we have recorded incorrectly. You may then keep a copy of the transcript for your history.

- Participate in cooperative journaling throughout May and June. I will provide a training session in April to describe all of the process of journaling.

- Agree to being observed by the researcher in classrooms and non-classroom settings.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

The study has several potential risks: First, it may be uncomfortable to recall unpleasant events or conflicts that arose during your experience as a UCAD student. Second, it will take several hours, if not longer, to participate in the interviews and journaling and read the transcript for accuracy. To minimize these risks, you may decline to answer any question during the interview or journaling process or to review the transcript after it has been typed and sent to you.

Confidentiality

The audio recording and typed transcripts of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a UCAD student unless she or he requests that we use the person's real name rather than a pseudonym. Research records will be stored securely, and only the researcher will have access to the records. Audio recordings will only be accessed by the researcher and will not be used for educational purposes. They will be erased once transcription is completed and verified.

Voluntary Nature of the Study

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with UCAD or the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions

The researcher conducting this study is Casey Stafford. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact Casey Stafford at 330 Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455, by phone at 731-571-1380, or via email at staff116@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigators:_____ Date: _____