INTERNATIONAL DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT

XXXIV CYCLE

Doctoral Thesis

Sociocultural impact of the Chinese presence in Senegal: Intercultural dynamics and multilingual communication

Supervisor
Claudia Monacelli
Co-supervisor
Stefania Cerrito

Candidate
Lara Bruno

Program Coordinator
Alessandro De Nisco

Academic Year 2021/2022

For Danilo

Abstract

While Sino-Senegalese relations have grown substantially in recent years, our understanding of the cultural and sociolinguistic impact of this phenomenon on Senegalese society is still limited. The objective of the present research is to understand the implications of the growing Chinese presence in Senegal, with a particular focus on interpersonal relations and linguistic dynamics.

The research is developed using a mixed methods design. An *ad hoc* questionnaire was administered to 163 Senegalese participants and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 Senegalese participants. In addition, 4 ethnostories were collected from Chinese citizens living in Senegal. In order to understand the general sentiment of African media on the considered topic, Sentiment Analysis was performed on 142 news articles in French and English language regarding Sino-Senegalese relations.

Our findings suggest that personal interactions between the two studied populations are sporadic and mostly due to commercial needs. The Chinese diaspora appears to be highly heterogeneous with regard to the composition but also to integration patterns and outcomes. As a result of the growing Chinese presence in the country, there has been a growing interest in learning Chinese language by the Senegalese population, as suggested by data collected through questionnaires and interviews. Senegalese perception of the impact of China on Senegal is subject to highly polarising opinions and can be analysed mainly from two perspectives: the economic and the sociocultural impact. However, the positive view of the phenomenon is predominant among participants for both sides. African newspaper coverage of Chinese presence in Senegal revealed a predominant neutral/positive sentiment towards the phenomenon. Despite this, negative views were noted, particularly regarding the impact of Chinese enterprises on the local market.

As we can only expect Sino-Senegalese relations to grow in the near future, we firmly believe further research should be undertaken in this area of interest.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

Introductory note

It is March 2021; the world is locked up. Covid pandemic has been storming the entire planet since January 2020. Almost all countries have enforced coronavirus-related travel restrictions and border shutdowns. Our reality is changing before our eyes, and we are changing accordingly.

Fieldwork seems to be a distant dream at the moment, but our research must proceed. We have to rely on technology because it is the only means that can allow us to reach distant lands and hear foreign voices now. I am dreaming of packing my luggage, jumping on a plane and immersing myself in a completely different environment. I think about Africa every day, I was supposed to be in Senegal now. I read of famous ethnographers, anthropologists and their field research and I dream, I dream I could feel now on my skin, in my eyes and ears what they experienced in their long journeys to distant countries.

While I dream of walking through a market in a dusty Dakar, I am within four walls of a modern house, a western house. I am in Rome, I am in Italy, I am in Europe. I am in that part of the world that is said to be "the luckiest". I am in that part of the world where everyone, after all, has enough food to survive. Actually, I am in that part of the world where every day, food is thrown away in exorbitant quantities from the kitchens of our restaurants and our homes. I am also in the part of the world where I, as a young woman, can decide who I want to marry or not marry, who I want to be almost freely and unconditionally. I cannot change it, I do not want to change it, I am from this side of the world. However, this makes me feel guilty. Guilty for belonging to that side of the world that for centuries has exploited and devastated the African continent, with no respect for its territory, its people, its extraordinary culture. I wonder if I will ever be able to utterly understand african world, coming from such a different reality, permeated by a subtle sense of superiority that should have no way of existing. Suddenly, Margaret Mead's words ring in my ears: "an ideal culture is one that makes a place for every human gift." As an individual, I should contribute my utmost strength to create this type of culture. To do so, the only means I know is knowledge and humanity.

Initial stage of the data collecting process started with great difficulty; it is not easy to contact participants living in Senegal from another continent. I am sitting in front of my computer,

waiting in a Zoom "virtual room" for my first participant to join. He is a 38-years old PhD researcher from Senegal. I feel embarrassed to enter his house in such an invasive way, I know if I were in Dakar we would have probably met in a neutral space. The time arrives and the camera turns on. As soon the conversation starts, I immediately perceive what Senegalese people call *Teranga*, the quality of hospitality. I am miles away, but despite this I feel greatly welcomed.

Every time I have an interview, it is the same warming feeling. Senegalese people are really gentle, and they are kind of proud our research is centred on Senegal. Chinese people, on the other hand, are always surprised by an Italian speaking Chinese, the language makes us closer.

This time, when the camera switches on, I feel I am really entering a different dimension. The room of this Senegalese university student has walls made of a very raw material, the same colour of the soil. An incredibly old lamp is swinging from the ceiling, without a chandelier. The walls of my kitchen, reflected by my screen, appear so white and modern in contrast. There are two worlds connecting together, I am travelling.

I am again in front of my camera to steal with my eyes and my ears some of the African nature. The participant is sitting outside, we are having the interview on WhatsApp. The sound of birdsong is so loud that I can hardly hear him speaking, his eyes seem old even if he is quite young. The roar of nature is coming out of my telephone, it is overwhelming. I think we (westerners) are forgetting that power, African people instead treasure an extremely strong and authentic relationship with nature. The modernity of our world is losing something, something priceless. I am grateful Africa is there, reminding the world what it already forgot.

1. Introduction

> It is not cultures that meet or clash, but people. If you think of them as set in stone, cultures become an impassable fence, which feeds new forms of racism. Each identity is made up of memory and oblivion. More than in the past, identity must be sought in its constant becoming.[1]
>
> (Marco Aime, 2004)

African identity is a question with multiple answers. It is a complex, multidimensional, multicultural, expansive and hybrid reality that can be analysed through a myriad of different disciplines and approaches. International relations can be considered as one of the focal points in the development of what has been called "African identity." The effects of past and present colonialism are visible all over Africa, but it is still not clear how they contribute to shaping an African identity in the globalisation era.

Indeed, over the last five centuries, African interaction with the outside world influenced and thickened the pre-existing melting pot of different religious, moral, cultural, economic, political, and philosophical structures and worldviews. As the influence of globalisation continues to weaken boundaries of statehood, many people in Africa are increasingly becoming aware of their own political and economic environment. In addition, extremely precarious life conditions due to wars, political conflicts, and economic exploitation of African lands from other nations force African people to emigrate elsewhere. How does this phenomenon impact the modern concept of identity? How do we define an African identity that is multifaceted, constructed from those living inside and outside the boundaries of the continent?

The objective of this research is to understand the implications of modern international dynamics, in particular the growing Chinese presence in the African continent and its impact on African cultural and social identity, with a focus on contemporary Chinese diaspora in Senegal. Senegal has been chosen as a starting point for several reasons, one being the already complex linguistic map of Senegal as well as the vocal nature of Senegalese on the topic of African identity in the international sphere.

---

[1] Translated by the author.

Since the end of Cold World War and the demise of Apartheid in Africa, there has been a heated debate about African identity. African scholars moved from the conventional notion of identity conceived in opposition to the West (oppositional model) to a much more modern notion that considers social contamination, hybridity and the concept of Afropolitanism. The Pan-African movement played a key role in the construction of an African identity following the idea well expressed by Marcus Garvey's nativist slogan (1921): "Africa for Africans". The necessity of Africans being united by a common cause or self-understanding goes back to the mid-nineteenth century when scholars like Crummel and Blyden were trying to conceive a common African culture and identity to combat the racist philosophies of their time (Eze, 2014: 235-236). The first modern identity of African people seems therefore inextricably linked to concepts as African liberation, democracy and anti-colonialism movements. Today the situation is rapidly changing, as Giddens (2016) suggests, in fact we are living in a runaway world that is growing smaller every day due to changes brought about by the forces of globalisation. In what way do the contaminations of new powers, such as China, affect the continent? Does China have a purely economic and political influence or does its power extend to cultural and linguistic aspects?

In 2005 Taiye Tuakli-Wosornu coined the word Afropolitanism, trying to grasp the diverse nature of being African in the world today. Modern scholars, analysing the different trends and political, cultural and economic changes of the modern era are promoting a new concept of African identity that is not defined anymore in terms of opposition but is based on complementarity. It seems that the concept of Afropolitanism, in the new African city, touches on a way of thinking about people's capacities to forge their own space. Individuals indeed attribute meaning to space and in this process transform "space" into "place" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003: 13).

Dakar is a notable example of this spatial egalitarianism. The city has experienced extremely rapid urbanisation in only a few decades, and it is characterised by features of globalisation such as rapid flows of people and goods which result in a variety of different influences in terms of identity (Versluys, 2008: 283). Due to the fact that a cultural identity does not have a single point or moment of origin and is in continuous

evolution (Wright, 2002), the present research aims at discovering contemporary trends on African cultural and linguistic identity, focusing on Senegal. The country has always been a melting-pot of ethnic groups and languages but is also one of the strongest democracies in Africa and an important player in African international relations.

The presence of Chinese in Dakar, as elsewhere on the continent, represents the rapid growth of a Chinese diaspora and the strengthening of Sino-African relations. The growing south-south cooperation framework is increasingly changing global trade patterns and as China continues to grow and integrate into the African economy, scholars and other nations' attention to the issue is rising. One of the most important questions that arose from the observation of this phenomenon is whether the Sino-African partnership is balanced or unbalanced. Wasserman (2012) observes that there is a dichotomic tendency in visions of China's presence on the continent: China is indeed perceived as either an exploitative, predatory force or a benevolent, development partner. Similarly, various reactions have been generated by the phenomenon in Senegal.

In this regard, the previous literature focuses mainly on the political and diplomatic level, we believe it is equally fundamental to consider the socio-cultural impact through the experiences of individuals. After all, the world is composed of singular individuals immersed in the unity and continuum of cultures (Sapir, 1933) and in a group of individuals it is their own subjective perspective who defines the community. The present work stems from a need to understand the mechanisms underlying our increasingly interconnected world where global realities, whether economic, cultural, political, environmental, or social, interpenetrate and mutually define each other.

1. 1. Object of the study

The present study analyses the intercultural relations among Senegalese and Chinese people within the territory of Senegal. The conceptual framework of this research is built on the complex interaction between identity, language and culture in a multicultural and plurilingual space. Indeed, the relations of movement that are established between these three dynamic forces constitute the basis of human multiple, fluid and constantly changing social identity.

The research aims at outlining the sociocultural impact of the encounter between the Chinese and Senegalese groups in Senegal. On one hand, we examine the perception of the local community regarding the Chinese presence in Senegal, comparing it to the long-lasting French presence in terms of foreign influence. On the other hand, we investigate the Chinese point of view on life in Senegal, their feelings of distance or closeness to the local culture, their integration or isolation strategies. Furthermore, we analyse the coverage of African newspapers on Sino-Senegalese relations to understand the general sentiment expressed by the African press regarding the phenomenon. Media, as a powerful social system, also plays a significant role in creating people's sense of reality (Gergen, 1999) and in allowing cultural exchange and knowledge. Therefore, we believe it is extremely important to understand which inputs come from the African press with respect to the Chinese presence, and to verify their correspondence on the population view of the phenomenon, combining them with data collected through questionnaires and interviews.

The role of culture and language in the identity building process constitute a fundamental concept in the evolution of this research. The relation of individuals belonging to diverse cultural worlds is analysed from a sociocultural and linguistic point of view. The study focuses on the evaluation of language contact dynamics and cross-cultural relations particularly in Dakar, where the presence of Chinese communities is well-documented. In addition, we will note that the identities constructed are highly variable as a result of the multicultural environment.

A final discussion will be presented according to results collected from the sample population, trying to underline whether the initial questions will be successfully answered or not. The study aims furthermore to discover the changing impact of new and pre-existent colonialism on the linguistic and cultural dimension as well as on the social domain. The understanding of cultural, political, economic and social relations between Africa and colonising nations is particularly interesting from an anthropological point of view, but it is also extremely important to create efficient cross-cultural communication and to improve pragmatic strategies in many areas of social life.

Because the views presented here are not comprehensive or representative, this research does not seek to draw conclusions but rather to present observable patterns and trends in Sino-Senegalese relations and to suggest the need for a more comprehensive examination of it.

1.1.1. Research questions

The goal of this work is to obtain the answers to the following questions:

1. *How do Chinese and Senegalese communities interact in their daily life in Senegal? What kind of intercultural dynamics can be observed and what language/s do they use in their interactions?*

The research focuses on the intercultural relations among Chinese and Senegalese people in the territory of Senegal, particularly Dakar where the Chinese presence is concentrated.

2. *How do locals perceive the Chinese community? Are there differences in the perception of the French and the Chinese presence among Senegalese people?*

In this regard, the present study analyses the impact of old forms of colonialism (France) and new forms of foreign presence in the country (China and France) in relation with the economic, political and the social sphere of Senegal. Special attention

will be devoted to the Senegalese perception of the foreign presence in matters of social and cultural impact.

3. *Does the Chinese presence have an impact on Senegalese social and language contact dynamics?*

Through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, the study aims at collecting experiences regarding the sociocultural impact of the Chinese presence in Senegal. A special focus will be put on language contact dynamics, considered as one of the primary identity markets in the identity construction process of individuals.

1.2. Research rationale

A growing body of literature has investigated Sino-African relations, focusing on economic, diplomatic and political issues. To date, however, Chinese and African personal views and attitudes towards each other have not yet been thoroughly analysed (Wang & Flam, 2007: 196). Therefore, Western scholars tend to study African and Asian cultures in relation only to Western culture; research in the social sciences and communication carries forth concepts and ideas grounded in Western epistemology (Asante & Chai, 2013). There is still a need for empirical evidence that evaluates what African themselves think about Chinese engagement with their continent.

News reports, research papers and other literature have focused on the impact of Chinese competition on African business, on the growing Sino-African diplomatic relations and the evolution of economic and political ties between the two nations. These glimpses are not sufficient to have an accurate picture of social interactions or attitudes. Individuals compose societies, and therefore it is necessary to contemporary investigate large-scale social and political phenomena from a macro and a micro perspective.

This research attempts to examine existing intercultural relations among Chinese and Senegalese people through the experiences of Senegalese and Chinese individuals living in Senegal. Moreover, it aims at understanding general trends in the modern construction of identities in a multicultural environment.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

The dissertation is organised in five chapters and three main parts: a contextual part, a theoretical and methodological part, and an analytical part. The first chapter gives a brief overview of the main theme of the research, presenting research objectives, questions and rationale.

The second chapter illustrates the context in which our research is situated. It outlines the geographical, political, historical, cultural and sociolinguistics contexts of Senegal. In addition, it introduces the evolution of Sino-Senegalese relations, describing the Chinese economic engagement in Senegal and the Sino-Senegalese cultural intersections.

The third chapter begins by examining the theoretical background of the work, illustrating the relation between culture, language and identity through the main theories and concepts in the context of each discipline of reference. It further describes the research design, the sample and the methodology used to collect, handle and process data. Finally, it establishes a reference sample for the analysis and discussion of data.

The fourth chapter contains detailed presentation and discussion of data analysis and the results of this study. The findings are presented under the following major headings: questionnaire responses, sentiment analysis of news dataset, analysis of semi-structured interviews.

The fifth chapter discusses the major findings and limits of this research through the triangulation of results. It furthermore opens a debate on new possible research paths and future work on the theme.

2. Study Context

2.1. Senegal: general overview

This section illustrates the actual socio-economic, geographical and historical Senegalese context.

2.1.1. Geography and people

Senegal is a country of 16,296,362 inhabitants located on the west African coast along a surface area of 196,722 km2 (Statista, 2021:9). It is bordered by Mauritania and Mali to the north and east, Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to the south, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. It almost entirely encircles the small country of the Gambia. It is located in the semi-arid savannah belt south of the Sahara Desert and has a tropical climate. Most of the population lives in the urban areas of the coastal regions; the rural population consists primarily of peanut or millet farmers and a small minority of pastoralists (McLaughlin, 2008:81). The country is divided into 14 administrative regions, regional capitals have the same name as their respective regions: Dakar, Diourbel, Fatick, Kaffrine, Kaolack, Kédougou, Kolda,

Louga, Matam, Saint-Louis, Sédhiou, Tambacounda, Thies, Ziguinchor. These regions are populated by specific ethnic groups, which speak their own languages (Ngom, 1999:131).
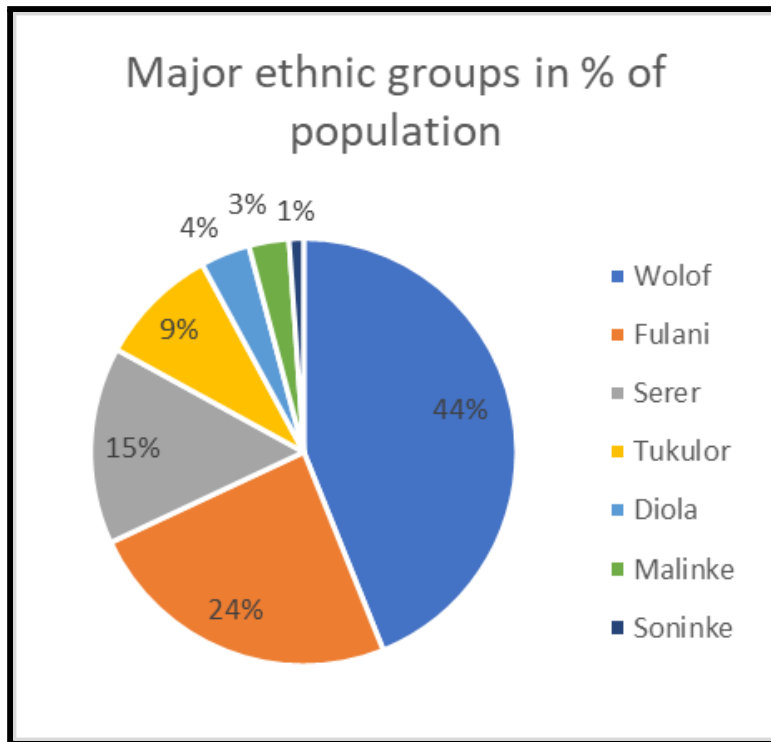
Figure 2.1. Major ethnic groups in % of population

The major ethnic groups are Wolof (43.3%), Fulani (23.8%), Serer (14.7%), Tukulor (9%), Diola (3.7%) and Malinke (3%) (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 59). The Wolof are the largest and most influential ethnic group in the country. When they arrived in the region during the 12th century, they established the Jolof Empire, which later converted to Islam. Despite being traditionally an agricultural people, they acquired a great commercial influence over centuries and many of them moved to cities, adopting a modern lifestyle. Nowadays the Wolof language is the most widespread in the country, and Wolof people have contributed to a great extent in shaping the current cultural identity of Senegal. The Fulani are a Pular-speaking group, who are mainly concentrated in the northern part of Senegal, where they live with the Tukulor. Their ancestors were nomadic, and their traditional occupation was livestock. Serer people occupy the Sine-Saloum and Thiès regions, south and east of Cape Verde. They are traditionally farmers and are known to be hardworking and industrious people. Traditional African values and religions are deeply rooted mostly in Serer and Diola people, with the latter being farmers who currently live in the southern part of Casamance (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 59-67). In spite of their traditionalism, Serer have

undergone rapid Islamization and Wolofisation[2] processes since independence. Thus, Serer people migrating to Dakar assimilate into the dominant Wolof urban culture (Gellar, 2020: 116). The Lebu, a small but influential people related to Serer, tend to dominate Senegal's ocean fishing industry, and own a notable good deal of valuable estate in Dakar (Gellar, 2020: 116). The Tukulor share a common language with the Fulani (Pular) and are concentrated in the Senegal River Valley. They are thought to be the result of intermarriage between Serer and Fulani. The Tukulor were among the first converts to Islam, and they take great pride in their religious fervour (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 64). The Tukulor are extremely critical about the Wolofisation process and do not support the great influence exercised by Wolof people in the country's political and religious life (Gellar, 2020: 118). The Malinke, also known as Mandinka or Mandingo, live in the northern and the southeast Casamance region of Senegal. They have been developing, along with the Diola, a strong regional Casamançais identity in contrast with the national Senegalese identity. In addition to these, there are various African minority groups such as Soninke, Bassari, Manjak and others. All the major ethnic groups (except the Diola) traditionally followed a rigid system of social stratification determined at birth, the system of castes (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 72). Senegal's non-African population, mostly French (16.000) and Lebanese (30.000), has diminished since independence. The Afro-European métis population, which once played an important role in Senegal's political, economic, and cultural life, has declined and the majority of métis have emigrated to France. Relations among Senegalese ethnic groups are generally peaceful, with only occasional cultural conflicts. Ethnic rivalry is present between Wolof and Tukulor, between the northerners and the Casamançais, and between older Dakar residents and newcomers. Relations among people are facilitated by a practice of mutual joking (khal in Wolof), in which ethnic stereotypes become the subject of friendly teasing.

---

[2] Wolofisation is a phenomenon of cultural and language shift whereby populations or states adopt Wolof language or culture.

2.1.2. History and political transformation

Senegal has had a long pre-colonial history which consisted of a series of small kingdoms that came under the influence of the Kingdom of Ghana from the 8th to the 11th centuries AD, the Mali Empire in the 13th century and the Jolof Empire that reached its height in the 15th century. In the 11th century, under the influence of the Berber Almoravids the country converted to Islam that became the dominant religious force when the Almoravids and the Tukulor join in the Tektur Empire to defeat the Ghana Empire. Early European contact came in the 15th century, when Portuguese navigators reached Cape Verde, followed gradually by the Dutch, French and English. In the 17th century the French established their first permanent settlement on Bocos Island in the Senegal River, the comptoir[3] was then moved to the larger island of Ndar which they named Saint-Louis after King Louis IX of France. Few years later, a second comptoir was established on Gorée Island. In 1840 the French government declared Senegal a permanent French possession and established an administration there, considering its Senegalese settlements as an overseas extension of the métropole. In 1848 the French government granted French citizenship to all Senegalese born in the four communes of Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque and Saint-Luis. The Senegalese citizens were a privileged minority, constituting less than 5% of the colony's total population (Gellar, 2020: 8). At the height of the colonial period, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, France controlled vast territories on the African continent. These included Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) or French West Africa, of which Saint-Louis served as the first capital from 1895 to 1902, when it was moved to the newer city of Dakar (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 22-24). Dakar was then transformed into an imperial city from which France would govern and develop its West African empire, it became the centre for the most advanced administrative and social services in French Black Africa (Gellar, 2020: 8). In the 19th century, after the demise of the slave trade, Senegal was quickly integrated into the modern industrial capitalist system. From 1840 on, the peanut trade supplanted gums and slaves trade, and became the cornerstone of the economy.

---

[3] A C*omptoir,* also known as trading post or factory, was essentially an early form of free-trade zone or transhipment point. A factory could serve simultaneously as market, warehouse, customs, defence and support to navigation exploration, headquarters or de facto government of local communities.

Resistance to the French conquest of the African soil was widespread in many areas of Senegal, particularly in the Wolof states where Islam became a catalyst for armed resistance (Gellar, 2020: 6). The French used both religious and political means to achieve economic-based mission savatrice (salvation mission), namely the total assimilation of French culture by the colonised populations. Consequently, they started building schools and churches, and French gradually became the sole language of education and administration (Ngom, 1999: 132-133). Mastery of the French Language and culture were prerequisites for political leadership in the four communes where the prototype of the political leader was the urban, western-educated Senegalese intellectual. This class of western-educated Senegalese who were involved in colonial politics identified with the ideas embodied in the French Revolutions. They were more concerned with ending racial discrimination than with winning political independence. Whereas in the countryside French culture and French political institutions were perceived as a form of autocratic colonialism and the rise of Muslim brotherhoods provided a new form of political leadership for the rural masses (Gellar, 2020: 11). Initially French and Islam authorities were in contrast, subsequently they found a common ground of coexistence.

During World War II, the Brazzaville conference[4] (1944) marked the end of the old autocratic colonial era and proclaimed new political, social, and economic reforms. They included the end of forced labour and indigénat, the abolition of special legal restrictions applied to natives, the establishment of elected territorial assemblies, the extension of suffrage and a greater African representation in Paris. On this same occasion, the Economic and Social Investment Fund (FIDES) was created. But the perspective of independence was still expressly excluded as a future possibility for France's Black African colonies (Gellar, 2020: 15). Only in 1959, after de Gaulle returned to power, did the French government declare that it would grant independence to any colonial territories that demanded it. In about twelve months, all the territories of former French West and French Equatorial Africa had achieved political independence.

---

[4] The Brazzaville Conference was organised by General Charles de Gaulle in Brazzaville, from January 30 to February 8, 1944. The Conference brought together the representatives of the French territories of Africa in order to determine the role and future of the French colonial Empire and to design the reforms that would perpetuate it.

The process of independence in sub-Saharan Africa was successful, as the transfer of power came about smoothly and without any significant bloodshed. French interest was to maintain influence in the region after independence, and it was clear that only a peaceful decolonization process could guarantee that. Moreover, Senegal did not suffer from political instability after independence, unlike a number of other former French colonies in sub-Saharan Africa (Chafer, 2012: 39). In 1960, Senegal became an independent nation under the leadership of Léopold Sédar Senghor, the "poet-president" who stayed in power until 1980. Since its independence, the country has seen four major peaceful political transitions, remaining one of the most democratic regimes on the African continent. On the one hand, Senghor provided Senegal with a degree of peace, political stability, tolerance, and freedom of expression that was rare in Africa. On the other hand, though committed to democratic principles, he tended to govern in the style of a presidential monarchy. Senghor adopted the doctrine of *Négritude*, which proclaimed the value of African culture and experience, as the basis for the government of Senegal. By maintaining strong ties with the West, he laid the foundation for the country's political stability and helped establish Senegal's reputation as a progressive and stable democracy. President Senghor and prime minister Mamadou Dia ruled together under a parliamentary system for the first period but a power struggle between the two ended with the elimination of the office of prime minister and Dia's imprisonment. At the time, Senegal was a one-party country and Senghor's party, renamed *Parti Socialiste* (Socialist Party or PS) in the 1970s, ruled the country for over 40 years. In 1976, the nation authorised the existence of three political parties and the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* (Democratic Senegalese Party, PDS) arose as the main opposition party for the next 20 years (Berg, Wan & Lau, 2010: 27). In January 1981, Abdou Diouf, Senghor's protégé acceded to the presidency, marking the beginning of a post-Senghor era in Senegalese politics (Gellar, 2020: 24). Diouf established a multiparty system and took an active role in pan-African politics. He created a strong bond with the African Islamic world, declaring Senegal an Islamic nation and thus marking a distinct departure from the secular politics of the Catholic Senghor. The

Diouf presidency has witnessed the start of the Casamance conflict[5] which has resulted during the years in significant loss of lives and still remains unresolved. In 2000, opposition leader Abdoulaye Wade of the *Parti Démocratique Sénégalais* (PDS) defeated Diouf in a democratic election (McLaughlin, 2008: 84). Wade's victory meant the end of the rule of the Socialist Party of which the two previous Presidents had been members. In 2001 a new constitution was approved; the role of prime minister was reintroduced, and the president's term was reduced from seven to five years. Wade went through six prime ministers during his twelve years as president, removing them when they became too powerful (BTI, 2020). He worked to help the launch of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and embarked on a wide-ranging modernization program. He also diversified Senegal's financial partners, moving away from a dependency on France and striking agreements with countries such as China and Dubai. Critics say corruption, nepotism, and constraints on freedom of the press became widespread under Wade. Although has improved the infrastructure of Senegal, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Word Bank criticised him for not doing enough to address the basic concerns of Senegalese people on the ground.

Free and fair presidential elections in March 2012 brought Macky Sall to the presidency. Since then, Sall's main priority has been facilitating the resolution of the Casamance conflict, improving security throughout the country and economic development. His economic program is oriented towards the improvement of productivity and the fight against poverty. His development priorities are spelled out in the *Plan Sénégal Emergent* (PSE, 2014-2035)[6] but the president has been criticised for its implementation, as the results achieved so far are below expectations. He was

---

[5] Casamance is a region located in southern Senegal, which differs from the rest of the country in terms of ethnicity and religion. A low intensity conflict has been ongoing since 1982, between the separatist *Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance* (MFDC) and the national government. From 1854 to 1939, the French ruled this specific territory separately from Senegal and combined the two areas during the last twenty years of colonialism. The ethnic group Diola, who make up 60% of the population of Casamance, practice animism and speak Diola, today claim its sovereignty because it does not recognize in a nation whose majority of the population is Muslim and speaks Wolof.

[6] The Emerging Senegal Plan (*Plan Sénégal Émergent, PSE*) constitutes the reference for economic and social policy in the medium and long-term. It aims to implement priority economic reforms and investment projects to increase economic growth while preserving macroeconomic stability and debt sustainability. The PSE aims to achieve growth rates of 7-8% in the medium term and is structured around three pillars: structural transformation of the economy and growth, agriculture, fisheries, industry, and infrastructure.

reconfirmed in the February 2019 Senegalese presidential elections, and he is the current president.

2.1.3. Socioeconomic data

As one of the most politically stable countries in Africa, Senegal has enjoyed an extended period of peaceful governments and civilian rule. The regular organisation of legislative elections, political pluralism, and a vibrant civil society are all proof of Senegal's democratic culture (Bernardini, 2018: 1). Its political stability has translated into relative economic growth and socioeconomic development.

At the time of independence, Senegal had one of the most advanced economies in West Africa, nevertheless after a brief period of growth during the early 1960s, its economy had to deal with many challenges such as a prolonged drought in the early 1970s that led to severe food shortages. In the mid-1990s, Senegal was still facing several problems like foreign debt, chronic government deficits, a fragile banking system and high unemployment rates, particularly among young people. In 1994, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced the government to devalue the CFA Franc[7] by 50%. The devaluation automatically doubled Senegal's foreign debt, and while making Senegalese manufactured products somewhat more competitive with imported goods, failed to help industrial recovery or attract foreign investors (Gellar, 2020: 62).

Today Dakar is one of the most important seaports of Africa and Senegal's economy, in comparison to other African countries and is perceived as healthy. Senegal is indeed the fourth largest economy in West Africa, but remains considerably behind Ghana, Côte-d'Ivoire, and Nigeria (Bernardini, 2018: 8). Despite this, its development is backward compared to Western countries and emerging economies. Senegal is classified as a lower middle-income country with a population growth of 2.7% in 2020. The

---

[7] The West African CFA franc is the currency of eight independent states in West Africa: Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, and Togo. It was introduced to the French colonies in West Africa in 1945. The currency has been criticised for making economic planning for the developing countries of French West Africa all but impossible since the CFA's value is pegged to the euro (whose monetary policy is set by the European Central Bank) at a rate of €1 = CFAF 655.96.

Human Development Index[8] 2019 ranked Senegal 166th out of 189 countries, with an HDI score of 0.154 (Statista, 2021: 42).

Senegal GDP, in billion US$					
2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
17.3	18.4	19.5	21.0	22.3	23.5

Figure 2.2. Senegal GDP

As shown in Fig. 3.2In 2020 national real GDP per capita was approximately 1,394.1 and unemployment rate was 10.85% (Statista, 2021: 14-26). Though it is important to underline that there is a great disparity in income between Sahelian (the interior) and Maritime (coastal) Senegal. In Sahelian Senegal rural masses struggle for survival while in Maritime Senegal urban masses fight for a better position within a relatively modern economy. Despite this broad difference the two regions are profoundly linked because of the high migration rate from the rural areas to the urban areas and the tendency of rural migrants to maintain their link with their home villages (Gellar, 2020: 57). Urbanisation, at a rate of 46.7% in 2017 (World Bank, 2021), is a major ongoing trend and is due to the increasing challenge of peanut farming and other agricultural work. In addition, the general neglect of state infrastructure in rural areas, in particular educational and health care facilities, accelerates migration to urban centres. Fishing and agriculture make up two of Senegal's main economic activities, but overfishing, poor soil quality and environmental conditions threaten their stability. Agriculture is based on the cultivation of peanuts (Senegal's major crop), millet, and sorghum. Although peanut has always retained a prominent position within the Senegalese economy, its importance has declined steadily since independence (Gellar, 2020: 60). Agriculture employs 30% of the workforce and contributes approximately to 14.8% of

---

[8] The index is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and having a decent standard of living.

the GDP while the industrial sector contributes to 24.4% of the GDP and employs 13% of the workforce. The most important industrial segment is food production, followed by textiles and chemical industries. The service sector contributes to 51.4% of the GDP and employs 57% of the workforce. It benefits from the country's excellent telecommunications infrastructure, which fosters investment in tele-services and the Internet (*Crédit Agricole Group*, 2020). Other important economy drivers and main employment-generating industries are tourism, mining, and construction. The country's key export industries include phosphate mining, fertiliser production, agricultural products, and commercial fishing. The large current account deficit resulting from increasing commodity prices and imports of intermediary products represents a great disadvantage for Senegal Economy (Statista, 2021: 7). Nevertheless, Senegal's economic growth has been among the highest in Africa between 2014 and 2018, remaining above 6% annually (Worldbank, 2020). Robust investments in infrastructure as part of the government's Emerging Senegal Plan, strong agricultural output, and increasing external demand were key drivers of this growth (Statista, 2021: 7). The inflation rate remains low and despite high growth, cannot rise significantly past the 2% core inflation rate in the near future. Senegal still ranks 67 out of 117 on the 2019 Global Hunger Index, 47% of the total population lives in poverty and has difficulty in meeting basic food, health, and education needs, making the nation prone to high levels of migration outside the country (WFP, 2019). Poverty and food insecurity are particularly prevalent in rural areas in the north, east and south of the country. The lack of employment and business opportunities is a driver of migration, around 5% of the country's population live outside Senegal, about half of those live in the EU. In 2016 Senegal was the 10th largest country of origin in terms of irregular migration to the EU across the sea and arrivals plummeted in 2017 (Bernardini, 2018: 11).

Senegal's economic growth and prosperity are still largely affected by external factors; economic dependency is a trace of colonial rule. At the time of independence, around 80% of Senegal's foreign trade was with France, nearly all Senegal's peanut exports during the late 1950s and early 1960s were directed towards France. The French supplied two-thirds of Senegal's public development capital and nearly all of the foreign technical financial assistance. French investors provided more than 90% of the private

capital and owned most of the enterprises. The Africanisation and nationalisation programs (late 1960s and 1970s) led to a modest shift in income distribution from foreigners to Senegalese nationals. These Senegalese, however, were part of an elite group whose living standards highly differed from those of the general population (Gellar, 2020: 62). Although France no longer monopolises Senegal foreign trade and aid, it remains one of its principal trading partners and its most important source of financial and technical assistance alongside China, who has emerged as a key actor in terms of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and trade. Foreign aid has been extremely important for the nation so far, it has kept the national economy afloat but, at the same time, it represents an obstacle to the independent and free development of economic policies. Senegal had shifted from neocolonial dependency to foreign debt and aid dependency, showing how difficult it is for African countries to escape the trap of underdevelopment and dependency.

Senegal is an open economy. Foreign trade accounts for 61% of its GDP (Worldbank, 2020). The EU is Senegal's biggest trade partner, followed by China, Nigeria, India, and the United Arab Emirates (Bernardini, 2018: 10). Senegal experienced chronic trade and current account deficits as the national economy heavily depends on imports. In 2019, Senegal imported goods for a total of 8.14 billion USD and exported goods for a total of 4.17 billion USD. China (17%) and France (11%) are Senegal's larger import partners, Mali (22%) and Switzerland (14%) are Senegal's larger export partners (Statista, 2020: 21-23). Since early 2020 COVID-19 pandemic has significantly changed Senegal's economic outlook. Growth has slowed significantly to an estimated 1.3% in 2020 (Worldbank, 2020). To fight the economic impact of the Covid-19 outbreak, Senegal has launched a resilience plan estimated at 7% of its GDP. This decision has led to an increase in the country's debt. The debt-to-GDP ratio has reached 65.4% and will remain at this level in 2020 (Statista, 2021: 21).

2.2. Cultural Identity

This chapter investigates the Senegalese cultural identity by analysing religious and traditional aspects. Furthermore, it illustrates the complex correlation among sociocultural roots and the shaping of a modern Senegalese identity.

2.2.1. Religious background

Religious forces have shaped Senegal's identity in many ways, from the colonial period to modern times, and they remain a vital part of social life today. Senegal is known as a place of religious harmony and prosperity, suffice it to say that a Roman Catholic president (Senghor) governed this majority-Muslim nation for 20 years. The population is composed of 94% of Muslims, the remaining 6% are Christian (mainly Catholic) or follow traditional African religions (Herzog & Mui, 2016: 24). Islam in Senegal has never entirely replaced traditional religions, instead many people incorporate them into their Muslim beliefs. Traces of animism are indeed present in every worship regardless of religious affiliation. Most Senegalese Muslims are affiliated to a Sufi order or brotherhood. The four largest brotherhoods are the Tidjaniyya, Mouridiyya, Quadriyya and the Layenne. Each brotherhood, or tariqa ("the way" in Arabic), is distinguished by specific rituals and codes of conduct (Gellar, 2020: 111). Brotherhoods arose as a result of Sufism that encouraged the rise of spiritual leaders, known as marabouts (holy men), serigné in Wolof who are immensely powerful figures within Senegalese social system.

> These Sufi orders have deep and wide roots in the daily lives of Senegal's people and in local politics, but also crossing international borders—both through a large Senegalese diaspora and with links to Sufi religious orders in other African countries.

(Herzog & Mui, 2016: 16)

Brotherhoods are generally composed of people from different ethnic groups, but the majority of people who are affiliated with the most influential brotherhood (Mouride) are Wolof. Cheikh Amadou Bamba, the founder of Mouride, described Mouridism as "a return to Islam's roots". Mouridism mainly focuses on hard work, self-reliance, and solidarity. The Mouride centre is Touba, Senegal's second largest city, also known as

little La Mecca (Gellar, 2020: 112). Mourids play an important role and hold great economic and political power within the Senegalese society. Religious traces (Muslim and, in some instances, Christian) pervade every aspect of social life and are omnipresent, albeit manifested in complex ways. Senegal's active role in international interreligious initiatives and positive Islamic values reflect both its religiosity and a commitment to balance and peace (Herzog & Mui, 2016: 13).

2.2.2. Sociocultural roots and modern identity

Precolonial Senegalese society was divided into three main social categories: freeman, artisan castes and slaves. Social categories were organised in a strict hierarchy. At the top of the social hierarchy of freemen there were members of the royal lineages, while most of the common freemen were peasants. Among servile artisan castes most prominent were jewellers, blacksmiths, weavers, leatherworkers, and griots (Gellar, 2020: 3). Griots were traditional praise-singers, musicians, counsellors, dancers, acrobats, guardians of oral traditions. They were the attendants of kings, warlords, nobles and later of Islamic scholars. They had important cultural responsibilities as keepers of history and genealogies, of sayings, songs, and music. Today Griots still exist and have found new meanings for old customs. While little has changed in areas where traditional ways of life are still prevailing, in the westernised urban culture many traditional griots have managed to adapt their art to the requirements of modern life and to make it accessible to a wider audience through the use of mass media (Panzacchi, 1994: 190). Slaves held the lowest status of all, occupying the bottom rang of society. There were different categories of slaves: domestic slaves, trade slaves and the warrior crown slaves (ceddo). Until the end of the 16th century, the Senegambian region was the largest supplier of slaves in Europe. Precolonial Senegal was not homogeneous in social organisation. Caste lines were more developed among the Tukulor, Wolof and Mandinka than among the Diola and Serer. In general, ethnic groups in the Casamance region had relatively more egalitarian social structures than those found in the north (Gellar, 2020: 3).

Nowadays Senegalese society is undergoing several changes. Over the years, as the memory of French colonial rule receded into the past, Senegal became both more cosmopolitan but also more traditional. Although Islamic and Western influence have had a great impact on modern Senegal, Senegalese people remain deeply attached to traditional Black African values and perspectives. Individuals often use traditional arts of personal adornment, artistic performances, and hospitality as elements to construct their public identity. Hospitality is indeed one of the traditional values of Senegalese culture. The ability to offer hospitality is an important virtue which transcends ethnic and regional boundaries (Ndiaye, 1990: 45). Senegal is also known as the country of *Teranga*. The word *Teranga* comes from Wolof, and it is commonly translated as hospitality. However, it is a much more complex concept. It embraces the ideas of material and spiritual generosity and honour; it is similar to the Arabic term karam[9].

> The principle of *Teranga* is to open your doors to any guest who may enter, to feed them, house them, and treat them as family for as long as they choose to stay. The host expects no gift from his guests, no direct contribution to the household expenses or workload. The belief is that a mother who opens her home to the children of others ensures that her children will be welcome wherever they go. A Wolof proverb says that a guest is a king, and the Senegalese believe that the guest honours the host with his, or her, visit. Treating a guest well is a great source of pride for Senegalese women and men alike.
>
> (Gasparetti, 2011: 221)

Together with the concept of *Teranga*, other traditional concepts dominate Senegalese cultural background: personal integrity (djom), personal cleanliness (set), self-respect (!aida) and patience (moun) (Ndiaye, 1990: 43).

Modern identity on the other hand is a constantly evolving concept. Globalisation has shrunk the world and there has been a profound change in the ways we understand the culture, identity, and citizenship of countries. Originally, the concept of modernity had strong ties to the notion of civilization, which was closely linked to the city and to enlightenment ideas and ideals.

---

[9] Karam means the "nobility of character that makes generosity possible" (Shryock 2009, 34 Cited in Riley 2019).

> Modernity is constituted by colonialism and enlightenment ideals and paints a history of Europe at the centre of the 'development' of humankind, reducing to the periphery the knowledges and histories of other parts of the world.
>
> (Dussel, 2000 cited in Ebongue & Hurst, 2017: 210)

Some scholars, such as Lepenies (2003), speaking about modernity focus on how different societies and cultures change as they come into contact with one another, suggesting that it is more appropriate to think in terms of multiple modernities as against a single modernity (Macamo, 2005: 25). In any event, one of the distinctive characteristics of modernity seemed to be the process of identifying binary categories such as "centre" and "periphery", "traditional" and "modern", "black" and "white" and locating social practises and actors within these categories. According to this view, the modern world is represented by the inexorable movement from the "traditional" to the "modern", from the "local" to the "global" and from the "rural" to the "urban" (Roth-Gordon and Woronov, 2009: 137). Modern studies however are moving beyond the dichotomic classification of the world. As Byung-Chul Han (2005) has argued, reality is hyperlinked and hypercultural, therefore culture is delocalized and so is modern identity. We all are born into specific places and cultures, but we move, and in moving, we extend our vision and perception of the world and of who we are; we incorporate the beings of others and influence their beings the moment we begin to relate to them (Eze, 2014: 235). Following this perspective, cosmopolitanism is regarded as a means for cultivating character and negotiating the experience of otherness (Anderson, 2006 cited in Eze: 246). If it is true that our world is moving toward a delocalization of cultures, it is also true that modernity has manifested spatially as well as in other ways (Ebongue & Hurst, 2017: 210). Cities are temples of modernity. A city is an organism in perpetual mutation that merges elements of tradition and modernity in a new changing identity. Globalisation as a process tends to eliminate differences between places and people.

> Traveling, you realize that differences are lost: each city takes to resembling all cities, places exchange their form, order, distances, a shapeless dust cloud invades the continents. Your atlas preserves the differences intact: that assortment of qualities which are like the letters in a name.

In spite of all this, it would be impossible to deny the fact that each city embodies its peculiar characteristics, and that the way people construct their idea of modernity is linked to their historical and traditional roots. In general, the African experience of modernity can be described as ambivalent (Macamo, 2005: 27). Colonialism was the historical form through which modernity entered African social experience. However, it was also the premise for an African peculiar research of identity, based on the rejection of colonial legacy. The construction of this new African identity, which gave birth to the Pan-African[10] vision, is built on opposition to colonialism and is then still tied to it. During the 1980s and 1990s, the Afrocentric ideology was spreading around through slogans such as Marcus Garvey's "African for Africans". Back then, being African meant rejecting any cultural identification with the west and imagining a common identity for all people with dark skin. This research for a common African identity originated from the necessity to break free from a long story of violence and oppression and to combat racism (Eze, 2014: 235-236). Nowadays, one of the greatest challenges Africa societies are facing is how to go beyond this relativism associated with anticolonial struggles and to create a self-definition which is not based on opposition. Thus, a new concept is developing, the concept of Afropolitanism[11] that Mbembe defines as follows:

> Awareness of the interweaving of the here and there, the presence of the elsewhere in the here and vice versa, the relativisation of primary roots and memberships and the way of embracing, with full knowledge of the facts, strangeness, foreignness and remoteness, the ability to recognise one's face in that of a foreigner and make the most of the traces of remoteness in closeness, to domesticate the unfamiliar, to work with what seem to be opposites – it is this cultural, historical and aesthetic sensitivity that underlies the term 'Afropolitanism'. (Mbembe, 2007: 28)

---

[10] Pan-Africanism is the idea that peoples of African descent have common interests and should be unified. Historically, Pan-Africanism has often taken the shape of a political or cultural movement. In more-general terms, Pan-Africanism is the sentiment that people of African descent have a great deal in common, a fact that deserves notice and even celebration (Online Encyclopaedia Britannica).

[11] The word Afropolitanism was coined in 2005 by Taiye Tuakli-Wosornu (later called Taiye Selasi) in order to explain a complex identity melange. Since then, the term has gained some currency in African discourse of culture and politics.

Afropolitanism, according to Mbembe "refers to a way, the many ways, in which Africans, or people of African origin, understand themselves as being part of the world rather than being apart" (Mbembe & Balakrishnan, 2016: 29). It suggests a reading of the African postcolonial identity as necessarily transcultural, transnational, and cosmopolitan. According to this worldview, the African is no longer understood as being in opposition to the European but as incorporating Europeans, Asians, and the rest of the world (Eze, 2014: 238). It seems that the concept of Afropolitanism, in the new African city, touches on a way of thinking about people's capacities to forge their own space. Individuals indeed attribute meaning to space and in this process transform "space" into "place" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003: 13). Dakar is a great example of this spatial egalitarianism. The city has experienced extremely rapid urbanisation in only a few decades, and it is characterised by features of globalisation such as rapid flows of people and goods which result in a variety of different influences in terms of identity (Versluys, 2008: 283). These influences indeed contribute to the creation of a new paradigm, the notion of a de-ethnicized urban identity as witnessed by the following interaction: in June 2000, a professor at the Université Gaston Berger in Saint-Louis, asked another with a typically Serer last name if he was Serer. The latter answered with a smile: "No, I'm from Dakar". The first professor then said jokingly: "That's the new ethnicity in Senegal now, to be from Dakar!" (Mclaughlin, 2001: 170). Being a native to Dakar is fluid. Urban identity is constructed by people born and raised in Dakar as well as by rural migrants who hustle in the markets and circulate the city with merchandise (Scheld, 2007: 248). Rural areas are indeed no longer disconnected from the urban ones. According to Mbembe (2016: 37) "the traffic between the urban and the rural has intensified and risen to a point where the rural is in the urban and the urban is in the rural".

Today, Dakar is a modern and densely populated city that is still facing many challenges: frequent blackouts and breaks in the water supply, a poorly organised Garbage pick-up system, frequent teacher and student strikes, poor access to medicine and primary health care (Scheld, 2007: 234). Youth are the majority of the city's population and lead actors in the construction of an Urban Identity. Yet youth are not celebrated for their contributions to the city. It is common to hear adults describing

youth as 'boule fale', individuals who pay no mind to others and think only of themselves (Diouf, 2002 cited in Scheld: 235). Dakarois youth are often described by scholars as a lost generation. Many young people take offence to these descriptions because they are striving to be productive individuals with a specific moral code.

> In street language, young men describe themselves as a "houselouman,"—someone who works hard to make some-thing from nothing. The term is derived from "hustle" in English and from "hous" in Wolof which means to scratch or peck like a chicken. Young men and women frequently talk about their efforts to "débrouiller", a French term which means to manage, to sort out, and to put up with a struggle to get by. […] Some describe daily life in Dakar as a process of "dugu ak génn" (entering and leaving [through the door]) and "kor-koral" (fasting to economize and make ends meet). These street expressions indicate that youth are determined to be productive, but they see themselves working within a socio-economic system that significantly limits their power.

> (Scheld, 2008: 236)

They dress up in stylish and provocative outfits and see themselves as global actors, urban citizens, cosmopolitans. This engagement in the construction of a new urban identity is expressed by means of several forms of art.

Dakar has been a vibrant and dynamic art city since 1960, when Senghor established the École des Arts du Sénégal. Artists working during the post-independence period expressed themes associated with the cultural ideology of *Négritude*, while the stylistic and thematic repertoire of Senegalese artists today has expanded far beyond. Nowadays, Dakar is considered to be one of Africa's major metropolises of contemporary art, it is home to the renowned Dak'Art Biennale and to a growing number of galleries (Grabski, 2003: 28-29). The third generation of painters, represented by artists such as Soly Cissi, Birame Ndiaye, Cheikh Ndiaye, describes Dakar's contemporary reality in particular and globalising urban society in general, stressing on concepts such as consumerism and focusing on the city as a space for the construction of an urban culture and identity.

> I live with a Serer, a Diola, and a Bambara [...] there is little difference among us. We have the same reality, we all speak the same language, we do not speak the language of our ancestors [...] we are all preoccupied by the problems of Dakar [...] unemployment, deteriorating infrastructures, and the water shortage. What we live

is what unites us. My generation is cut off from ethnicity, but we have a different reality, that of daily life in the city.

<div align="right">(Cheik Ndiaye, 1999 cited in Grabski, 2003: 35)</div>

Their description of Dakar urban reality intersects with similar phenomena in urban centres around the world and expresses the artist's particular position as an urban citizen, not just residents of Dakar (Grabski, 2003: 36). Similarly, Dakar graffeurs "paint the walls all over the city, so that, in a very meaningful way, the walls, the city itself, do belong to them as the custodians of a common heritage they seek to modernise" (Rabine, 2014: 107). Hip hop dance movements and rap music represent another important expression of Senegalese modern identity. In 2013, Fredericks underlined that Rap music has emerged as the language of Senegalese youth. Through music Senegalese rappers and their fans reimagine their place in Dakar and the world in order to stake claims as global citizens to the rights and rewards of their own city.

According to poststructuralist theory, many social scientists acknowledged that individuals actively construct social realities through discourse (e.g., Billig 1976; Fairclough, 1992; Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Davies and Harré, 1990). Therefore, the construction of this new urban identity is perfectly expressed by linguistic phenomena that will be analysed in the following paragraph.

2.3. Sociolinguistic scenario of Senegal

Quite similarly to most African countries, Senegal is a nation of extraordinary linguistic vitality, and its identity is largely affected by multilingualism. The complexity of the Senegalese sociolinguistic space is the result of historical events, political decisions, diplomatic and geopolitical balances. However, it is first and foremost the consequence of 'creative' dynamics, generated by a constant social and linguistic exchange amongst different communities. The encounter-clash between languages, essentially driven by the human need to communicate and transfer knowledge, is the primary impulse of linguistic evolution. Languages are not only 'identity mirrors' but also creative forces in

the construction of individuals' identity. Languages grow and evolve like living things, undergoing metamorphosis in contact with the surrounding environment (Wa Thiong'o, 1992: 9).

Senegalese linguistic and cultural DNA, already varied, has been profoundly affected by the encounter with two great civilizations: the French and the Arab. The first connected to colonial history, the second to a religious matrix. Today, sixty years after independence, Senegal presents a unique sociolinguistic situation, emblematic of that francophonie africaine whose dynamics are constantly evolving. Particularly challenging is to understand the dynamics between languages and identities, between native languages and French language and how this plurality is experienced and perceived by the Senegalese population. It is complicated to draw a dividing line between linguistic policies and practices and recognizing the actual function of each language in the Senegalese landscape. This topic will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.1. Languages in Senegal

Senegal languages are divided into two main groups belonging to the Niger-Congo family: the Atlantic group[12] and the Mandé group. According to the 2016 report of Ethnologue, there are 38 languages in Senegal, 31 indigenous and 7 nonindigenous languages (Poggensee, 2016:16). From independence to 2001, alongside French as the only official language, six national languages (Joola, Malinke, Pulaar, Seereer, Soninke, and Wolof) were officially recognized by the Senegalese constitution. The 2001 constitutional reform extended this status to any other codified language.

---

[12] Because of its geographical distribution on the west coast of the continent, the Atlantic group was formerly known as West Atlantic, from Westermann's (1927), and continues to be referred to as such in some of the literature. The simplification of the name, now adopted by most scholars, dates from Doneux (1975).

> La langue officielle de la République du Sénégal est le Français. Les langues nationales sont le Diola, le Malinké, le Pular, le Sérère, le Soninké, le Wolof et toute autre langue nationale qui sera codifiée.[13]

In 2004, there were 17 officially recognized national languages, by which meant languages with a standardised writing system, recognised by government decree and thus eligible for use in the media, education, and courts (Diallo, 2009: 197-198).

As stated by the Senegalese Constitution, the official language of Senegal is French, the ex-colonial idiom, which is the language of the government and pervades the whole education system. Nevertheless, according to data of 2018, just 26% of Senegalese is estimated to be truly francophone (OIF, 2019: 32). Wolof, the language of the major ethnic group, has gradually gained the role of lingua franca. Wolof belongs to the Senegambian branch of the Niger–Congo family and it is spoken also in Gambia, Mauritania, and Mali.

> Wolof shows remarkably little variation across dialects which, in conjunction with historical evidence, suggests its fairly widespread use as a lingua franca over time. Perhaps the major contemporary dialectal divide is between rural and urban varieties, the latter having borrowed extensively from French as the result of language contact.
>
> (McLaughlin, 2008: 89)

The number of Senegalese who speak and understand Wolof is estimated to be between 80% and 90% of the population (McLaughlin, 2018: 85; Versluys, 2010: 285; Schiavone, 2018: 21), although just 43% of it is a native speaker. French and Wolof play a major role in the Senegalese linguistic framework and are used in different spheres of public and social life, this leads to assimilate the Senegalese situation to that of an exogenous diglossia (Schiavone, 2007: 4).

The northern part of the country is dominated by Wolof and other two other languages belonging to the Atlantic group – Pular[14] and Serer. In the eastern part of the country,

---

[13] *Constitution de la République du Sénégal*, Premier article. 2001. "The official language of the Republic of Senegal is French. The national languages are the Diola, the Malinké, the Pular, the Sérère, the Soninké and the Wolof and any other national languages which shall be codified" (my translation).

[14] Also known as Fula, Ful, Fulfulde, Peulh and Pulaar is spoken across West Africa from Senegal and Mauritania to Chad.

the Mande languages (Maninka and Soninke) are spoken along-side minority languages such as Yalunka, Menik and Basari. South of the River Gambia a high number of languages is spoken by small communities in various multilingual settings, among them the Diola, the Mandinka and Baïnounk languages (Lüpke & Storch, 2013: 4). Obviously, not all local languages have the same dynamism, some are widespread at community village level, others regionally (Thiam, 2014: 157).

Arabic is spoken by a small population, including those who speak Hassaniyya, a Mauritanian dialect, as well as Levantine and Moroccan dialects. Portuguese Creole is still spoken in some parts of Casamance and in Dakar by migrants from Cape Verde Island and Casamance. English is gaining ground in Senegal, not only among the intellectual elite but also among members of the Senegalese trade diaspora, many of whom reside in the United States for several years at a time (McLaughlin, 2008: 89).

Language power relationships in a multilingual context are regulated by factors such as prestige (high/low), functionality (vehicular/vernacular), demography (majority/minority languages), but especially speakers' attitudes. French linguistic and cultural domination through colonisation created the basis for the undeniable supremacy of French within the Senegalese sociolinguistic space (Sarr, 2014: 94).

The French social sphere of influence, nowadays, remains enormously powerful. The Senegalese élite speak French, which is considered fundamental for accessing the upper echelons of society, as well as a symbol of progress and social promotion. It assumes the role of lingua franca on the African continent, and it is regarded as a means to communicate with the international community.

On the other hand, the increasingly widespread Wolofisation or the dissemination of Wolof as a lingua franca in Senegal, reveals an emerging national identity in contrast to the colonial cultural heritage. Wolofisation is not welcomed by every linguistic community though, some of them perceive it as a threat to their identity; in particular, Diola, Peul, and Serer tend to orient the new generations towards a mother tongue/French bilingualism. This phenomenon becomes more complicated because of the issue of Senegalese borders, established in 1904 (OXFAM, 1994) by Europeans who disregarded the country's multicultural roots. A vivid example of this situation is

represented by the territory of Casamance that is still the stage for conflicts between different ethnic groups.

Modern relationships between the various Senegalese sociolinguistic communities depend on dynamics that have historical roots and evolve in the wake of phenomena such as urbanisation, globalisation, and migratory processes. We need to turn our gaze to pre-colonial and colonial history to trace back the relationships of opposition and alliance that have gradually been established between these different communities and languages. Historical evidence tells us that the expansion of Wolof dates back to the 16th century when it was used as a common language between the Wolof and the Serer Kingdoms (McLaughlin, 2008: 92). During the colonial period, the Wolof people who already had great commercial influence were privileged by the French administration. The intensification of railway resources and the commercial expansion boosted the Wolofisation of other populations settled in the territories crossed by the Dakar-St. Louis railway line and made this language the language of commerce and merchants. Wolof populations, now and then, occupy regions of peanut production, the country's primary crop. Furthermore, in the 19th century this language became the language of communication within the Muride brotherhood (Schmidt di Fridberg, 2001). The role of Wolophone merchants and Murid marabouts helped to steadily broaden the language community between 1890 and 1960 (Keese, 2015). The history of Wolofisation is strictly related to the history of urbanisation, this language was spoken in coastal areas where cities were first established and thus became an urban language. Intense and rapid increase in urbanisation from the middle of the 20th century further increased the dissemination of Wolof. Among the different varieties of this language, we include what in Wolof itself is called *Olof bu Xoot*, or Deep Wolof, an expression that outlines a way of speaking characterised by a rich vocabulary and the strategic use of proverbs. Those who express themselves in Deep Wolof are considered to be the custodians of an authentic language, rich in archaisms. The definition of olof piir (pure Wolof), on the other hand, designates a pure language that does not present borrowings from French. The idea of olof piir, definition that ironically contains piir (pure) coming from the French word pure, reflects a feeling of nostalgia for that African authenticity, bare of signs of colonisation (Bassiouney, 2017). In contrast to pure Wolof, we find what takes

the name of Urban Wolof, a variety that can be defined as "une forme d'alternance codique entre le wolof et le français"[15] (Versluys, 2010: 100). This variety of wolof is occasionally called njaxas (patchwork), or simply Dakar Wolof because it is widely spread in Dakar (Bassiouney, 2017). The encounter between French and Wolof in modern Urban Wolof has been defined in different ways: marked code switching, unmarked code switching, or code mixing (McLaughlin, 2001: 159-162). Dreyfus et Juillard attribute to Urban Wolof an extended set of alternations that goes from a Wolof-dominant code with borrowings from French, passing through a French-dominant code with words belonging to Wolof (Dreyfus & Juillard, 2005).

The phenomenon of Urban Wolof, which serves as a model for languages contact dynamics, is the result of the process through which a community tends to systematise linguistic differences that become elements of recognition of the community or of the social group itself. These elements are means of identity representation. It would be more correct to speak of a linguistic continuum, whose codes move within a space that goes from a 'pure' French, towards various and different degrees of combination between French and Wolof, up to the less contaminated form of Wolof. In this linguistic continuum it is possible to trace a dynamic balance between languages, intimately linked to identity and cultural concepts, to political and religious phenomena which, according to the description of Daff (2004), make the francophone space a place "*de dialogue, de symbiose, d'appropriation et surtout de convivialité et de partage des identités et des différences*" [16].

The French language was introduced in the country during the 17th century by French merchants and became an official means of communication during the colonial period (19th century). As already mentioned, the French colonisation of African territories was characterised by an explicit assimilation policy[17]. The linguistic and educational policy implemented at the time was undoubtedly the main means of this civilising ideology

---

[15] "a form of code switching between Wolof and French" (my translation).

[16] "of dialogue, symbiosis, appropriation and above all of identities and differences sharing" (my translation).

[17] The meaning of assimilation during the colonial period has been greatly debated. The French concept was based on the "civilising mission", meaning the total assimilation of French culture by the colonies outside France in the 19th and the 20th centuries. Natives of those colonies were considered French citizens as long as French culture and customs were adopted.

(Versluys, 2010: 93). French thus became the only language of instruction in colonial schools; local languages were not contemplated within the education system, except for a few unsuccessful attempts (Cissé, 2005). Linguistic unity during the colonial period was essential to preserve territorial and political unity. In 1845 Abbot Boilat, one of the very first spiritual missionaries in Senegal and Gambia, described the sociolinguistic situation of the time as follows:

> Tels sont les wolofs, les sérères, les mandingues, les sarakholés, les peuls, les toucouleurs, les bambaras, les lawbés, les diolas, les maures, vivant ensemble et ayant entre eux des rapports journaliers, leurs langages diffèrent autant que leurs traits – Que de mystères ! Chaque peuple a son type, sa constitution, son tempérament, ses usages, sa langue… Comment se fait-il que depuis tant de siècles, ils n'aient pas fondu leurs idiomes en une seule langue commune ?[18]

(Cited in Ndao, 2011)

At the time, the idea of French as a vehicular language was linked to the idea of French as language of culture.

The post-colonial period is marked by two different stages as regards language policy. The first phase, running from 1960 to the end of the nineties, is characterised by an unquestionable growth and flourishing of the French language and by the stabilisation of its key role in the internal and external politics of the country. Léopold Sédar Senghor is a symbol of this attitude towards the French. A Refined French-speaking poet trained in Paris, Senghor is not only the first president of independent Senegal but also one of the most important intellectuals of the post-colonial cultural and political rebirth of the African continent.

Together with Aimé Césaire and Léon Damas, he elaborates the concept of *Négritude*, defined as : "the ensemble des valeurs culturelles du monde noir, telles qu'elles s'expriment dans la vie et les œuvres des Noirs"[19] (Senghor, 1966). He was the first African intellectual to become a member of the prestigious Académie Française and is

---

[18] "such are the Wolof, the Serer, the Mandingo, the Sarakholé, the Fulani, the Toucouleurs, the Bambaras, the Lawbe, the Diola, the Moors, living together and having daily relations with each other, their languages differ as much as their features – What a mystery! Each person has its own type, constitution, temperament, customs and language ... How is it that still possible after so many centuries, how come they have not merged their idioms into a single common language?" (my translation).

[19] "the sum of the cultural values of the black world as they are expressed in the life, the institutions, and the works of black men" (my translation).

considered one of the founding fathers of Francophonie. Although Senghor was a defender of linguistic and cultural diversity and proclaimed, in opposition to colonialism, an African identity made up of specific cultural values and traits, he supported national linguistic unity by means of the French language. As president, he adopted French as the official language of the new independent Senegal (Versluys, 2010: 94).

In Senghor's view, this was necessary to guarantee Senegal a chance of modernization, political stability, and a high-quality education system. His love for the French language was intensified by his nature as a poet but also reflects his vision of the world and political choices. Ideologically, his aim was synthesis, he spoke about a universal civilization, founded on the contribution of all cultures and religions, which prevails over conflicts and prevarications between peoples. Senghor cosmopolitanism advocates for a middle-path alternative between ethnocentric nationalism and general multiculturalism.

According to Senghor, true culture consists in "putting down roots and uprooting oneself", that is, deeply understanding one's origins and "spiritual heritage" and at the same time detaching oneself from it, in order to receive the influence of foreign civilizations (Luconi, 2018). He considers French to be a powerful tool for the unity of African peoples, the only way to bring the voice of Africa out of it:

> Nous sommes des métis culturels, parce que, si nous sentons en nègres, nous nous exprimons en français, parce que le français est une langue à vocation universelle, que notre message s'adresse aussi aux Français de France et aux autres hommes […][20].

(Senghor Cited in Ngugi, 1992: 32)

In the same period, a group of Senegalese intellectuals opposed the Francophone vision and claimed the importance of national languages in the independence process of Senegal. Among these intellectuals the name of Cheikh Anta Diop stands out. He was a writer and scholar after which the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar (UCAD for

---

[20] "we are mixed cultures, although we feel as Africans, we express ourselves as Frenchmen because French is a language with a universal vocation, because our message is addressed to the Frenchmen of France as well as to other men […]" (my translation).

short) was named. The approaches of Senghor and Cheikh Anta Diop regarding the problem of colonialism in relation to languages are antithetical. The difference in their visions is probably rooted in their respective cultural and religious identities: the first being Serer and Catholic, the second being Wolof and Muslim (Diop, 2005). Diop, also trained in Paris, is known for his original conception of the Negro-African origins of the ancient Egyptian civilization. He was a great advocate of the importance of African languages as strategic factors in the liberation of African peoples, as well as a fervent political activist in anti-colonial movements. Diop adamantly opposed the use of French as the medium of education in schools. He emphasised the importance of the indigenous languages in education and went so far as to show the versatility of Wolof by translating Shakespeare and scientific principles into the Wolof language (Naida, 2016). The opposite ideas of these two great Senegalese minds bring to light the double perspective of the notion of national identity. The population's relationship and sense of belonging to a nation-state, and the identity of an individual nation-state within the international world order (McLaughlin, 2008: 95). In both cases, language plays a fundamental role, as proved by the central place conferred to it in both visions.

The second president of Senegal, Abdou Diouf (1981 to 2000), who became in 2003 Secretary-General of the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF), was also a great supporter of the French language. Nonetheless, he was engaged in the question of indigenous languages and during his presidency, Senegal assisted in an attempt to introduce national languages into the educational system alongside French. Despite the will of the *Commission Nationale de Réforme de l'Education et de la Formation* (CNREF) to give national languages an adequate place in the Senegalese cultural, social, and economic development process, their introduction into the education system is still not effective today (Sarr, 2014: 75).

In 2000, under the figure of President Abdoulaye Wade, we witnessed a change of political direction that was also reflected in linguistic policies. In fact, President Wade frequently used the Wolof language during his public speeches in a strategic way and there was a proliferation of political slogans in Wolof language. The new Constitution of 2001 declared that the status of national languages (so far six) would be extended to all those languages codified in the future. The Académie des langues nationales (ALN)

was created in 2007, with the intent of making national languages instruments of expression of local cultures. Despite the creation of the ANL, the political ambition of an effective bilingual French/national language education system failed again. This question remains a focal point within the linguistic debate today, under the presidency of Macky Sall. However, few concrete actions have been taken in this direction. As already pointed out at the end of the nineties by Daff, there are two main needs to be answered in this regard:

> […] D'une part, promouvoir les principales langues nationales pour en faire des langues de culture et, d'autre part, maintenir le français comme langue officielle et langue de communication internationale.[21]

> (Daff, 1998: 3)

If the education system is still entirely French speaking, how is it possible that just a small percentage (26%) of Senegalese are real francophones? Various factors combine to create this situation. First of all, we should consider the fact that the practice of French is limited to certain environments: education, administration, press and some television programs. According to the survey conducted by the OIF in the cities of Dakar and Tambacounda, in daily communications within the Senegalese neighbourhoods, the Wolof occupies the first position, followed in second place by the French. This is the case for communications between young people. Within the family environment, on the other hand, communication between the younger and older generations sees a descending use of French as the age gap broadens (OIF, 2019: 42-44). The second cause is to be found in the distinction between formal and informal education in Senegal. Formal education includes all public and private preschool and elementary education institutions. Informal education, on the other hand, brings together all the educational activities carried out in the context of alternative models and literacy classes. Senegal, like many countries of French-speaking Africa, is indeed committed to the eradication, or rather the significant reduction, of the problem of illiteracy. In 2013, 40% of the total population (of which 77% were women) was

---

[21] "on the one hand, promoting the main national languages to make them languages of culture and, on the other hand, maintaining French as an official language and language of international communication" (my translation).

illiterate. This problem depends on the lack of school infrastructures, especially in rural areas, which the government tried to tackle by introducing an informal education system at national level. This was concretely translated into the creation of the Ecoles Communautaires de Base (ECB). Within these structures, national languages play a fundamental role in the development of education programs. Moreover, the presence of Koranic schools had a great impact on the education of the Senegalese population. By learning the Arabic alphabet, many students were able to attribute written codification to their native languages, thus being able to achieve literacy in the mother tongue.

Although the modernization of the education system has been a central political theme since the country's independence, it must be noted that a middle ground has not yet been found. That should be a path that allows on the one hand the increase of real Francophones in the country, on the other the introduction of national languages as languages of education.

2.3.2. Multilingualism and society

Multilingualism is a term widely used in linguistics to describe the knowledge and use of more than one language by an individual or a community. If we think of a person as a social being, then it is obvious that social contact and thus language contact is likely to happen. Therefore, it can be assumed that multilingualism is a natural phenomenon, just as natural as the development of language skills for each individual (Franceschini, 2011: 345). As a matter of fact, multilingual practices are rooted in history, they spring from the need of cultural transfer and trade development. Over the centuries, linguistic theories went through a change in perspective from a tendency to considering language unity and homogeneity to an increased sensibility toward diversity, language contact and linguistic variation. Eckert (2012) describes three waves of variation studies in which the entire view of the relation between language and society has been reversed. The first wave of variation studies established correlations between linguistic variables and social categories such as socioeconomic class, sex, ethnicity, and age. The second wave employed ethnographic methods to explore these correlations. The third wave looks at variation not simply as a reflection of social meaning but as an active

constructor of social meaning and social space and hence a force in social change (Eckert, 2012: 88-97). The concept of speech community, introduced by Gumperz, is particularly important for the functional approaches to language that explore the interaction of language and society. Romaine (1994) defines a "speech community" as a group of people who share a set of norms and rules for the use of a language. Bolinger Brown and Levinson (cited in Wardhaugh 1998: 124) previously underlined that: "There is no limit to the ways in which human beings league themselves together for self-identification, security, gain, amusement, worship, or any of the other purposes that are held in common; consequently, there is no limit to the number and variety of speech communities that are to be found in society".

According to this definition, speech communities are not constant or rigid divisions of speakers within a certain area. Multilingual speech communities are characterised by overlapping, intersecting, shifting identities, determined by several factors such as ethnicity, language, religion, and others (Sridhar, 1996: 49). Senegal framework is perfectly described by this kind of linguistic intersection which leads to new and variable identities. As already mentioned, the rising of a new urban identity is expressed by the rising of Urban Wolof, which has become the sign of a "world that is neither wholly traditional nor industrialised, neither wholly African nor European. It is a new world where different domains of knowledge and experience are called for and where an exclusive hold on only one of those domains is insufficient" (Swigart, 1994: 186).

2.4. Chinese presence in Senegal: new migration paradigms

This section analyses the characteristic and evolution of Chinese presence in Senegal, including diplomatic relations, economic engagement and Sino-Senegalese cultural intersections.

2.4.1. Evolution of Sino-African relations

> Studying China in Africa is much like pursuing a dragon in the bush. The dragon is imposing but the bush is dense so that while one is conscious of the animal's presence, visible or not, observation becomes difficult.
>
> (Yu, 1968: 1026)

Since the launch and implementation of its 'open door' policy (改革开发) in the late 1970s and its 'go out' strategy (走出去战略) in the late 1990s, China has increased its trade and investments cooperation with the rest of the world in general and with Africa in particular. Its admission to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in December 2001 has somehow changed global trade and investment patterns. Therefore, from being only a major beneficiary of FDI in the past, China has also become an important emerging investor in Africa (Cissé, 2013: 17).

Chinese African relations developed in stages, gradually adding layers of economic, ideological, political, and other forms of cooperation (George, 2009: 15). China and Africa relations are believed to have started during the early Han dynasty, precisely during Emperor Wudi's reign (140-87 BC). Historically, the climax of Sino-African relations was reached during Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when Chinese merchant and navy fleets visited the eastern coast of Africa (Somalia and Kenya), sowing the initial seeds for China-Africa friendship, and carving out an ancient maritime Silk Road trade route (Alden & Alves, 2008: 46-47). Between the Ming dynasty and the emergence of modern relations, Sino-African contacts were essentially the results of transnational trade flows with other merchant civilizations. In the early 20th century, the nature of these contacts changed when European powers took Chinese labour to work in mines

and plantations in their African colonies. This event created the basis for a common past under the hardship of western imperialism (Alden & Alves, 2008: 47).

The shape of current China-Africa relations can be traced back to connections forged from the early 1950s to the 1970s. The founding of the People's Republic of China (1949) coincided indeed with the dawn of Africa's independence movements. The rise of new independent nations in Africa was perceived as a great opportunity from the Chinese government, especially regarding the issues of sovereignty, unification, and international recognition. At the time, China was indeed trying to gain international recognition since the United States official diplomatic position was the identification of the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan[22] as the legitimate government. Initially Taiwan represented China (the China mainland and Taiwan) at the United Nations and at other international organisations. In 1949, Taiwan was recognized by two of the four independent African states of the continent; subsequently, Taipei conducted a successful campaign to win the recognition of the new African states (George, 2009: 11). These new independent African states were seen as natural potential allies by China, which was searching for solutions for its legitimacy problems (Alden & Alves, 2008: 47).

From 1949 to the end of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s, ideology served as the central issue in Chinese foreign policy, thus diplomacy was serving ideology. The Bandung Conference, the first large-scale Afro-Asian Conference held in 1955 in Indonesia, marked the beginning of Beijing's official contacts with African countries.

> The 1955 Bandung Conference established a framework for relations between Asian and African states, especially regarding the fight against colonialism and imperialism. For China, the conference served to test its anti-American policy focused on the periphery, concerned mainly with South and Southeast Asia.
>
> (Vieira, 2019: 531)

Zhou Enlai, the then Chinese Foreign Minister, met several African leaders and its encounters resulted in the official recognition of China in 1956 by Egypt, the first African state to forge diplomatic relations with it. By the end of the decade China

---

[22] At the end of Chinese civil war, when the Communist Party of China (中国共产党, CCP) founded the People's Republic of China (1949), the government of the Republic of China, which was founded by Chinese Nationalist Party (國民黨, Kuomintang or KMT) retreated from China to Taiwan.

obtained the recognition of four other African countries: Morocco and Algeria in 1958 and Sudan and Guinea in 1959. This initial stage of China-Africa interactions took place during the Sino-Soviet alliance; at the time one of China's main goals of developing African connections was to break out of the American encirclement (Yu, 1977: 9). The second decade of Chinese African interactions (1960-1970) was characterised by a high level of Chinese activism in Africa, contemporary with the progressive decolonization of the African continent: between January 1960 and December 1965, no less than 29 colonies won independence from the West. Africa became a battlefield for three main Chinese international challenges: the international isolation fostered by the "Imperialist" United States and the West, the sovereignty dispute with Taiwan, the Sino-Soviet conflict. In fact, over the period considered, Taiwan gained recognition from the majority of the newly independent African states. In 1970, twenty-two out of the forty-seven independent African states had diplomatic relations with Taiwan, with only fifteen recognizing China and five African states recognizing neither (George, 2009: 11-13). These years saw an intensification of China's cultural and diplomatic missions to Africa, along with an increment of loans to African states. From December 1963 to February 1964, Zhou Enlai visited ten African countries accompanied by more than 50 official dignitaries and in this same year, Beijing signed eight agreements with six African countries ranging from communications to economic aid and technical assistance (Adie, 1964).

Since the early 1960s, the Sino-Soviet conflict has been a major factor in China's African policy. The ideological question of the conflict was rooted in the concept of true socialism, with China and Russia disputing on being the true social power and thus, the real supporter of African anti-imperialist struggle for independence. China accused the Soviet Union of being a "counter-revolutionary" force, and sought to identify it with the United States, charging the Soviet Union with seeking hegemony, colonial domination, and exploitation of Africa. On the other hand, China was deeply involved in African anti rebellion and independence struggles, namely in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Ghana, Niger, and Burundi. Beijing's close link with revolutionary groups alarmed a number of African leaders who became suspicious of China. As a consequence, by 1966 several Chinese diplomats were expelled from Africa

and some diplomatic ties broken (Burundi, Central African Republic, Tunisia, and Ghana) (Alden & Alves, 2008: 50). However, the Chinese cultural revolution of 1966 and the increased perception of the "Soviet menace" contributed to the decline of China's subversive activities in Africa and led to a rapprochement towards the US (Alden & Alves, 2008: 50). The real wind of changes started blowing in 1971, when China obtained a seat at the UN Security Council and gained gradual diplomatic recognition by most states in the world, re-emerging as a major actor on the African continent (George, 2009:11). By 1976, 39 states had recognised the government in Beijing and only eight continued to maintain diplomatic ties with Taipei (Alden & Alves, 2008: 51).[23]

Two major events signed modern Chinese African relations. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold war (1991) that signalled the collapse of the Soviet Union. These events positioned China as the remaining communist power, and the Tiananmen events (1989) made it more and more internationally isolated. Therefore, China launched a new diplomatic offensive to strengthen its ties with the third world, Africa in particular. Between 1989 and 1992, then Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited 14 African capitals, aid to the continent increased drastically and numerous African leaders were invited to Beijing. Furthermore, following the rapid economic growth of the nation, Chinese leadership recognised the necessity of securing stable sources of critical resources and Africa's relatively unexploited petroleum and mineral reserves offered compelling opportunities for the resource needs of the Chinese economy (Alden & Alves, 2008:54). A turning point came in 1993, when China went from a net exporter to a net importer of hydrocarbon products. By late 2004, the country had become the world's second-largest oil consumer, this led to a shift of interest towards Africa. By 2014, China imported 23% of its crude oil from Africa, with its largest supplier states being Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, the Republic of Congo, and Sudan/South Sudan.

---

[23] China insisted on the "One-China" policy, obliging each African state with whom it establishes diplomatic relations to adhere to this principle and renounce the official diplomatic recognition of Taiwan.

Furthermore, the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 and the promulgation of a white paper on China's Africa Policy in January 2006, stressed the surge of diplomatic exchanges between the two nations. The great dynamism of Sino-African relations supported the view that China was about to become a decisive player in Africa in the long term. The designation of the "African year" that Chinese diplomacy has conferred to 2006 is confirmed by many notable events. The Chinese Foreign Ministry presented, for the first time, in its African Policy Paper, a coherent doctrine of its African policy. In the same month, Chinese diplomacy mobilised extraordinary resources at the African Union summit in Khartoum: a staff of some 50 Chinese ambassadors lobbied in favour of Chinese interests. The former President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao visited a total of 10 African states. The highlight of this endeavour was the presence of more than 40 African heads of state at the "China-Africa Cooperation Forum" (FOCAC) at the end of the year in Beijing (Stamm, 2006: 3). The growing trade figures, the numbers of governments' mutual treaties, development assistance, and the Chinese people working in Africa clearly illustrate this renewed emphasis on Africa after 2000.

> Keen observers of China were quick to understand that these measures would herald a new phase of realism. Gone was the time when China's support for 'African brothers' freed from colonial European rule was the main order of the day. Business and investment were now going to drive the relationship with Africa which began to be seen mainly as a market if one put aside the Taiwan question. This evolution in China's relations with Africa was to be confirmed and enhanced later on, leading to a gradual 'normalization' of the China- Africa axis.

<div align="right">(Gaye, 2008: 140)</div>

Over the last two decades Africa has undergone an explosion of private and public Chinese firms (Usman & Lyu, 2021: 155). China-Africa trade volume increased from US$1 billion in 1980 to US$128 billion in 2016, making China the continent's largest trading partner. In 2014, trade between Africa and China was worth US $221.5 billion, with imports (from China) and exports accounting for US $105.8 billion and $115.7 billion, respectively. Since 2000, China has provided cumulative loans of US$143 billion in Africa, making it Africa's largest bilateral creditor. At the 2018 Forum for

China–Africa Cooperation in Beijing, China offered Africa US$60 billion for development financing until 2021 (Venkateswaran, 2020: 2).

In 2013 China's international co-operation was reshape under the rising of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 一带一路 [One Belt One Road in Chinese]. This initiative includes two dimensions (one terrestrial and one maritime) and aims to finance a series of infrastructure and trade projects, connecting markets that today are no longer limited to Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Belt and Road Initiative strongly increased Chinese presence in Africa. At a bilateral level, Beijing has invested in 52 out of the 54 African countries. The African Union has also signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on BRI cooperation with China, and according to China's official statistics, 49 of the 54 countries have already signed national MoUs. The economic factors appear as significant in China's decision-making regarding investments overseas related to the BRI in Africa. Beijing is essentially driven by its call for new emerging markets for its industrial overcapacity amidst a slowing domestic economy. However, Chinese competitors and some host African countries suspect that China is using the BRI to mask its geopolitical and geostrategic objectives. These concerns have been fuelled by the Chinese investments in ports along the African East coast and the first Chinese military base in Djibouti, located in the horn of Africa (Venkateswaran, 2020: 8).

A comprehensive evaluation of the current Chinese presence in Africa is not easy due to the complexity and variety of the social, political and cultural situation on the African continent. However, analysis of Chinese activities on the continent highlights a number of elements showing that China is making an effort to combine its interests with those of African nations, with a clear approach to the goals of cooperation. In fact, China has chosen not to interfere with the choices made by African nations; a choice certainly not dictated by a feeling of pure altruism for Africa, but rather to favour its own national interests, as this is nothing new after decades of exploitation of African resources by numerous international partners. What is really new is the fact that China offers a possibility for African development and an alternative to that of the West, opening up a competition that, if managed appropriately by governments and players in African economic reality, will constitute an important opportunity for development. Therefore, the effects of the Chinese presence on the African continent will depend, to a large

extent, on the ability of African countries to draw all possible advantages from their relationship with Beijing and maximise the benefits. What today is an obviously unbalanced relationship in favour of China will, in that case, be able to achieve greater balance by allowing African countries to participate in a true process of cooperation (Bonetti, 2015: 166-168).

2.4.2. Differences among Chinese and Western approach towards Africa

China's approach towards Africa contrasts with the Western approach and with the 'Diktat' of the World Bank, the IMF, and other traditional actors. The 'Five Principle of Peaceful Coexistence' (和平共处五项原则) expounded in the common Programme adopted by the First Session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949, represent the cornerstone of China's foreign policy. These principles, namely mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and mutual benefit (互相尊重领土主权、互不侵犯、互不干涉内政、平等互惠、和平共处), were particular appealing to new states in a post-colonial setting (苏长和, 2014). China has indeed become an alternative choice for many African countries which saw in this new power the perfect escape from the edge of the western neo-colonialism. The rhetoric at the basis of Chinese engagement into the African continent is based on a common history under the hegemony of western civilization. Afro-Asian solidarity indeed is based on the Chinese's claim about their understanding of Africa's economic dilemma, due to China's colonial history and struggle against poverty. In 1964, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai confirmed his support for African struggles against imperialism after his tour of ten African countries. He summarised Sino-Africa cooperation as follows: "The poor helping the poor", a slogan that resembles the modern concept of South-south cooperation. Furthermore, when in Ghana and Mali, Zhou Enlai established the eight principles of China's foreign economic assistance[24]. These principles, which are

---

[24] When providing economic aid and technical assistance to other countries, the Chinese Government shall act in strict compliance with the following eight principles: 1. The Chinese Government always

supposed to guide Chinese steps within the African continent, are the premises of "win-win cooperation" (合作共赢). This concept of mutually beneficial relations, which is at the core of Xi Jinping's diplomacy, is presented as an alternative to the prevailing "old" western-dominated scheme of international relations. The Chinese approach to aid in Africa follows this idea and is distinct from that of the West in three main ways: it is given unconditionally, it is infrastructure-focused, and it is tied. China is indeed carefully constructing a message devoid of the donor-recipient motif. While financing from western countries or institutions is usually accompanied by strict conditionalities, China's financing strategy, through a combination of grants, aid, and loans (free or at low interest rates) with a generous schedule of return, is an attractive option for African countries (Venkateswaran, 2020: 2). However, there are different views regarding actual implications of Chinese presence in Africa, some of them considering the Chinese rhetoric of "mutually beneficial cooperation" just a diplomatic tool, finally resulting in an unbalanced economic and political relation with Africa.

2.4.3. Divergent views of China-Africa partnership

As Sino-African relations are growing, scholars and other nations' attention to the issue is rising. One of the most important questions that arose from the observation of the phenomenon is whether the partnership is balanced or unbalanced. Wasserman (2012)

---

bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual. 2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges. 3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary, so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible. 4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development. 5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital. 6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them. 7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique. 8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1990).

observes that there is a dichotomic tendency in visions of China's presence on the continent: China is indeed perceived as either an exploitative, predatory force or a benevolent, development partner. Mlambo at al. (2016: 271) believes that "China needs Africa and Africa needs China, too". According to the scholar, China is in Africa primarily to meet its need of resources (energy and raw materials), acquire allies for diplomatic reasons, trade, and investment. Conversely, Africa needs China's assistance to develop infrastructures, to get loans and aid, and to obtain diplomatic support. While the more optimistic see China as an important investor in a continent starved of capital and a donor of technology and expertise, others consider the increased interest by China in accessing African resources as the "new scramble of Africa" (Carmody, 2011). China has been also accused to "buy" favours from despotic African leaders by means of development aid and its aid system has been perceived "as part of a charm offensive" (Fergus, 2013). Despite China claiming to have adopted the "win-win cooperation model", Venkateswaran (2020: 8) argues that in most cases China "appears to be benefiting more from its investment compared to the host countries".

Generally, the China-Africa relationship has been negatively reviewed by the West, but what is the position of Africans on the issue?

Several African statesmen have acknowledged the presence of China in the African Continent as shown by the following examples. Senegal President Macky Sall affirmed that cooperation between China and Africa is mutually beneficial. The former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe has been praising China-Africa relations since the 2000s. The previous South African President, Thabo Mbeki considered China as an important player in the realisation of the African renaissance. On the other hand, there are others in Africa, who are sceptical about the impact of the Chinese economic, political, and social activities in the continent (Mlambo at al., 2016: 270). In Botswana, a member of Parliament, Mr. Dumelang Saleshando, worried very much about the exportation of jobs by the Chinese (Alden, 2006). The director of a West African democracy-promoting NGO stated: "We have to contain the Chinese; it is a life-or-death issue for our continent". "Africa gains nothing from the Chinese; there is no quid pro quo with them" argued the 2008 President of the Chamber of Commerce of an African capital (Gaye,

2008: 133). Even ordinary Africans' attitude towards China has been changing; a rise in anti-Chinese sentiment in several African states has been registered (Mlambo at al., 2016: 270). The Ethics Institute of South Africa (2014) showed that perceptions of the Chinese by Africans were negative. In terms of the quality of Chinese products and services and business reputation. Chinese investment in Africa was perceived with concerns about its economic, environmental, social, and workplace impact (Shinn, 2011). Mlambo at al. (2016: 271) argues that Africa lacks a long-term economic vision; it needs to reconsider its cooperation with China because even if the scale of relations has been growing, according to their study, African benefits are less than sufficient. "African governments should encourage equitable trade and investment with China but at the same time, African governments need to negotiate on their own terms, identify priorities, and leverage opportunities to further Africa's interests" (Mlambo at al., 2016: 272).

2.4.4. China and Senegal: Diplomatic relations

China and Senegal diplomatic relations have undergone different stages. After independence in 1960, Senegal established official relations with Taiwan but only one year later Senghor officially recognized the People's Republic of China (PRC) that was unwilling to maintain this relationship while Senegal still retained ties with Taiwan. In 1971, Senegal was one of the African nations voting in favour of the PRC joining the United Nations. Two years later, in 1973, the PRC and Senegal established trade and economic agreements. Diplomatic relations between China and Senegal were suspended once again in 1996 following Senegalese recognition of Taiwan sovereignty. Taipei tried to regain control in certain sectors once occupied by Chinese aid workers, notably health and agriculture. But it did not take more than a decade for China to counter Taiwan's influence and successfully re-draw Senegal into its orbit (Bayram, 2019: 231). For Senegal, the re-establishment of the Chinese partnership is part of a realistic and pragmatic reading of the current geopolitical and economic context. The rise of China, as a political and economic superpower, has determined Senegal's choice to turn its back on Taiwan. Furthermore, Senegal's desire to obtain a temporary seat on the UN Security Council made it fundamental to develop good diplomatic relations with one of

the veto countries (Gehrold & Tietze, 2011: 92). From the Chinese perspective, Senegal's political stability and geographical strategic importance within sub-Saharan Africa were determining factors for the strengthening of diplomatic relations. Since the recovery of Sino-Senegalese partnership in 2005 under Wade's presidency, the Chinese presence in Senegal has grown substantially and had immediate and dramatic effects on the Senegalese economy. Today, these economic and geopolitical ties with China have taken on new dimensions and are challenging the supremacy of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and the United States. After all, the Chinese discourse in sub-Saharan Africa is based on a rhetoric of disqualification of the former colonial powers that seems to appeal to African political elites who find Beijing an interesting ally as it rejects the notion of interference in internal affairs and openly promotes reciprocity (Correia, 2011: 351). Under the personal commitments and the active support of President Xi Jinping and President Macky Sall, China-Senegal relations in recent years have enjoyed rapid development. In 2014 indeed, the two leaders jointly announced the establishment of a long-term partnership and cooperation between their respective countries (Faghih, 2019: 227). In September 2016, the two countries' bilateral relationship was elevated to a comprehensive strategic partnership during the G20 Summit in Hangzhou. In 2018, China's President Xi Jinping visited Senegal during his four-leg tour of the African continent in order to strengthen bilateral ties. In 2019, Senegal signed, as the first west African country, several cooperation documents with China under the Belt and Road Initiative and Beijing granted Senegal a role as co-chair of FOCAC.

In May 2021 President Macky Sall met with the Chinese Ambassador to Senegal Xiao Han to express his gratitude to China for its help in fighting the COVID-19 outbreak. Since the start of the pandemic, China has provided solid support to Senegal in various ways. In February, China was the first country to supply Senegal COVID-19 vaccines from Sinopharm (Xinhua, 2021).

2.4.5. China's economic engagement in Senegal

Some key characteristics must be considered in order to try to interpret, at least in part, the complicated and multifaceted reality of Chinese capitals and enterprises in various African countries. Since the 1990s, when China, India, and other countries competed for global resources with the so-called West (EU, US, and OECD) thanks to their new global standing, Africa has once again become a battleground for control of key resources. For decades, globalisation has been a reality for African societies, reaffirming Africa's role in the global economy as a primary producer of raw materials, whose demand rises and falls in accordance with global capitalism's dynamics. As a result, Chinese investments and forms of presence in African countries must be understood in the context of a broader neoliberal framework modelled by global forces. China is now just as much a part of the neo-liberal system as the rest of the world, which feeds inequalities through privatisation, austerity, deregulation, and the weakening of social activity. Chinese investors in Africa and the industrial relations that result should be viewed in the context of a broad deterioration of the relationship between capital and labour. Simultaneously, it is important to consider the criticism of the neo-Marxist view, which sees Africa's evolution as essentially determined by global capitalism, effectively limiting the diversity and specificity of political and social processes on the continent. As a result, situating China and African countries in the context of global capitalism's geographical rearrangement is generic. Consequently, studies that examine how unique actors contribute to shaping global capitalist restructuring in various parts of Africa, bringing together local and global interests, are critical (Ceccagno, 2016: 86-87).

As mentioned, China's investment in Africa appears to be motivated by the necessity of guaranteeing itself access to Africa's natural resources, of conquering new markets and of expanding its political partnerships. Senegal however does not possess large quantities of natural resources, nor does it have a large consumer market, but it has a good reputation for being a stable democratic country with a strong political influence within the African and international sphere. China and Senegal economic relations have thus developed over the years in many areas with strategic political objectives.
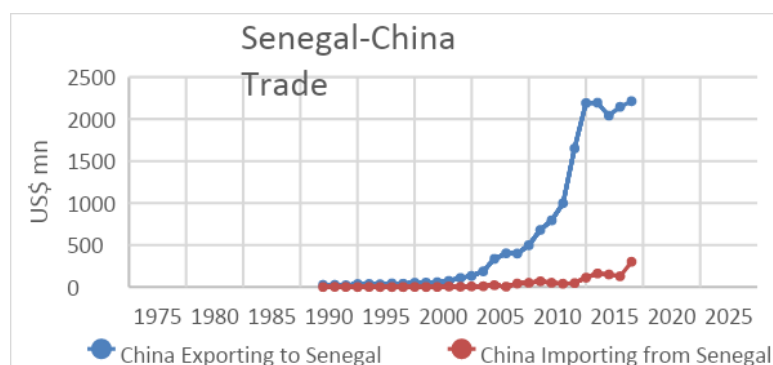
Figure 2.3. Senegal-China Trade Volume from 1992 to 2019[25]

The annual total volume of trade between two countries grew between 1992 and 2019 from 26 million U.S. dollars to 2.5 billion U.S. dollars (China Africa Research Initiative, 2021). Even the lack of diplomatic relations between 1996 and 2005 did not slow down the growth. Moreover, Senegal was granted zero-tariff treatment to export its products to China during the Forum of China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC III) summit in Beijing in 2006. However, Sino-Senegalese trade and economic cooperation remains unbalanced with Senegalese imports to China at just a fraction of Chinese exports to Senegal (see Figure 2.3). Senegal's main import products from China are building materials, machinery, glass, textiles, shoes, tea, and tomato paste. Senegal's main export products to China are phosphoric acid, fish, and ground nuts. In 2019, China was the first import partner of Senegal (17%), followed by France and Belgium (7%), and its fourth export partner (7%) (Cia, 2021).

China's foreign direct investments (FDIs) in Senegal are also growing. In recent years, FDI has become for low-income countries like Senegal an essential tool for building national technological capabilities as well as an important source of capital. Chinese investment in Senegal is marked by bilateral cooperation projects on infrastructure, transportation, and health. Furthermore, in 2017 China became one of Senegal's main partners in the implementation of its *Plan Sénégal Emergent* (PSE). In terms of infrastructure, China's commitment is focused on the fields of energy production, telecommunication, and land transportation systems. EXIM bank of China financed the realisation of a motorway project and the modernization of Senegalese communication

---

[25] Data Retrieved from China Africa Research Initiative and Boston University Global Development Policy Centre. 2021. China – Africa trade. https://chinaafricaloandata.bu.edu/.

technology through the expertise of the Chinese Huawei and ZTE. The China Road and Bridge Corp (CRBC) built a 115 km expressway that connects Touba, Senegal's second largest city, with the existing highway network in Thiès, on the perimeter of Dakar. Later, other two great infrastructure projects were completed thanks to the cooperation of China: Dakar-Mbour and Dakar-Thies highways. In the fields of hydraulics, the Senegalese government using a Chinese preferential loan, launched the multi-village drilling project, which consisted in the realisation of 181 national water supply system and the rehabilitation of 70 wells (Faghih, 2019: 228). Furthermore, the China National Fisheries Association (CNFC) has invested in two Senegalese subsidiaries, Senegal Pêche and Sénégal Armement. Grant aid, also known as non-repayable aid, is used in the health, culture, sport, and agriculture sectors. In the years 2007, 2008 and 2010, the Chinese government supplied drugs to combat malaria and organised regular exchanges of experts and doctors; up to now China has sent 15 medical teams to Senegal, which has made great contributions to the improvement of ordinary people's health and health care conditions in Senegal. Furthermore, in 2014 the formal handover of the China-assisted Children's Hospital in Damniado has written a new chapter in the China-Senegal friendly cooperation (MFAPRC, 2014)[26]. Ever since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, China has helped with donations of medical supplies and equipment to support the Senegalese fight against the virus (Chinadaily, 2020). On the cultural front, Beijing granted aid for the opening of the Grand Theater in Dakar (2011), the Museum of Black Civilization (2018). Senegal also counted on China for the refurbishment of eleven football stadiums and for the construction of its largest stadium, Leopold Sedar Senghor Stadium, also known as the Friendship Stadium, a 60,000-seats sports structure in Dakar realised during the 1980s (Gehrold & Tietze, 2011: 111). The People's Republic of China is also committed in the support of agriculture projects and practises in Senegal. Since 2006 a number of Chinese agricultural advisors are providing training programs to promote subsistence farming. In 2008, Chinese government provided materials for the Grande Offensive Agricole pour la Nourriture et l'Abondance (GOANA)[27]. A project launched by former President Wade for the

---

[26] Information retrieved online from the official website of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China (https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa).
[27] Great Agricultural Offensive for Food and Abundance (GOANA).

promotion of the cultivation of Chinese sesame in Senegal. Chinese centres for the implementation of agricultural projects were furthermore established in Senegal in order to experiment and adapt Chinese seed varieties to the local climate, to produce adapted varieties and conduct agricultural training, providing donations of seeds, fertilisers, and other materials to Senegalese farmers (Buckley, 2011: 13). Up to the beginning of 2009, Beijing had donated agricultural equipment for a value of 1.1 million Euros (Gehrold & Tietze, 2011: 96).

In 2018, Chinese President Xi Jinping welcomed Senegal as the first West African country to sign a Belt and Road cooperation document with China during his state visit on Saturday. China sees Senegal as a Belt and Road springboard because it represents a gateway to the West African region. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi stressed that China and Senegal cooperation is a "model of friendly relations between China and West African countries". Senegal is indeed politically and economically stable, strategically located at the intersection of Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa, and the Port of Dakar is the one of the largest and most efficient seaports along the West African coast.

2.4.6. Economic diaspora: Chinese traders in Dakar

The growing south-south cooperation framework is increasingly changing global trade patterns. These macro-economic factors have implications on global migration patterns. Chinese small traders migrating to Senegal are part of this mechanism. Trade is one of the main economic activities in Senegal and the informal trade sector comprises a large number of Senegalese traders and retailers. This sector has attracted many immigrants from African neighbouring countries, from Lebanon and now from China and other countries. In the late 1990s, one of the first and biggest Chinese companies operating in the Senegalese infrastructure sector, Henan Construction Company, attracted several Chinese workers for the implementation of its projects. Some of them decided later to remain in Senegal in order to explore business opportunities (Cissé, 2013: 19). They noticed that Senegalese traders in Dakar's streets and markets were selling products made in China and realised that there was space for business. Thanks to Chinese

immigrants' strong connections to mainland China, they were able to order products at low prices directly from factors or wholesalers and sell them back in Senegal at competitive prices compared to Senegalese merchants. Through social networks, more Chinese migrants arrived in Senegal in the late 1990s and early 2000s, often bringing family members with them. Today, several streets of Dakar have already been occupied by Chinese small shops, creating a so-called Chinatown around the area of the *boulevard Général De Gaulle*, also known as *Centenaire*. The first Chinese traders rented garages in the Centenaire houses indeed, transforming them into shops. The Chinese retailers changed the whole urban landscape of the former residential quarter as well as local business structures. The population of Dakar is already accustomed to "made in China" products, sold cheaply in a context of poverty; even if a large segment of national traders no longer hides its discomfort in the face of tough competition in their own country (Correia, 2011: 354). According to Cissé (2013: 22) "a variety of products are sold by Chinese traders in Dakar: footwear, clothing, textile products, decorative items, jewellery (bracelets, necklaces, rings), leather products, accessories (sunglasses, watches, belts, bags, wallets), toys, glassware, cups, plates, kitchenware, bedding, etc. Footwear and clothing are the most traded products at the Chinese shops in Dakar". Chinese traders in Senegal face challenges and difficulties mostly due to culture differences and communication. It seems that Chinese traders' language skills are limited, their French and Wolof are not good at all, and usually they hire a Senegalese shopkeeper to communicate with local customers. The average daily salary of a Senegalese employee at a Chinese shop is between 1,500 and 2,000 CFA francs (US$ 3-4) which is higher than the average minimum wage in Senegal (40,000 CFA francs/US$ 80) and is usually paid daily or weekly. In general, there is no contract signed between Chinese shop owners and their Senegalese shopkeepers and their contacts are merely business related. On one hand, the arrival of Chinese traders in the Senegalese informal trade sector contributes to creating economic activities for many jobless people in Dakar, on the other hand their presence is seen as a competition to the Senegalese local traders, businessmen and entrepreneurs. This competition has often led to tensions and protests in which Trade unions (UNACOIS and ASCOSEN) were also involved.

Chinese often live with their family members in the premises of their shops and form enclaves around Centenaire and its surroundings, keeping themselves distant from their host society (Cissé, 2013: 22). The difficult integration into Senegalese society results in loneliness for lots of them. A young Chinese shopkeeper interviewed by Cissé in 2012 declared: "I really miss home but I need to make money; therefore, I have to stay here and probably later take over the business". Chinese migrants in Senegal overall come from different provinces or villages and speak different dialects, but the majority come from Henan province in central-China and just a smaller number come from Sichuan, Fujian, and Shanghai. Most of them were previously factory workers or farmers in China. The majority are men in their late 20s to early 30s with low or any education background (Cissé, 2013: 21). Their motivations for migrating to Senegal included entrepreneurship, following family members, and tourism. A large majority did not obtain the visa regularly but arrived via informal means such as family networks already based in Dakar, as well as Senegalese brokers and officials. Most of them are shopkeepers and not shop owners, their plans to relocate in other cities or to move back to China are fluid (Cissé, 2013: 18).

2.4.7. Chinese-Senegalese cultural intersections

Education has come to play a prominent role in China's international relations. International exchange and cooperation in education are two of the oldest fields of collaboration between China and Senegal. Senegalese students are clearly a key foreign policy issue for China. Indeed, an increasing number of young Senegalese go to China for further study. China offers scholarships and favourable conditions (tuition and living expenses) to Senegalese students wishing to take advantage of its technological and scientific expertise. Between 2005 and 2010, 186 scholarships were awarded. In addition, Chinese language and experience constitute for Senegalese young students a way to have higher job possibilities once back home.

Activities to discover Chinese culture are established at university level. In 2011, Senegalese students embarked on a discovery tour of China under the aegis of Radio Chine Internationale, now present in four cities in Senegal. The Chinese desire to get

involved in the local socio-culture is expressed by a retractable Chinese presence into the Senegalese musical field, especially dance and folklore and by the government decisions to realise the Grand National Theatre and the creation of a Museum of Black Civilizations mentioned before (Correia, 2011: 352).

Since language is the essential instrument of cultural relations (Dollot, 1964), in December 2012, the first Senegalese Confucius institute was inaugurated at Cheikh Anta Diop University (Dakar) to organise programmes for teaching Chinese language and culture. Since their first appearance in the international world, Confucius Institutes have become one of the most important Chinese soft power tools. The concept of soft power was introduced in 2007, by then-President Hu Jintao at the 17th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Since then, China invested billions of dollars to promote its soft power initiatives. In the education field, the government funded hundreds of Confucius Institutes; these institutes became a visible, symbolic marker of Chinese power and presence on the continent (Sall, 2016). According to Fall, who served as executive director in 2015-2021, Dakar Confucius Institute "was able, in a very limited time, to pass from a simple language institute to an excellent institute which is at the heart of the professionalisation of the courses at the university"; furthermore, the number of students in the institute has grown from around 50 to at least 500 (Xinhua, 2021).

Media, as a powerful social system, also plays an important role in creating people's sense of reality (Gergen, 1999) and in allowing cultural exchange and knowledge. Chinese media coverage in Senegal is gradually increasing. Chinese journalists have been present in Senegal for a long time through China Radio International, but as China-Africa relations have strengthened, there has been a concerted effort from Beijing to build its media agencies in Africa and to create a more positive view of China in Africa. China media strategy is part of its diplomacy policy, the national propaganda template has been reproduced in other cities around the world through national media translated in other languages. China has indeed invested a significant sum of money in building communications infrastructure across Africa and on broadcasting and papers, turning Xinhua and CCTV into global media outlets. Analysts say that the expansion of

Chinese national media in Africa is a way for Beijing to change the narrative of China's involvement in Africa from one of exploitation to one of opportunity.

3. Theoretical and methodological framework

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical basis of the work, illustrating the main theories and concepts in the context of each discipline of reference. It further describes the methodology used to collect information, handle and process data. Finally, it establishes a reference sample for the analysis and discussion of data.

3.1. Theoretical background

The theoretical background of the present study is built upon multiple disciplinary roots. The fundamental theories and practises shaping the research framework belong to four different disciplines: cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics, intercultural studies and postcolonial studies. As explained in Chapter 1, the reflection from which the research project originated revolves around the three key concepts of culture, language and identity. This chapter sets the scene by illustrating each concept within different disciplinary approaches and exploring their correlation.

3.1.1. The interaction between culture, language and identity: a running train

> No sharp boundaries separate mind from body, body from environment, individual from society, my ideas from our ideas.

> (Schultz & Lavenda, 2021: 219)

In order to analyse the encounter of two or more cultures we need, first of all, to define the term 'culture'. The word 'culture' comes from the Latin verb *colere* which is linked to the agricultural world and means 'to cultivate'. Over time, the meaning extended to include the idea of 'taking care', 'making grow', culture thus has to do with making things grow (Angelini, 2012: 1-3). The elitist sense of culture borrows the image of the cultivation of the soil to translate the idea of the cultivation of certain human faculties of the mind and the spirit through intellectual activities. Indeed, according to humanism the wild and uncultivated soil is comparable to the human nature of an uneducated individual. During the second half of the nineteenth century, when anthropology became

an autonomous science, there was an extension of the meaning of culture. At the time, the concept of culture was no longer just connected to the world of erudite people. It was moving away from the ethnocentric concept of civilization and was starting to define the complex system through which human beings develop different ways of thinking and different behaviours.

The scientific debate on the anthropological definition of culture has been going on for several decades. Already in the 1950s Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) collected 164 definitions of the term, trying to offer a critical summary. The first anthropological definition of culture dates back to 1871, when the British anthropologist Tylor defined it as follow: "that complex whole that which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habit acquired by man as a member of society" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 81). Starting from Tylor's definition, several scholars began to consider culture as a common element of human society theorising that every single individual possesses and produces a culture. Culture is thus both universal and specific, and every different culture from the simplest to the most complex has equal dignity. Within the modern field of cultural anthropology, cultural materialists and interpretivist anthropologists propose two different definitions of culture. According to the cultural materialist Marvin Harris: "a culture consists of the socially acquired ways of thinking, feeling, and acting of the members of a particular society" (1975: 144). On the other hand, Clifford Geertz, belonging to the interpretative anthropology current, stresses that: "the culture concept […] denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz, 1966: 89).

Culture is therefore a complex concept having a meaning that goes from the universal level (macroculture), the specific faculty of human species, to the local level (microcultures), the ensemble of specific behaviours and thinking patterns learned and shared by a particular human group, within a specific geographical area. Microcultures are based on ethnicity, gender, age, institutions and other factors (Miller, 2019: 12).

The plurality of cultures gradually became one of the core issues of anthropology. While originally anthropologists were looking for common traits of human beings, afterwards it was understood that peculiarity is the foundation of our essence. The mechanism of comparison with others is indeed our first tool to understand ourselves. The relation between nature and culture is another fundamental concept of cultural anthropology. Nature refers to what is born and grows organically; culture is learned and acquired. Eating is, for example, a biological need of human beings but the meaning people of different cultures attribute to it and the way they eat, choosing or excluding certain foods, is linked to cultural driven factors (Miller 2019: 12). The traditional nature/nurture debate questions whether human beings are what nature determines them to be or what culture enables them to become (Kramsch, 2000: 7). In this regard, Schultz and Lavenda (2021) speak about the genetic capability of producing culture as a peculiar characteristic of human beings. According to the two scholars, human biology makes culture possible, while culture itself enables human biological survival. If it is true that culture is acquired, shared, adaptive and symbolic, what is the tool through which human beings create and transmit this cultural heritage? It is language. Language plays an essential role in the process of collecting and sharing knowledge, but also in the process of shaping knowledge.

The crucial feature that distinguishes humans from animals is language, which can be explained as the human capacity to create signs that mediate between them and their environment. Bloomfield, in the first half of the 20th, conceived language as a visible human behaviour, in terms of response and stimuli in typical situations. According to Sapir "language is a purely human and non-indistinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (1921: 7). Morris (1946) described it as an organisation of arbitrary symbols possessing an agreed-upon significance within a community. According to a sociolinguistic perspective, language is instead one of the most powerful emblems of social behaviour (Wolfram, 1991).

As witnessed by the above-mentioned definitions of eminent scholars, language can be described differently depending on the angle of observation, but it in fact possesses all

the mentioned characteristics. We can say that it has thus both communicative and symbolic functions and it is a system, which implies rules of order. This system is arbitrary as its particular elements have meaning only because of users' agreements and conventions. These users constitute 'speech or language communities' who use language for communicative purposes. Our world consists of numerous language communities, which possess different patterns of communication, not mutually intelligible. Different languages use different ways to assign meaning to sounds and symbols (Edwards, 2009: 53). Language is thus a communicative tool but also an emblem of groupness and it has a strong link to identity.

One of the basic issues of human experience is represented by the ancestral question 'who am I?'. All the possible and complex answers we can provide to this question fall under the concept of identity. According to Edwards, the essence of identity is similarity: things that are identical are the same. The notion of identity as it applies to personality signifies the "sameness of an individual at all times and in all circumstances […], the fact that a person is oneself and not someone else" (Edwards, 2009: 19-25). However, Bauman (2001: 7-11) argues that in the modern globalised society, "sameness and continuity are feelings seldom experienced either by the young or by adults". He advocates the use of the term 'identification', which he describes as a "never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by necessity or by choice, are engaged". Identity defines the uniqueness of each human being and consists of the ensemble of all our individual traits, characteristics and dispositions. However, the concept of individuality cannot be separated from the concept of groupness. Identity is a process which incorporates identifying oneself and being recognised by others and it is essentially embedded in social relations:

> One cannot meaningfully ask the question about identity without posing the question about self and others. And one cannot talk about social representations as a theory of social knowledge without examining public discourses in which different dialogues between the Ego and the Alter take place and through which they generate representations.

> (Marková, 2007: 219)

Our personal characteristics depend indeed on our socialisation within the group or groups to which we belong "one peculiar social context defines that part of the larger

human pool of potential from which a personal identity can be constructed" (Edwards, 2009: 20). We can define identity as a 'position' towards an 'other' in relation to social representation. The term position allows us to consider identity as a relational and dynamic process (Andreouli, 2010: 14.10). This dynamism is clearly connected to the dynamism of language, culture and society, as illustrated in the following section.

> It is not just the individuals who are on the move but also the finishing lines of the tracks they run and the running tracks themselves.

> Bauman (2001: 6)

Culture, language and identity are not static but in constant evolution. Therefore, modern research focuses on "relations of movement" instead of "relations of permanence", following the "endless mobility that travels the world today" (Sarmento, 2014: 604). How can we define the mechanism at the basis of interaction if we cannot crystallise the different cultural identities involved in the interaction process? Indeed, we need to define them, but we also need to be aware that the boundaries between definition and construction of identities are blurring. Defining doesn't mean crystallising.

For example, we can define the process of a running train as accurately as possible, tracing its route, calculating its speed, considering all the physical laws that make the motion possible, explaining the relation between the weight of the train and the gravity force or conducting an historical investigation on the human scientific evolution that brought to the invention of the train. We can even choose to analyse what kind of feelings the running train generates in passengers sitting in it, we can focus on their perception of the changing landscape from the windows. We can ask passengers to express their feelings, we can then study what kind of words of a certain language are linked to the concept of motion and compare them to the ones of other languages. We can theorise how different cultures perceive the motion in relation to their different perception of time and space and so on. We can study the above-mentioned issues sitting on the train or we can sit on a bench in a train station and study them from the outside. We can potentially do everything, observation is limitless. There is just one thing we cannot do if we want to study a running train, we cannot stop the train. It is

true that our scientific tools allow us to take a picture of the running train but observing it would mean analysing just a frame of the motion, not the entire motion. Now, if we substitute the metaphor of the running train with the subject of our study, we will soon realise that it is impossible to stop the dynamic tension generated by the interaction between languages and cultures, such as their constant changing nature. Linguistic anthropology, cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics show us how language shapes our way of living the world, and also how the world in which we are living, along with our social organisation, shapes and modifies our language system. In this regard, it is important to mention the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which points out the idea that language determines the way we think. According to this theory, language represents a 'cognitive world' and people who speak different languages live in different cognitive worlds. This concept is at the base of the so-called linguistic determinism or relativism. A different approach regarding the relation of culture and language is that of sociolinguistics which focuses on the effects of the cultural and social context on language structure. Most anthropologists consider both theories valid and useful in the analysis of human relations. Language, culture, identity, context and meaning are indeed strictly linked:

> Along with other semiotic resources, language is an important medium for identity negotiation, but it is not a neutral medium (Blommeart, 2005). […] Language constitutes an important form of symbolic capital that is socially structured and unequally distributed among individuals and groups. The socioeconomic and political power of speakers underlies the national and international linguistic hierarchies in which modern state institutions have played an essential role by legitimizing and enforcing the linguistic varieties of dominant groups as the standard, official, national, or indeed legitimate language.

> (Han, 2012: 137)

Since the turn of the century, the discipline of sociolinguistics has been undergoing several reflections and rethought because of the phenomenon of globalisation. Sociolinguistic research is now confronted with new empirical issues that require innovative perspectives from a theoretical, methodological and epistemological point of view. In response to these challenges, a new research paradigm is expanding: the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Gao, 2017: 2). The encounter of different cultures and

languages is clearly a change generator: "interculturalism, as we understand it, is a cohesive process of culture making, rather than a mere encounter of inherent cultural characteristics" (Sarmento, 2014: 615). Therefore, intercultural studies focus on the evidence that global realities, whether economic, cultural, political, environmental, or social, interpenetrate and mutually define each other. The concept of interculturalism explores the idea of "polyphonic narratives of dynamic tensions" (Sarmento, 2014: 606) and it is often compared to the concept of multiculturalism, the latter conceived as a result of intercultural, multidirectional and reciprocal movements. While interculturalism assumes that two or more cultures interact, as the prefix inter suggests, the concept of multiculturalism doesn't necessarily mean hybridization, but instead the coexistence of many cultures with different degrees of stratification and hierarchization.

> Multiculturalism is obsessed with the other and what one needs to know about him/her, while interculturalism focuses on the self, questioning one's identity in relation to others.
>
> (Sarmento, 2014: 610)

New waves in intercultural studies are pointing out that the dichotomic approach, based on the distinction of global-local, central-peripheral, we-others, is insufficient because, as Sarmento stressed, the concept of 'we' and 'others' is always contingent and relational, "as we are the others' other" (Sarmento 2014: 605). Spariosu suggests that the academic world should move toward a local-global approach which starts from the notion of globality but considers the local nature of knowledge, which is always bound to a specific culture, to a specific time and space and to a specific system of values (Spariosu 2006: 34-35). There is no way to define a cultural model in an objective way, in a group of individuals it is their own subjective perspective who defines the community. Sapir (1933) pointed out that culture is the product of the symbolic interaction between individuals and society and the world is composed of singular individuals immersed in the unity and continuum of a culture (cited in Duranti 2000: 60). Marco Aime (2004) writes: "it is not cultures that meet or clash, it is people"[28]. If people are unique and rework cultural stimuli in a personal way then every

---

[28] Original quote: "*a incontrarsi o a scontrarsi non sono culture, ma persone*" in *Eccessi di Culture* (Excesses of Cultures), 2004.

consideration or information collected through scientific research is an approximation of reality, influenced by the cultural identity of the researcher (Lobasso et al., 2018: 101). As Bloommaert & Rampton (2011: 11) outline, it is necessary to bring the ethnographer's sensibility to the apparatus of linguistics and discourse analysis and treat ethnographic reflections as directions along which to look rather than static constructs. These should also be applied to the researcher's own participation in the interaction, concerning his/her contribution as an agent in terms of knowledge and power to the communication dynamics. Linguistics, if correctly positioned into a well-structured ethnographic framework, offers a powerful range of tools for exploring the details of social life. Moreover, it allows, through the scrutiny of textual and discursive detail, to disclose "the ways in which widely distributed societal ideologies penetrate the microscopic world of talk and text, how ideologies have palpable mundane reality" (Bloommaert & Rampton, 2011: 11).

3.1.2. Interculturalism in Senegal

For this reason, in the present research we try to focus on the changing tension generated by the encounter of cultures. If it is true that the final aim of this research is to understand how the Chinese community interacts with Senegalese people and what kind of sociolinguistics and intercultural dynamics take place in this interaction, it is also true that observation serves to define a framework of social conventions and beliefs shared by members of different cultural and social groups and to study how their interaction modifies this framework. In other words, we examine how people construct their social and cultural identity through interaction.

> Following poststructuralist scholars, I see identity as a process of negotiating social relations […]. I see identity as multiple, fluid and often conflictive. Identity is constantly being performed, constructed and negotiated in everyday encounters. This process needs to be understood as occurring between differentially positioned and inclined social actors within different power relations.

> (Han, 2012: 137)

Furthermore, it is to be considered that the social space we wish to investigate is a 'conceptual space' shared by the Chinese community and the Senegalese community, within the Senegalese geographical area and society. " a conceptual space whose boundaries are constantly negotiated and constructed by the ethnographer and members of the society", as Gupta, Ferguson (1997) and Emerson (2001) stressed (Fitzgerald 2010: 6). In this regard, there are elements that must be taken into account: the social context, the communities and their individuals, and the personal condition of the researcher. The researcher's age, gender, class, ethnicity, religion are key elements that generate a certain reaction and different perception among the studied population. Following the philosophy of the global-local approach, while investigating the nature of Sino-Senegalese relations through the experience of individuals, we have to consider the bigger picture. In particular, we focus on the colonial legacy that still has a great impact on Senegalese society and on the way Senegalese people construct their identities and approach foreigners.

Postcolonial studies, which embrace a large variety of social disciplines, describe the several ways colonial systems affected, modelled and redressed social, economic, political and linguistic systems of ex-colonial states. Postcolonial nations, like Senegal, are places of cultural superfluity, linguistic cross-fertilisation and identity restructuration. Postcolonial literature shows the need of new independent nations for self-reflection, in order to assess the hybridised nature of culture produced through the colonial undertaking. This culture, which is neither exclusively colonial nor native, is the result of the internalisation of the coloniser's culture within native cultural structures. In this regard, considering the above-mentioned relation between culture, language and identity, we examine "the ways in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages" (Bloommaert & Rampton, 2011: 5). In the book *Linguistic Identity in Postcolonial Multilingual Spaces*, Anchimbe illustrates the need of investigating the complex and hybridised patterns of lingual and cultural identity in postcolonial spaces, not only from individual disciplinary perspectives (historical, linguistic, sociological, ethnological, etc.), but also from new interdisciplinary perspectives.

> There is the need to fill current disciplinary gaps, focusing on the identity
> fluctuations, hybridisation or alignments of people in postcolonial multilingual
> contexts as they go about their daily activities – explaining how they include and
> exclude others, how they interpret the mix of languages, and how this, after all,
> reflects or solidifies their sense of belonging together.
>
> (Anchimbe, 2007: 8)

This identity fluctuation or hybridisation is one of the main aspects of modern identity in postcolonial society such as Senegal, but what should we expect from the considered immigrant community instead? We cannot forget that the so-called Chinese community does not form a homogeneous group. Immigrants are differently positioned in the hosting society due to their social and economic status. In their study on Chinese immigrants in South Africa, Deumert and Mabandla (2013) show that the Chinese community is composed of people of different Chinese language backgrounds with weak connections (Gao, 2017: 6).

Globalisation has indeed altered the face of social, cultural and linguistic diversity in modern societies, and the paradigm of multiculturalism has been gradually replaced by what Vertovec (2007) called 'super-diversity'.

> 'Super-diversity' is characterized by a tremendous increase in the categories of
> migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also
> in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion
> into the labour and housing markets of the host societies, and so on.
>
> (Bloommaert & Rampton, 2011: 1)

Moreover, migration movements from the 1990s onwards have developed in connection with the advancement of technology, particularly internet and mobile phones that have profoundly affected the cultural life of diaspora communities. Communication technologies allow migrant communities to retain an active and strong connection with their homeland and to substantially reduce the sense of loss and separation between the migrant and his/her home society (Bloommaert & Rampton, 2011: 3). Studying and considering all these factors is essential in drawing a solid sociolinguistic framework of interactions between diaspora communities and local groups.

In this regard, it is important to consider the macro-context in which the present research takes place: African modern society. The ideological environment of modern Africa and its process toward the construction of a new African identity reflects on Senegalese sociolinguistic maps and international relations, including the Sino-Senegalese one. The notions of Pan-Africanism and Afropolitanism represent the main ideologies that are shaping the African modern society (see § 2.2.2.).

3.2. Methodology

The methodology of the present research was created on the basis of the theoretical and methodological considerations reported before. The following section first outlines the general research design and its stages, then closely examines samples and research methods. Finally, it proposes a method for data analysis.

3.2.1. Research Design

The present research is developed using a mixed methods design. The integration of qualitative and quantitative data allows for a comprehensive analysis of the research topics.
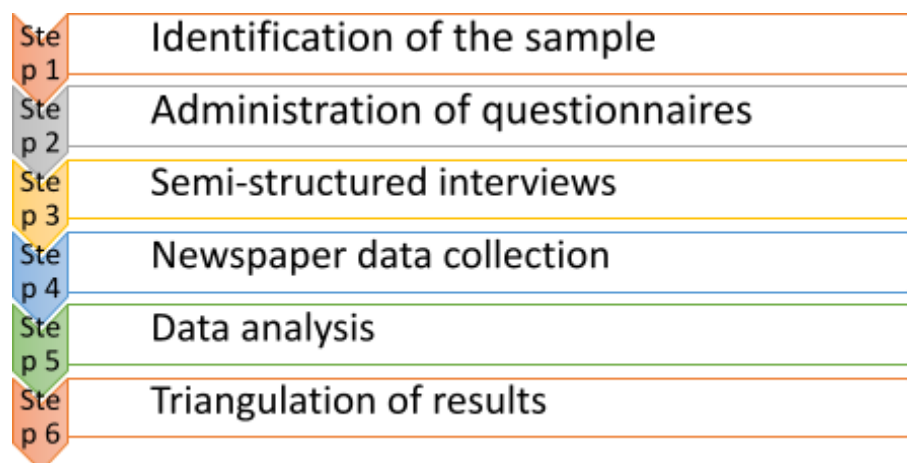

Figure 3.1. Research Design

Figure 3.1. illustrates the six steps of the research schedule.

The first step of this research aims at identifying the sample of Senegalese population for questionnaires and the sample of the Chinese and Senegalese population for interviews.

The second stage consists of the administration of questionnaires, which focus on the Senegalese perception of the Chinese presence in their own country. The questionnaire is administered to a sample of Senegalese people (§2.2.2.1.). This phase aims at providing a quantitative description of trends and attitudes of the Senegalese population by analysing a sample of it.

The third step of the research is the collection of interviews. In-depth interviews consisting of interactions with local population and Chinese migrants are audio and video recorded to allow an in-depth analysis of verbal and non-verbal elements of communication. The interviews are semi-structured in order to investigate different fields of interest, allowing the informant to express his/herself freely. The overall purpose of this phase is to gather qualitative data from key informants who have personal experiences, attitudes, perceptions and beliefs related to Sino-Senegalese relations.

Stage four aims at creating a dataset of news articles related to the Chinese presence in Senegal and at performing a sentiment analysis of it, in order to understand the general sentiment of African media on the considered topic. Sentiment analysis or opinion mining is a natural language processing technique used to determine what people feel about a certain topic. It combines natural language processing (NLP) and machine learning techniques to identify and extract subjective information in source material, determining whether a piece of writing is positive, negative or neutral.

Data collected through these different methods are analysed and integrated with the overall results of the study according to the method of triangulation (Natow, 2019).

3.2.2. Samples and datasets

Participants for both questionnaires and interviews were selected through snowball sampling technique. We started with a small number of initial contacts (seeds) fitting

the research criteria, namely living in Senegal, being either of Senegalese or Chinese nationality. Then we asked participants to recommend other contacts who fit the research criteria and who potentially might also be willing participants, who then in turn recommended other potential participants, and so on. We used our social networks to establish initial links in addition to social media like Facebook or LinkedIn.

Subsequently, following the tradition of ethno-methodological studies, the population sample was stratified by gender, age range (18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55+) and nationality.

3.2.2.1. Sample used for the questionnaires

One hundred and sixty-three (163) adults participated in the survey, one hundred and sixty-one (161) Senegalese and two (2) Franco-Senegalese. The sample consists of ninety-four (94) male (57.7%), sixty-eight (68) females (41.7%) and one (1) not specified (0.6%), aged between 18 and 55+, living in Senegalese urban areas, mostly in Dakar (73.58%). The Wolof ethnic group is the largest one (38.7% of the total sample), the Pulaar and Sereer subgroups consist respectively of forty-one (41) participants (25.2%) and thirty-seven (37) participants (22.7%). Other ethnic groups are Diola (8%), Bambara (4.9%), Soninké (3.1%), Mandingues (2.5%) and others (8.6%).

In terms of education, 47.2% of the respondents reported having achieved a postgraduate degree (diplôme d'études supérieures) and 17.2% having achieved a university degree, while 18.4% are still attending university. 4.9% of the sample had completed high school and 6.7% had not completed it, 2.7 % had obtained a Phd and 2.9% had no formal education. Regarding occupation, 27.6% of the participants reported to be employed in the private sector and 20.9% in the public sector. 20.2% of the participants declared being a student, 18.4% is self-employed and 5.5% unemployed. The remaining 7.4% is divided between retired (0.6%) and other occupations (6.8%). Table 3.1. presents the stratification of the sample by Sex and Age.

Age range	Female	Male	Not specified	Total
18-24	14	7		21
25-34	42	45	1	88
35-44	7	25		32
45-54	4	10		14
55 +	1	7		8
Total	**68**	**94**	**1**	**163**

Table 3.1. Questionnaires Sample Stratified by Age and Sex

3.2.2.2. Sample used for the interviews

The qualitative sample for semi-structured interviews is illustrated in Table 3.2. and it is composed by fourteen (14) adults divided into two main groups: Senegalese and Chinese participants living in Senegal. As shown in Table 3.2., we collected interviews from ten (10) Senegalese and four (4) Chinese, aged between 21 and 45 with a mean of 28.28. Among them four (4) are students and the remaining nine (9) are employees or entrepreneurs. Pseudonyms are used for all individuals.

Pseudonym	Sex	Nationality	Age
Aminata	F	Senegalese	21
Diarra	F	Senegalese	22
Moussa	M	Senegalese	23

Modou	M	Senegalese	23
Mamadou	M	Senegalese	25
Diao	M	Senegalese	26
Ousmane	M	Senegalese	27
Samba	M	Senegalese	27
Binta	M	Senegalese	45
Bamba	M	Senegalese	38
Mei	F	Chinese	27
Ming	M	Chinese	28
Lan	F	Chinese	29
Zhao	M	Chinese	35

Table 3.2. Sample for semi-structured Interviews

3.2.2.3. News dataset

The data employed for the sentiment analysis of news articles were collected from Access Africa: 2021 Edition, a component of the NewsBank database. Access Africa is one of the largest collections of African news sources online, it provides in-depth coverage of local and regional issues via newspapers, websites and newswires from across the continent in different regional languages.

The final database was generated using the keywords searching method to retrieve articles of interest. Four combinations of keywords related to the study subject were created both in French and English language. The selected articles contain the above-mentioned keywords combinations in the title and were published between 1960 (Senegalese Independence) and 2021. Table 3.3. illustrates the total number of articles retrieved from the database.

French Keywords	N. of Articles	English Keywords	N. of Articles
Sénégal, Chine	175	Senegal, China	49
Sénégal, Chinois	38	Senegal, Chinese	26
Sénégalais, Chinois	16	Senegalese, Chinese	20
Sénégalais, Chine	48	Senegalese, China	10

Table 3.3. Keywords Search results

All of the three hundred and eighty-two (382) news items were manually checked. After the duplicate news reports and the articles out of topic were identified and removed from the list, the final dataset was obtained. It consists of one hundred and forty-seven (142) articles regarding Sino-Senegalese relations, published over the period 2006-2021. The dataset was later divided into two corpora: the French corpus (85 news items) and the English corpus (57 items). Tables 3.4. and 3.5. illustrate the distribution of articles composing French and English corpora per year of publication and theme.

Nine main themes have been identified within the French corpus: Chinese aid, climate, covid, criminality, culture, economy, human rights, Senegal-China relations and sport. Table 3.4. shows that Covid, Sino-Senegalese relations and Economy are by far the most discussed topics among the articles written in French. The majority of the articles collected have been published in recent years, namely 2019 (18 outputs) and 2020 (26 outputs).

Theme	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	Grand Total
Chinese Aid	1		2					2	3	1		9
Climate									1			1
Covid										20	3	23
Criminality		1				1						2
Culture						1	2		3			6
Economy		2		2	1	4	3		3			15
Human rights										2		2
Senegal-China relations	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	3	4	3		22
Sport				1					4			5
Grand Total	2	4	3	5	5	7	7	5	18	26	3	85

Table 3.4. Distribution of Articles - French Corpus

Theme	Year of publication													Grand Total
	2006	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	
Agriculture												1		1
China-Africa relations					1	1					1	2		5
Chinese Aid					2	1		2				1		6
Covid												2	3	5
Criminality		1						1	1					3
Culture						1	1	1						3
Economy			1	1	1			2		2				7
Racism										2				2
Senegal-China relations	3			2		4	1	3	1	5	5			24
Sport	1													1
Grand Total	4	1	1	3	4	7	2	9	2	9	6	6	3	57

Table 3.5. Distribution of Articles - English Corpus

Ten main topics were identified within the English corpus: agriculture, China-Africa relations, Chinese aid, covid, criminality, culture, economy, racism, Senegal-China relations and sport. From Table 3.5. we can note that the English corpus presents a more homogeneous distribution regarding the years of publication compared to the French one. However, the majority of articles (9) were published in 2018. Sino-Senegalese relations is by far the most discussed issue into the English corpus with a total of 24 articles dedicated to this theme.

3.2.3. Questionnaire

This questionnaire (see Appendix 1) aims at collecting data on the Senegalese perception of Chinese presence in their country, on the intercultural dynamics between the two population groups, on the Senegalese attitudes towards a culturally plural society and on their expectations about how Chinese people should live in Senegal (acculturation expectations). The questionnaire was designed using a partial version of the MIRIPS questionnaire, a tool created within the framework of the international collaborative project Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS)[29] , led by John Berry at Queen's University in Canada. The selected MIRIPS items were successively modified in order to meet the research needs and adapted to the Senegalese society and for Chinese and Senegalese ethnic groups. The questionnaire was translated into French and administered online by means of the survey administration software Google Forms. The questionnaire was sent online via Google drive to the population sample (see § 2.2.2.), completion of the questionnaire was voluntary and anonymous.

The present questionnaire is divided into six sections and consists of fifty-nine questions. The six sections are organised as follow:

1.   Personal information: thirteen items (questions 1 to 13);

2.   Social contacts and languages dynamics: eleven items (questions 14 to 24);

3.   Acculturation expectations: one item composed by nineteen sections (questions 25 to 43);

4.   Attitudes towards ethnocultural groups: one item composed by five sections (questions 45 to 48);

5.   Perceived consequences of Chinese immigration: 9 items (questions 49 to 57);

---

[29] MIRIPS is a collaborative project being carried out in a number of countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, Greece, Italy, New Zealand, Norway, etc.), using a common research framework and common research instruments. The project aims at investigating whether feelings of cultural security, ethnocentrism, hierarchy, and reciprocity are found in multiple societies. See http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/miripsMIRIPS.

6.   Complete the following sentences: 2 items (question 58 to 59).

Section 1 serves to collect ethnographic data about participants, including age, sex, ethnic origins, education, employment, spoken languages etc. Section 2 is conceived to understand the nature of contacts between Chinese and Senegalese people in Senegal, for instance what kind of interactions they have in daily life, and which language/s they use to communicate. In addition, it serves to assess how profound Senegalese knowledge of Chinese culture and language is. Section 3 is based on the concept of acculturation expectations (Berry, 2003). Section 4 serves to examine Senegalese attitudes towards social groups of various ethno-cultural origins living in Senegal, including the Chinese group. Section 5 aims at discovering Senegalese perception on the positive or negative consequences of the Chinese presence in their nation. Section 6 consists of two open-ended questions regarding the Chinese and French communities in Senegal. The answers to the questionnaires have been left in their original version, without correcting any grammatical errors which might, on further analysis, prove to be diatopic variations of Senegalese French.

3.2.4. Semi structured interviews

According to Alvesson (2003: 15-17), the method of qualitative interviews can be regarded from three different perspectives: neo positivism, romanticism and localism. The Neopositivist approach treats the research interview as a tool for collecting data and thus studying facts. The romanticism approach aims at studying meaning and considers the research interview as a human encounter between the interviewer, who is supposed to be an empathetic listener and the interviewee who is required to reveal his/her inner world. The localist approach considers the interview process as an empirical situation to be studied, as an opportunity to explore the meaning of the research topic in a social context. The localist approach considers the involvement of both interviewer and interviewee in the production of answers, through complex interpersonal interactions (Qu & Dumai, 2011: 240-242). In the present study, according to the localist viewpoint, the interview is considered as a "construction site of knowledge" (Kvale, 1996).

The semi-structured interviewing method was selected because it was considered the best way to understand how participants view the studied phenomena, collecting in the meanwhile information on the use of different languages and their interactions during the flow of conversation. Semi-structured interviews are indeed flexible, accessible, intelligible, and capable of disclosing important information and hidden facets of human behaviours. Its structure is organised on questions guided by identified themes in a systematic way, but it unfolds in a conversational manner, offering the speakers the chance to explore issues they feel are important.

Interviews were collected from ten (10) Senegalese and four (4) Chinese adults living in Senegal for a total of thirteen (14) participants (see § 2.2.2.). Interviews were conducted online using Zoom or WhatsApp. A standard interview guide was used for the interviews, which lasted on average 30 minutes. Each interview was digitally recorded and, when possible, video recorded. Interviews to Senegalese participants were conducted in French, while Standard Mandarin Chinese was used to interview Chinese participants. The recordings were successively transcribed in original languages following a specific transcriptions code, significant extracts from interviews were selected, analysed and translated into English[30] (see § 2.2.6.).

The primary objectives of interviews are to:

1. Understand the ways in which Senegalese and Chinese participants make sense of, and create meaning about, their own cultural identity.

2. Deepen our knowledge of Senegalese participants' attitude towards Chinese people living in Senegal.

3. Collect Chinese participants' migration stories and understand their level of social integration in Senegal.

4. Identify participants' linguistic mechanisms associated with cultural identity construction, in relation or contrast with the counterpart.

---

[30] Translated by the author.

Interviews were all collected and analysed by the same researcher. For the transcription process we benefited from the precious help of two native speakers, one French and one Chinese speaker.

Starting from the assumption that there is no recipe for effective interviewing because the interview is a complex and involved procedure, we tried to follow Hannabuss's tips (1996: 26) for a correct interviewing process (Qu & Dumai, 2011: 248). The first tip is establishing rapport with interviewees. Due to the Covid pandemic situation, it was impossible to conduct field research, thus contacts with interviewees were established online. Social media were used to virtually meet interviewees and to create a friendly environment for interviews. The final goal was the creation of a situation of trust and cooperation between the researcher and the participants. Relationships are built over time, and it requires a certain level of reciprocity that includes telling the truth when the researcher is asked about the research project or his/her life story, without necessarily sharing specific information. Considering the fact that the interviewer was neither Chinese nor African but European, we used languages as tools to get closer to the studied communities. The in-depth knowledge of Chinese language and culture acquired over years, helped the interviewer to establish relations with the Chinese community. A more intense preparation was necessary to establish a closer relationship with the Senegalese community, including the study of French (the official language of Senegal) and of some basic expressions of Wolof (the most spoken language of Senegal), along with the study of Senegalese history, culture and society.

Secondly, during the interviewing process the researcher avoided questions which dampen the discourse, trying to keep the discussion going. Furthermore, the interviewer carefully considers when to interrupt, focus or pace the interview, adopting a non-judgmental attitude and trying to avoid interviewer bias.

In addition, during the collection and analysis of data, the interviewer's role in the creation of data was considered:

> In qualitative research, the researcher is the prime instrument of data collection. Consequently, the interviewer needs to be reflexive, conscious, and aware about how his or her role might impact the conversation between the interviewer and interviewee. In the qualitative research interview, we argue that the interviewer

should not be viewed as someone contaminating or biasing the data, but rather as a co-creator of data together with the interviewee, where the interviewer's previous knowledge may play an important part in understanding of the context or the experiences of the interviewee. As such, the interviewer is not a passive player in the interview, but an instrument using his and her abilities, experiences and competencies in the interview situation (Lingard and Kennedy, 2010).

<div align="right">(McGrath et al., 2019: 1004)</div>

3.2.5. Online participant observation: "netnography"

Participant observation is recognised universally as the central method of research in cultural anthropology. According to many scholars, the term indicates a good part of what we can call field research or fieldwork (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011: 2). Spradley (1980) suggests participant observation refers to the general approach of fieldwork in ethnographic research. Agar (1996) uses participant observation to refer to all the observations, and formal and informal interviewing in which anthropologists engage. Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte (1999: 91) consider participant observation as the foundation of ethnographic research, while Bernard (2006) argues it is a "strategic method" which comprises several methods at once. According to Dewalt & Dewalt (2011), participants observation is one of the several methods included in the general category of qualitative research and Malinowski (1961) is usually credited with the researcher who developed this innovative approach.

Qualitative research aims at obtaining a deep understanding of social phenomena in specific contexts. The aim of qualitative research is understanding the nature of phenomena and not necessarily assessing the magnitude or distribution of phenomena. These phenomena are interpreted "in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 5) and interviewing is one of the most common and powerful methods used in qualitative research to understand other people (Fontana & Frey: 2003; Bryman: 2004).

As already mentioned in the introduction, this research was initially conceived as a field research and participant observation and interviewing were selected as the primary methods of investigation. Due to the Covid19 outbreak, the research design has

undergone deep changes and has been restructured in order to collect data online. Research in virtual or online settings has the advantage that most interactions between the researcher and the participants are electronically recorded, therefore it is easier not to lose useful information and data. In spite of this, online researchers believe that online participant observers need to write field notes as much as face-to-face researchers do (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011: 173). Kozinets (2010) argues that field notes are absolutely critical in the process of "netnography", in other words online ethnography. Since much of the text is already recorded, Kozinets suggests the researcher should take reflexive notes that explore the interaction from the point of view of the observer (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2011: 174). Tessier underlines that "technological advancements should be considered as a way of improving data management rather than as a way of replacing older methods with newer methods" (Tessier, 2012: 457). Field notes are for recording impressions, emotions, and contextual details while interview transcripts provide detailed accounts of the interviews. The incompleteness of transcripts and field notes can be overcome with the possibility of listening several times to the recording (Tessier, 2012: 457).

Field notes collected during the online interview process have been essential to reflect on the methodological issue caused by the Covid pandemic outbreak and are in part reported in the introductory note.

3.2.6. Transcription

Kendall (2008: 337) underlines that the act of transcription, often considered as a purely methodological activity, has instead a great impact on the resulting possible readings and analyses of the data (Ochs 1979, Mishler 1991, Bucholtz 2000, Edwards 2001). Decisions such as how to lay out the text, how much non-verbal information to include, affect the directions in which the transcript may lead to analysis. Likewise, the scope of the research influences the choices of transcription methods. According to our research objectives (see § 1.1), we intend to focus on the content of interviews rather than their formal characteristics. Therefore, transcriptions do not contain phonetic information but

a minimum of prosodic indications. The first rough draft of the recordings was generated by the transcription tool of Nvivo 12 Plus software. Afterwards, transcriptions were manually edited in order to ensure a correct representation of the original speeches and revised more and more times. After coding interview data by means of Nvivo[31], we successively selected extracts from each interview that we considered pertinent to the scope of the study. We refined the extracts transcription according to a specific transcription code illustrated here.

The transcriptions code designed in the present study (Table 3.6.) is created combining transcriptions conventions from the Jefferson Notation System (Jeffernon, 2004), illustrated by Nagi and Sharma in Podesva and Sharma (2013: 242-246) and from Gumperz & Berenz (1993), Du Bois et al. (1991) et Meeuwis (1997), illustrated by Versluys (2010: 64). In addition, code switching phenomena are marked by highlighting in bold words or phrases.[32]

(.)	barely noticeable pause
(0.3)	Pause in seconds (in this case, 3 tenths of a second)
↑word↓	onset of noticeable rise or fall in pitch
<u>word</u>	Emphasis (loudness)
WORD	Higher level of emphasis (increased loudness)

---

[31] NVivo is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software package produced by QSR International. NVivo helps qualitative researchers to organise, analyse and find insights in unstructured or qualitative data like interviews, open-ended survey responses, journal articles, social media and web content, where deep levels of analysis on small or large volumes of data are required.

[32] It should be emphasised that due to the impossibility of collecting data on field and the resulting change in perspective of the thesis, the articulated transcription code hypnotised in the theoretical design has been employed only in part and simplified for greater usability. In any case, we report the transcription code in its full form, because we believe it can be a useful tool for future similar studies.

°word°	Start and end of quieter speech
Wo::rd	Degrees of elongation of the prior sound; the more colons, the more elongation
.hh	Inspiration (in-breath)
hh	Aspiration (out-breath)
@	Laughter
@Word@	Laughter within speech
[…]	Omitted parts
Wo-	Sharp termination
(word)	transcriber uncertain of transcribed words
[inaudible]	Unclear talk
((word))	Additional comments from the transcriber
!	Exclamation tone
?	Interrogative tone
word	Codeswitch

Table 3.6. Transcription codes

3.2.7. News articles

In order to explore African media sentiment on Sino-Senegalese relations, an ad hoc news dataset (see § 3.2.2.3) was created and analysed using sentiment analysis technique. As already mentioned, Sentiment analysis combines natural language processing (NLP) and machine learning techniques to assign weighted sentiment scores to texts, identifying and extracting the emotional tone they carry. In recent years the volume of research in sentiment analysis has increased, mostly on highly subjective text types (product reviews, tweets, Facebook comments), and this trend seems likely to continue in the future (Balahur et al., 2013: 2216). Even though official press has received less attention within the field of sentiment analysis research, a number of scholars have performed research on sentiment analysis in news articles (Raina, 2013; Yafooz et al., 2013; Arora & Srinivasa, 2014; Padmaja et al., 2014; Lei et al., 2014; Agarwal et al., 2016; Shirsat, et al., 2017; Nguyen et al., 2017; Taj et al., 2019 etc.).

Therefore, sentiment analysis was selected to examine the news dataset. The total of one hundred and forty-seven (142) news items, divided into a French corpus (85 items) and an English corpus (57 items), were collected and scraped using Excel and successively analysed in R[33]. The very first step of the analysis was manually performed and consists of retrieving the following information for each article: author, journal, year of publication, title, theme and newspaper macro area (E.g., West Africa).

News items need to be pre-processed before proceeding with sentiment analysis, this step is needed to remove all the text that is not useful for later analysis and normalise the text's format. In particular, the following cleaning operations were performed:

● 　　Case folding

● 　　Stopwords[34] filtering

● 　　Removal of numbers, white spaces and punctuation

---

[33] R is a programming language and free software environment for statistical computing and graphics.

[34] Stopwords are common words that generally do not contribute to the meaning of a sentence (E.g., the, a).

- Stemming

- Tokenisation

After pre-processing, the statistical technique known as frequency analysis has been used to determine word frequency in news items for French and English corpora. Afterwards sentiment analysis of French and English news has been performed, using Syuzhet and SentimentR packages on R. The above-mentioned operation of the pre-processing and processing phases are explained in more detail in chapter 4.
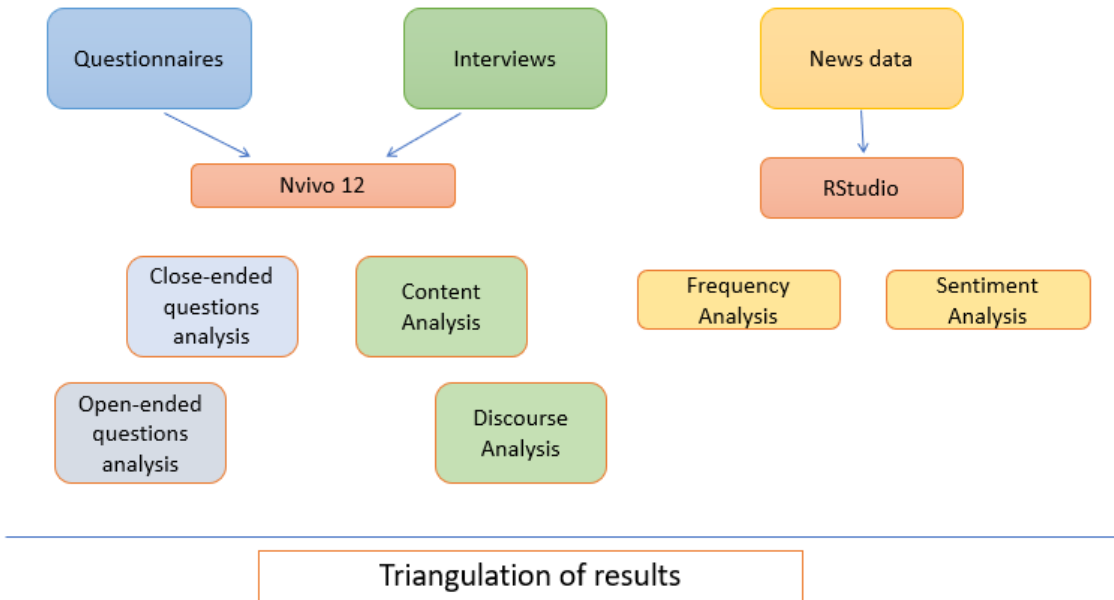
3.2.8. Data Analysis methods

Figure 3.2. Data Analysis Methods

The analysis of data has started by the time data collection has begun. Questionnaires and interviews materials were collected in a multimodal database where data were catalogued and analysed using Nvivo12. Data collected from newspaper articles were analysed through Rstudio. Questionnaire's answers were analysed statistically when related to close-ended questions and qualitatively when related to open-ended questions. Interview transcriptions were examined using two different methods: content analysis and discourse analysis. Frequency analysis and sentiment analysis were finally performed on the news dataset.

Data analysis has followed standard fundamental activities: data reduction, data display, interpretation, and verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Qualitative and quantitative data were compared and contrasted during the interpretation of the results. According to the methodological triangulation method, we have explored convergence, complementarity and dissonance of results.

4. Data Analysis and Findings

Chapter 4 contains detailed presentation and discussion of data analysis and the results of this study. The findings are presented under the following major headings:

● Questionnaire responses (§ 3.2.3.)

● Analysis of interviews (§ 3.2.4.)

● Sentiment analysis of news dataset (§ 3.2.7.)

Data analysis has followed standard fundamental activities: data reduction, data display, interpretation, and verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

4.1 Questionnaire responses

This section examines the findings from the questionnaire illustrated in chapter 3 (see § 3.2.3.). The main objectives of the questionnaire are collecting data on the Senegalese perception of Chinese presence in their country, on the intercultural dynamics between the two population groups, on the Senegalese attitudes towards a culturally plural society and on their expectations about how Chinese people should live in Senegal. Finally, we aim at understanding and comparing different perceptions regarding the Chinese and French communities in Senegal.

4.1.1. Social contacts and languages dynamics

Of the 163 subjects who completed the questionnaire, over half (59.5%) declared to interact with Chinese people during their daily life in Senegal. However, among them 67 participants (41.1%) replied that their interactions with Chinese people are rare, 23 (14.1%) claim to have occasional interactions, while just 5 (3.1%) and 2 (1.2%) participants reported respectively to have frequent and daily interactions with Chinese people. Most of these interactions are due to the presence of Chinese shops or restaurants in Dakar, where Senegalese go as customers. Few participants (9.1%)

indicated having a working relationship with Chinese professionals, and just 4.9% of the respondents reported having Chinese friends. 79.8% of the total sample declared not knowing any Chinese person in their immediate circle of connections.
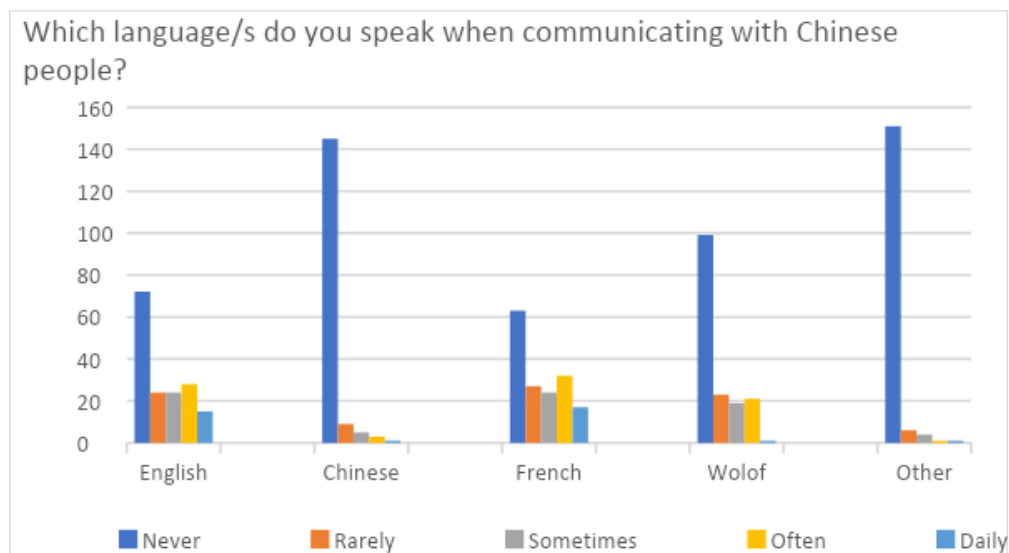

Figure 4.1. Languages used in Senegalese-Chinese communication

As shown in Figure 4.1., French is the language most used by the sample to interact with the Chinese community, followed by English and Wolof. Surprisingly, Chinese language is understood by 17 participants and spoken by 16 of the respondents.

It can be seen in Figure 4.2. that participants' general knowledge about Chinese culture is extremely poor. The majority of the sample (61,3%) does not know anything about Chinese culture, while a small percentage claimed to have a minimum knowledge of it (24.5%). 10.4% of the respondents reported being sufficiently informed about the cultural sphere of Chinese people, the remaining part declared to be well acquainted with it (3.1%) and just one participant (0,6%) stated to have a deep understanding of Chinese culture.
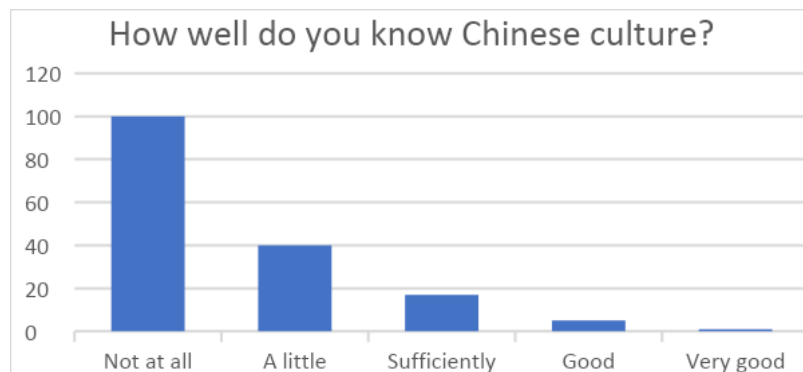
Figure 4.2. Senegalese's Knowledge of Chinese culture

According to different scholars, free associative mental states are sometimes more revealing about a person's attitude than her/his explicit and deliberate thoughts expressed by well selected words (Christoff et al. 2011; Morewedge et al. 2014).

Such spontaneously flowing thoughts have been the target of the question "which words come to your mind when thinking about Chinese people/culture?". This question was asked in order to infer the most common China-related thought associations in our sample. Table 4.1. lists the answers divided into six different blocks, three related to the general sentiment of the answers (positive, negative and neutral attributes) and three related to their content (cultural, economic and linguistic references). The numbers in brackets indicate the repetitions of the same entry or semantic similar words among participants' answers.

Which words come to your mind when thinking about Chinese people/culture?
Positive attributes
Ambitieux, assidus, authenticité, beauté, bravoure, confiance, curieux, développement, dynamique, éducation, efficace, habillement, ingénieux, instruits, intégration facile, originalité, politesse (2), ponctualité, progrès, respect (2), révolution verte, sagesse, sociable, solidarité, travailleur/s/travail/travail acharné (24), valeureux.
Negative attributes

Imitation, assez repliés sur eux, qui ne se mélange pas bcp à d'autre communauté, contrefaçon, discipline forcée, exploitation des travailleurs, fermé, communauté fermée, l'émergence, mauvaise qualité, non-sociable, produit moins coûteux mais de mauvaise qualité, produits bas de gamme (2), raciste (2), strict.
Neutral attributes
Mange tout, bonjour, patriotisme, patriotique, patriots (4), conservatism/conservateurs/ très conservateur (4), discipline, peuple très discipliné (16), Covid 19, carré, très réservé, réservé (2), court, nombreux, les baguettes, rigueur (3), secret, sense du devoir, performances, peuplé, nourriture extrêmement.
Cultural references
Acrobatie, arts, Bruce lee, China, Chine, la Chine populaire (3); Cité Interdite, communisme (3), confucianisme, culture familiale/famille (2); culture riche et ancienne, danses, film, Institut Confucius, leur culture est magnifique, Karaté/karatéka (6), Kung fu (4), la grande muraille de chine (4), les arts martiaux (4), Mao tsé tong/Mao/Mao zédong (7), moine, nems (2), noodles (2), Pékin, rouge, Shaolin/moines de Shaolin (3).
Economic references
Achat, businessmen, commerce/commerce international (5), industrie (2), économie de la Chine, concurrence mondiale, usine, Yuan, hi-tech/technologie (2).
Language references
Gni hao/ni hao/ngikha//ni haw/hin hanw/nixaw (18), xie, she-shie (3), ni hao ma (2), hai, tung woo, wo hui shuo hanyu, woochang, moli hua, hihan, màmà hé bàbà, wo aì nī, gin sheng, changay, thinkay thiek! zu en lai, Harajuku, hinkhong.

Table 4.1.Attributes associated to Chinese people/culture

The positive attributes linked with Chinese people or culture range from behavioural aspects (E.g., politeness, respect, sociable, ambitious, punctuality, wisdom) to more general themes (E.g., development, green revolution, education, beauty, easy integration, solidarity). The group of words most frequently associated with the Chinese community (24 entries) are related to their dedication to work: 'diligent worker/s', 'work', 'hard work'. Negative attributes are first of all related to Chinese limited integration ability and their closure towards other communities (E.g., quiet withdrawn

into themselves, do not mix with other communities, closed, closed community, non-sociable, racist). Secondly, we can observe quite few associations with the products produced and sold by Chinese traders, usually considered to be of low quality or copied (E.g., less expensive but poor-quality products, low-end product, counterfeit). Answers coded as neutral attributes show that Senegalese people who took part in the survey often associate the Chinese community with characteristics reminiscent of patriotism, discipline, conservatism and rigour. Many of the China-related words are references to cultural, geographical and historical traits (E.g., Mao, Communism, the Great Wall, martial arts, Kung fu, Shaolin, Mao). Some are words related to the economic sphere such as commerce, industry, Yuan, technology etc. From the last section of Table 4.1. we can note that many participants have associated Chinese familiar words' sounds with Chinese people. Several ways to transcribe the Chinese salutation nǐhǎo (你好) or the Chinese word for thank you xièxiè (谢谢) were reported, as well as other Chinese random expressions.

When the respondents were questioned about the contribution of Chinese people to the country, the majority commented that the Chinese community contributes in numerous ways to the economy of Senegal. In particular, they mentioned the creation of new job opportunities, the development of infrastructures and services, the production of low quality but cheaper goods that guarantee the access to products even for the poorest segment of the Senegalese population. Few participants mentioned the cultural impact of the Chinese presence, particularly in terms of cultural diversity. Chinese medicine, martial arts and rigour at work are among the main cultural contributions of the Chinese diaspora group. Entries are listed in Table 4.2.

According to you, what kind of contribution do Chinese people make to the country?	
Selection of original answers (positive)	**Translation**

Ils contribuent à l'économie du pays.	They contribute to the national economy.
Elle participe à une création d'emploi.	It participates in job creation.
La communauté chinoise participe au développement des infrastructures et du commerce grâce à des dons du gouvernement chinois à l'endroit de l'Etat du Sénégal. Je peux citer en exemple le Musée des Civilisations Noires.	The Chinese community participates in the development of infrastructures and trade, thanks to donations from the Chinese government to the State of Senegal. I can cite as an example the Museum of Black Civilizations.
La communauté chinoise a créé beaucoup d'emplois dans le secteur du commerce et de la construction routière et du bâtiment. Elle vend des produits à des prix accessibles aux personnes avec de faibles revenus.	The Chinese community has created a lot of job opportunities in the trade sector, as well as in the road construction and construction sector. It sells products at affordable prices to people with low incomes.
Avec leurs produits de qualité inférieure, cette communauté permet à une importante partie de la population d'acheter des produits bon marché. Leur partenariat permet aussi la construction d'infrastructures dans le pays.	With their inferior products, this community allows a large part of the population to have access to affordable products. Their partnership also allows the construction of infrastructure in the country.
L'accès aux biens et services à moindre coût.	Access to goods and services at a lower cost.
Ils encouragent le peuple au travail de rigueur.	They encourage the people to work hard.
la diversité culturelle.	Cultural diversity.

Table 4.2. Advantages associated with the Chinese presence in Senegal

Concerning Chinese goods, some participants also reported that their low prices have a negative impact on the local vendors who cannot compete on the market. Furthermore, diaspora groups are described by few participants as unassimilable and introverted. For these reasons, a negative view of the Chinese presence in Senegal was recorded among the responses, albeit to a lesser extent (Table 4.3.)

According to you, what kind of contribution do Chinese people make to the country?	
Selection of original answers (Negative)	**Translation**

Produits très low cost qui n'incitent pas au développement d'initiatives locales	Very low-cost products that do not encourage the development of local initiatives.
Selon leurs intérêts. Rien n'est gratuit avec le chinois	According to their interests. Nothing is free with Chinese
Aucune, ils profitent de nous	None, they take advantage of us.
Un mal nécessaire. Sur le plan infrastructure génial par contre un handicap pour nos marchés locaux	A necessary evil. Brilliant in terms of infrastructure, however a handicap for our local markets.
Vraiment je ne sais pas. Ils ne se mélangent pas avec nous, ils ne nous parlent jamais. Dans la rue ne répond j'aimais même si la salutation est gestuelle. Ils sont vraiment bizarres.	I really don't know. They don't mix with us; they never talk to us. In the street they don't answer even if the greeting is gestural. They are really strange.
Ils ne nous parlent jamais. Même les salutations gestuels refusent de répondre. Je dénonce ces actes de radicalisme.	They never speak to us. They refuse to answer even with gestures. I denounce these acts of radicalism.

Table 4.3. Disadvantages associated with the Chinese presence in Senegal

The answers to the question "how would you call Chinese people in your language?" reveal interesting factors. The majority of respondents (122) use the French word Chinois to refer to the Chinese population, while a small number of participants (15) claimed to use the Wolof version of the word, Sinois. Interestingly, some onomatopoeic words were collected among answers that seem to be correlated to sounds typical of the Chinese language: Ching chang, Ching chong, Ching ching. Some expressions describing physical attributes of the Chinese population are also used to refer to Chinese people, such as "men with small eyes/the too small eyes" (les hommes aux petits yeux/ les yeux très petits). The word *Toubab*, generally used to refer to white people, was mentioned twice. This word is mostly used in Central and West Africa, and it is usually associated with people of European descent, "white person" or "coloniser". The term can be derogatory by itself, but it can also be applied to any perceived traveller, usually only those with a different phenotype, up to foreign-raised locals (thus with a different

accent) or visiting expatriates. The word *Toubab* does not only refer to phenotypic features, but to "a set of attitudes that reveals the ignorance of the local meanings and social codes" (Quashie, 2015). It is also interesting to note that some attributes were indicated by respondents as diverse ways to refer to Chinese people: complicate (compliquer), foreigner (étranger), mediocre (mediocre) and kindness (gentilesse).

4.1.2. Acculturation expectations

One concept that underlies all aspects of acculturation and ethnic relations phenomena is the intercultural strategy put into practice by all groups when they experience intercultural relations. This strategy, consisting of both attitudes and behaviours, may be overtly expressed or implicit and not expressed in daily life. Generally speaking, the dominant group, in our case the Senegalese, can be examined in two aspects related to intercultural strategies. The first is called 'acculturation expectations' (Berry, 2003) and includes the views concerning how non-dominant groups should acculturate or assimilate to the dominant culture. The second relates to reflections of the dominant groups about the ways they themselves should change to accommodate the other groups in their society, in other words their 'multicultural ideology' (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977). Intercultural strategies are different from person to person and are based on the individual degree of preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity, and the relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. In this section we report responses relative to the Senegalese acculturation expectations towards the Chinese group.

The acculturation expectations attitude was calculated on the correspondent section of the MIRIPS Questionnaire for the dominant society. It was to be noted that questions items of this section were adapted for the Senegalese sociocultural context and became 19 items instead of the original 16 items. Results calculation was adapted accordingly. A Likert scale was used to assess participants' responses (1-Strongly disagree, 2-Somewhat disagree, 3-Not sure/neutral, 4-Somewhat agree, 5-Strongly agree). Participants were then scored based on the scoring document provided on the MIRIPS

website[35] in order to obtain the average for a mean score for the following four attitudes or strategies: Multiculturalism, melting Pot, segregation, exclusion. Figure 4.3. illustrates intercultural strategies in ethnocultural groups, and the larger society as reported in MIRIPS questionnaire: description of project (Berry, 2003).
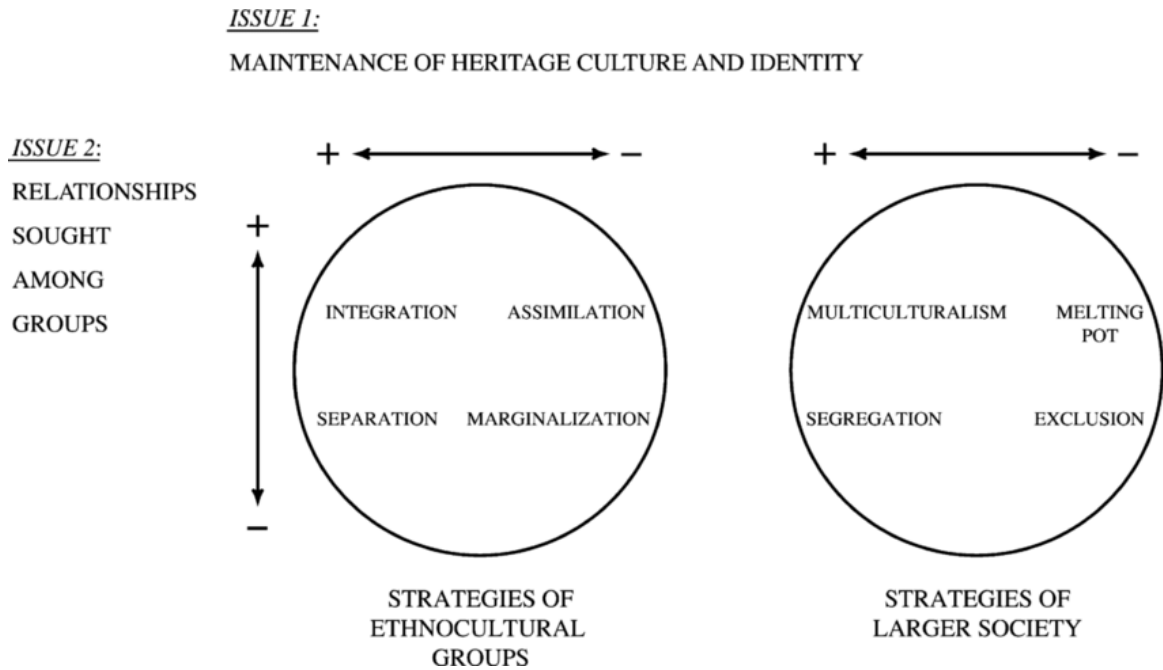

Figure 4.3. Intercultural Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society (Berry, 2003)

According to the MIRIPS study, the above mentioned four strategies correspond to four strategies implemented by the non-dominant group: Integration, assimilation, separation, marginalisation. Integration occurs when there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups. When integration and cultural diversity are features of the society as a whole, including all the various ethnocultural groups, they are called 'multiculturalism'. Assimilation occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures. When assimilation is sought by the non-dominant acculturating group is termed 'melting pot'. On the other hand, the separation alternative is defined when individuals want to hold on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid

---

[35] https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/cacr/research/mirips/MIRIPS-QUESTIONNAIRE-scoring-2.pdf

interaction with others. When separation is forced by the dominant group it is called 'segregation'. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others, marginalisation is defined. Marginalisation, when imposed by the dominant group, is 'exclusion'.

	Multiculturalism	Melting pot	Exclusion	Segregation
Mean	17.82	12.13	10.81	10.88
SD	4.65	4.08	3.80	3.49

Table 4.4. Average Mean and Standard Deviation of acculturation expectations/attitudes

Table 4.4. shows that scores of multiculturalism, melting pot, exclusion and segregation were respectively 17.82 (SD = 4.65), 12.13 (SD = 4.08), 10.81 (SD = 3.80) and 10.88 (SD = 3.49). Multiculturalism was rated more highly than any other acculturation strategy by participants, The expectation of assimilation (melting pot) of Chinese diaspora group to the Senegalese society received a higher score compared to exclusion and segregation. This confirms Senegalese general positive attitude towards cultural diversity and the desire to integrate the Chinese group into Senegalese society, in the respect of their cultural diversity.

4.1.3. Attitudes towards ethnocultural groups

In order to calculate Senegalese attitudes towards ethnocultural groups we used the ATI Scale (Berry, 2003), but we modified its number range. The ATI scale is a 100-point feeling thermometer scale used to indicate the favorability towards immigrant groups, we transformed it to a 10-point scale because smaller scales reduce the variance. Participants were asked: "Please provide a number between 0 and 10 to indicate your attitude toward [ethnocultural group]". In this study, in addition to the Senegalese group, we evaluated Chinese, French, Portuguese and Lebanese people since Chinese presence is our main research interest and the other selected groups are the most representative foreigner groups in Senegal. Scores on this scale ranged from 0 (extremely unfavourable) to 10 (extremely favourable).
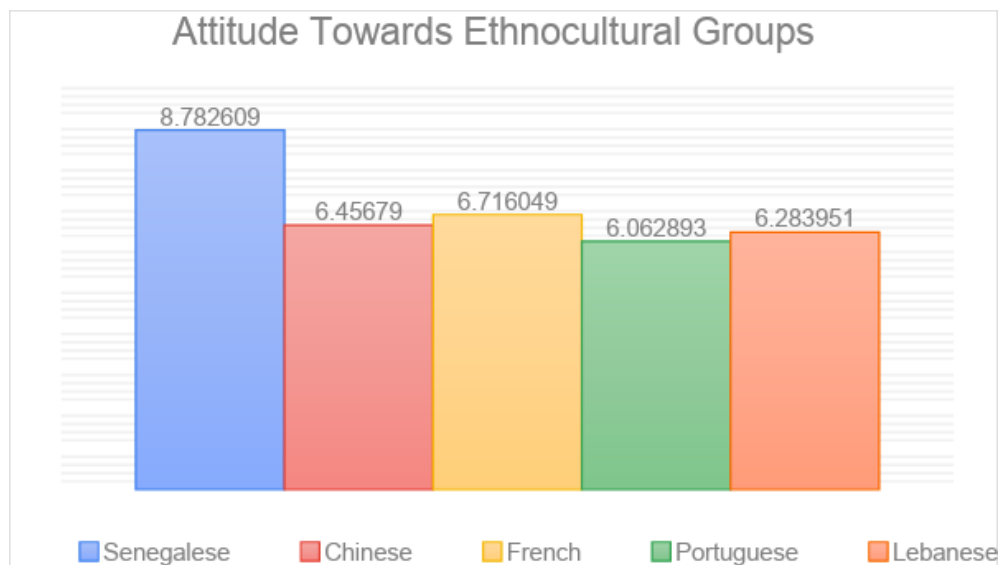

Figure 4.4. Average scores of ATI Scale

As detailed in Figure 4.4., average scores for attitudes towards all ethnocultural groups were higher than the midpoint (5) of the scale, meaning our sample demonstrated a positive attitude towards different ethnocultural groups in general. Participants rated their own ethnocultural group (Senegalese) higher than other groups, confirming our expectations. Average scores for other groups do not show significant differences. However, the French group was rated warmer than other groups (6.72), it was followed by the Chinese group (6.5), the Lebanese (6.28) and the Portuguese group.

4.1.4. Perceived consequences of Chinese diaspora

In order to assess Senegalese attitudes regarding the presence of Chinese immigrants in their country, we created an adapted version of the Perceived Consequences of Immigration (PCI) Scale of the MIRIPS questionnaire (Berry, 2006; Berry & Kalin, 1995). It is a 9-item scale self-report measure used to assess one's perception of positive and negative consequences of immigration. Nine items in total (e.g., "With more Chinese immigration, Senegalese people would lose their identity.") were rated by participants on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The items were divided by positive (3), negative (3) and neutral (3) consequences of Chinese immigration.

Table 4.5. shows that our sample average scores for each category is higher than the midpoint (7.5), however neutral consequences of Chinese immigration were rated higher among participants (M:11.33; SD: 2.66), followed by positive consequences (M: 8,92; SD: 3.07) and negative consequences (M:7.62; SD: 2.62).

PCI			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Mean	8.92	7.62	11.33
SD	3.07	2.62	2.66

Table 4.5. Perceived Consequences of Chinese Immigration

These results confirm Senegalese general neutral/positive attitude towards Chinese immigration, without excluding, however, the presence of negative perceptions about the phenomenon.

4.1.5. Senegalese perception of the Chinese and French presence in Senegal: a comparison

In order to compare Senegalese perception of the Chinese and the French presence in Senegal, participants were asked to complete two open sentences:

- The Chinese presence in Senegal is …
- The French presence in Senegal is …

The answers were collected in Nvivo and successively coded as positive, negative and neutral. Table 4.6. details the number of entries for each category.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
French presence in Senegal is	51	62	50
Chinese presence in Senegal is	90	28	45

Table 4.6. Chinese and French presence in Senegal is …

Table 4.6. is revealing in several ways. First, in our sample more positive feedback was associated with the Chinese presence compared to the French one. Second, negative entries with respect to the French presence in Senegal were considerably higher. Third, a neutral vision on the two phenomena is shared by about 50 people.

Positive considerations for both Chinese and French presence mainly concern their apport in terms of economic, social and cultural development of Senegal. The presence of the two groups in Senegal is synonymous with great economic opportunities as many financing and development projects in the first, second and third sectors are conducted by the Chinese and French governments (Table 4.7.).

Chinese presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of positive original answers	**Translation**
Bénéfique.	Beneficial.
Normale et bénéfique si elle est bien encadrée.	Normal and beneficial if properly regulated.
Positive comme la présence de tout autre peuple dans le respect de l'intérêt de tous, des droits humains et de la loi.	As positive as the presence of any other people, in the respect of everybody's interests, human rights and the law.
Économiquement et culturellement enrichissante.	Economically and culturally enriching.
Pourrait être une bonne chose s'ils respectent la culture et les traditions sénégalaises.	Might be a good thing if they respect Senegalese culture and traditions.
Une belle opportunité économique grâce à leurs grandes expertises diverses.	A great economic opportunity thanks to their great diverse expertise.

Table 4.7. Chinese presence in Senegal is (selection of positive answers)

Often, respondents pointed out that the beneficial of the cooperation with Senegal is true only if both the French and Chinese presence is well regulated, and if they respect Senegalese culture and traditions, as well as human rights (Table 4.8.).

The French presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of positive original answers	**Translation**
Fructueuse en coopération.	Fruitful for cooperation.
Une bonne chose.	A good thing.
C'est une amitié de longue date et un échange culturel.	It is a long-standing friendship and a cultural exchange.
Bon dans la mesure où la réciprocité est appliquée.	Good as long as reciprocity is applied.

A saluer parce que les Français proposent de bons salaires et beaucoup d'avantages aux Sénégalais.	To be welcomed because the French offer good salaries and many advantages to the Senegalese.
Bénéfique d'une part car ils créent l'emploi.	Beneficial on the one hand because they create employment.

Table 4.8. French presence in Senegal is (selection of positive answers)

Responses coded as neutral are illustrated in Table 4.9 and 4.10., they state either that their presence is the normal result of globalisation or just that it is important. Concerning the Chinese people, some participants mentioned that their presence is "opportune", but their level of integration is too low. The expression un mal necessaire (a necessary evil) is noteworthy since it has been associated more times with both the Chinese and the French presence within Senegalese territory.

Chinese presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of neutral original answers	**Translation**
Elle est normale dans le cadre de la diversification des partenaires, de la mondialisation et de la libre circulation des capitaux.	It is normal in the context of partners diversification, globalisation and the free movement of capitals.
Un mal necessaire.	A necessary evil.
Une lame à double tranchant.	A double-edged blade.
Avec des avantages et des inconvénients.	With advantages and disadvantages.
Prendre avec des pincettes selon l'angle d'analyse.	To take with a grain of salt in relation to the angle of analysis.
Normale.	Normal.

Table 4.9. Chinese presence in Senegal is (selection of neutral answers)

The French presence is perceived by many as a natural historical result and a part of the Senegalese socio-cultural landscape. Some underlined it is certainly useful, but it is also reason of discrimination and inequality to the point that traveling from one part of the country to another is extremely easy for "certain passports" and not for others. Inequity is strongly felt in Senegal, this perception is certainly part of the colonial heritage, but it is also the mirror of an independent country that is struggling to free itself from ancient mechanisms of power.

The French presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of neutral original answers	**Translation**
Ancienne.	Ancient.
Fortement ressentie.	Strongly felt.
Partie intégrale du paysage socio-culturel Sénégalais.	Integral part of the Senegalese socio-cultural landscape.
Un mal necessaire.	A necessary evil.
A revoir, pour le bien-être et l'avenir des relations entre les deux pays.	To review, for the well-being and the future relations between the two countries.

Intéressante, si on se réfère au financement par l'intermédiaire de l'Alliance Française pour le Développement, je parle des institutions. Sinon, malheureusement pour les personnes physiques, je trouve cela dommage que certains ''passeports'' semblent ''supérieurs'' à d'autres. Juste une manière de dire que les habitants des pays du Nord se rendent très facilement dans les pays du Sud, sans tracas, et cela ne va pas dans les deux sens... Ceci étant le monde est fait d'inégalités et sur bien des plans, il y a des riches, des pauvres, des nécessiteux, des milliardaires, des gens en bonne santé, des malades, etc. Ainsi va la vie.	Interestingly, if we refer to funding through the *Alliance Française pour le Développement*, I am talking about institutions. Otherwise, unfortunately for natural persons, I find it unfortunate that some ''passports'' seem ''superior'' to others. Just to say that the inhabitants of the countries of the North travel very easily to the countries of the South, hassle-free, and it doesn't go both ways ... However, the world is made up of inequalities and in many areas, there are rich, poor, needy, billionaires, healthy people, sick people, etc. Such is life.

Table 4.10. French presence in Senegal is (selection of neutral answers)

Those who perceive Chinese presence negatively, pointed out that Chinese are exploiting Senegalese resources and their impact on Senegal is comparable to the one of ancient colonisers. Wages paid by the Chinese are described as "pure exploitation" and the takeover of Senegalese territories by Chinese business people is regarded as a sort of colonisation. Another negative factor, mentioned several times, is the Chinese attitude towards Senegalese people which is described as racist. Indeed, the Chinese community is perceived as tending towards isolation rather than integration, and their difficulties in interactions with local people are denounced by our Senegalese sample (Table 4.11.).

Chinese presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of negative original answers	**Translation**
Peut-être une menace si les Chinois ne respectent pas leurs engagements et n'arrêtent pas de piller nos ressources halieutiques.	It can be a threat if the Chinese don't respect their commitments and don't stop plundering our fishery resources.
Ils sont vraiment bizarres les Chinois, surtout les jeunes qui ne parlent pas au Sénégalais, ils sont racistes.	Chinese are really strange, especially the young people. They don't speak with Senegalese, they are racist.
Vue comme une sorte de recolonisation.	Seen as a kind of recolonization.
A réglementer parce que les salaires payés par les Chinois c'est de la pure exploitation	To be regulated because the wages paid by the Chinese are pure exploitation.
A la longue le Sénégal perdra l'héritage (nos terres) car les Chinois paient des hectares et des hectares. Et un jour ils vont s'approprier du Sénégal.	Eventually Senegal will lose the inheritance (our lands) because the Chinese pay for hectares and hectares. One day they will take over Senegal.
Néfaste.	Harmful.

Table 4.11. Chinese presence in Senegal is (selection of negative answers)

As already mentioned, negative perceptions about the French presence in Senegal are strengthened by the memory of colonisation, whose effects are still visible in Senegalese society. Participants did point out that the French presence is profitable just for France and not for the Senegalese people. The relation among the two parties is perceived as unbalanced, and thus it is not welcome. One of the 163 participants stated that the Sino-French relationship is "accepted in the mind, but not in the hearts" of Senegalese people, and as long as it won't turn into a "fair relationship" it will remain so (Table 4.12.).

The French presence in Senegal is …	
Selection of negative original answers	**Translation**
Elle est envahissante pour bien des points.	It is intrusive in many ways.
Sera toujours négative tant qu'ils continueront à considérer le Sénégal comme une colonie et non un partenaire.	It will always be negative as long as they continue to see Senegal as a colony and not a partner.
Nous pillons toutes nos richesses et rendent toutes nos économies extraverties, ils sont des profiteurs, ils sont là que pour ruiner le Sénégal et l'Afrique en général	They plunder all our resources, they are profiteers, they are only there to ruin Senegal and Africa in general.
Elle a toujours été une relation de colonisateur, de chef et de supérieur, Tant qu'une relation d'égale à égale ne sera mise en place, ils seront acceptés dans l'esprit mais pas dans les cœurs.	It has always been a relationship of coloniser, leader and superior, as long as an equal relationship is not established, it will be accepted in the mind but not in the hearts.
Assez étouffante avec notre histoire avec ce pays mais aussi l'occupation et l'accaparement de nos richesses qui est remarqué. Les Français ne nous posent pas de problèmes en soi. Mais l'état français oui !	Quite suffocating because of our shared history, but also because of the occupation and the grabbing of our resources which is well known. French people are not a problem for us per se, but the French state is!
Du néocolonialisme.	Of neo-colonialism.

Table 4.12. French presence in Senegal is (selection of negative answers)

4.1.6. Conclusions

Questionnaires revealed that interactions between the two studied populations are sporadic and mostly due to the presence of Chinese commercial businesses in Dakar, where Senegalese go as customers. Few participants have working relationships with Chinese professionals, and the majority does not have any Chinese friends. These data are in line with the considerations of some respondents, openly annoyed by the lack of

social integration of the Chinese diaspora group. The most used languages during Sino-Senegalese interactions are French, English and Wolof, in descending order. Surprisingly, the Chinese language is understood by 17 participants out of 163.

Despite the fact that the knowledge of the total sample about Chinese culture is self-assessed as consistently poor, associative mental states related to Chinese people showed many links to cultural and linguistic elements. Generally, the economic sphere is significant in terms of association, but less than expected. The group of positive words most frequently associated with the Chinese population recall their dedication to work, their discipline and politeness. Negative words are instead mainly related to Chinese people non-sociable nature or to Chinese low-quality products.

Those who responded to the questionnaire consider the positive contribution of Chinese people to the country in terms of economic development. In particular, they mentioned the creation of new job opportunities, the development of infrastructures and services, and the production of low-quality but affordable goods. Only a few participants mentioned the cultural impact of the Chinese presence.

Chinese people are named Chinois by the majority of participants, some of them use the Wolof word Sinois or some other expressions such as "Ching," "men with small eyes" or Toubab (white person).

As hypothesised, results of acculturation expectations demonstrate Senegalese general positive attitude towards cultural diversity and the desire of integration of the Chinese group into Senegalese society, in full respect of their cultural heritage. These findings are confirmed by the demonstrated positive attitude towards different ethnocultural groups living in Senegal. Participants rated Senegalese, French, Chinese, Lebanese and Portuguese ethnocultural groups positively. As expected, their own ethnocultural group (Senegalese) obtained higher rates than other groups. Although average scores for other ethnocultural groups do not show significant differences, the French group was rated warmer than other groups, followed by the Chinese, the Lebanese and the Portuguese groups.

We further analysed Senegalese attitude regarding the presence of Chinese diaspora group in their country. Our results show Chinese immigration consequences are generally regarded as neutral; however, the perception of both positive and negative effects is still reported.

Findings on the comparison of perception regarding the Chinese and French presence in Senegal reveal a more positive attitude towards the Chinese group and a considerable negative view of the French presence. This result is in contrast with our previous findings on Senegalese attitudes towards different ethnocultural groups. Positive considerations for both Chinese and French presence concern their apport in terms of economic, social and cultural development of Senegal which is fundamental. The community has raised some concerns about the way both Chinese and French contributions are regulated. Their positive impact, according to many participants, is true only in case human rights protection, cultural diversity and respect towards African people is ensured. Even if many respondents welcome French presence as a natural historical result and French culture and people as a part of Senegalese socio-cultural landscape, the negative effects of colonialism are still very vivid in the minds of participants. Findings include very harsh comments regarding the colonising attitude of France and the exploitation of African resources. Some consider Chinese presence as a natural consequence of globalisation to be welcomed as the presence of many other people within the territory of Senegal. However, Chinese presence has also raised criticisms. Some respondents consider the presence of the yellow dragon in Senegal as a form of neo-colonialism and predict a massive takeover of Senegal by the Chinese power.

Combining results from different sections of the questionnaire we deduce that Senegalese people have a natural positive attitude towards the presence of different ethnocultural groups in their country, and therefore towards the Chinese diaspora group. The nature of contacts between Chinese and Senegalese people in Senegal is mostly commercial and a solid sociocultural integration between the two populations has not yet been reached, even if it is desired by Senegalese. Both positive and negative consequences of the Chinese presence in Senegal are perceived, but a neutral

perspective prevails. However, the answers categorised as "neutral" often do not express a connotated opinion but rather polarised opinions, describing both positive and negative aspects of the Chinese presence in Senegal. Compared to the French presence, the Chinese presence is viewed with more optimism and in the hope that this south-south cooperation will be mutually beneficial. However, the Senegalese colonial experience also affects the perception of the new Chinese presence, which at times seems to take on connotations similar to those of the colonising West.

The doubts and uncertainties of participants often do not concern the Chinese or French people but the Chinese and French government and their geopolitical strategy in West Africa.

4.2. Sentiment analysis of news dataset

Chinese presence in Senegal has manifested itself in various ways, a lot of interactions take place at both official and unofficial levels. In any society, media play a key role as information sources on what is happening within the local and global environment. Media thus act as a mirror that reflects the considered society (Nassanga & Makara, 2014).

This section examines African newspaper coverage of Sino-Senegalese relationship published between 1960 (Senegalese Independence) and 2021 and retrieved from Access Africa online collection. As stated in the methodology (§ 3.2.), a total of 142 news items, divided into a French corpus (85 items) and an English corpus (57 items), were collected and scraped using Excel and successively analysed in R[36]. Our main objective was to understand African media sentiment on Sino-Senegalese relations. First, we collected the articles of interest from Access Africa using the keywords searching method (§ 3.2.2.3), subsequently we created two excel datasets (French and English) containing the body of each article, along with the following information:

● author

● title

---

[36] R is a programming language and free software environment for statistical computing and graphics.

- journal

- year of publication

- main theme

- newspaper macro area (E.g., West Africa)

Before proceeding with frequency and sentiment analysis, we pre-processed the corpora to normalise the text's format and reduce its noise. The analysis was performed following the steps illustrated below.

4.2.1. Pre-processing of French and English corpora

Pre-processing the data is the process of cleaning and preparing the corpus for later analysis. Online texts generally contain lots of noise and uninformative parts that need to be removed in order to conduct the analysis without ambiguities. In addition, many words in the text do not have an impact on the general orientation of it and need to be removed as well. Indeed, to reduce the noise in the text results in achieving higher accuracy in sentiment classification (Haddia, Liua and Shi, 2013: 27).

The whole process involves several steps, we performed in particular the following operations on both French and English corpora:

- Cleaning

The data was cleaned from noise such as the symbols "/", "@" and "|".

- Case folding

All the characters of the input text were transformed into a standard lowercase form.

- Stopwords filtering

The most common French and English stop words were removed by using the pre-compiled Snowball stopwords list taken from the Snowball stemmer project in different languages[37].

---

[37] The pre-compiled lists are available at: https://snowballstem.org/projects.html

- Removal of numbers, white spaces and punctuation

The tm package of R was used to perform the removal of white spaces, numbers and punctuation.

- Stemming

In addition, stemming was performed on the documents to reduce redundancy using the tm package. Stemming is the process of reducing inflected (or sometimes derived) words to their word stem, base or root form.

- Tokenization

The corpora were broken into their constituents, that are words or phrases called tokens.

4.2.2. The SentimentR package

The SentimentR[38] package, available for R, was chosen for the sentiment analysis of the English corpus. The SentimentR package, developed by Tyler Rinker, employs a dictionary lookup approach based on a lexicon of 11709 words in combination with a group of 140 valence shifters. Valence shifters (i.e., negators, amplifiers (intensifiers), de-amplifiers (downtoners), and adversative conjunctions) increase or reduce the impact of a polarised word (e.g., I <u>really</u> like it). The individual score of each word may take one of 19 values in the range (-2;1), while the valence shifters take a value from 1 to 4. The package allows computing the polarity of both a single sentence and a full text (Naldi, 2019: 6-7). SentimentR was selected because it makes sentiment analysis achievable within a few lines of code. Furthermore, by incorporating weighting for valence shifters, it corrects for inversions. Valence shifters indeed not only modify the sign and the intensity of the polarity in a text but can also reverse the entire semantic orientation of a sentence and hence, its sentiment (Misuraca et al., 2020). While a more basic sentiment analysis would consider "I am <u>not</u> fine" as positive due to the adjective fine, SentimentR recognizes the inversion of fine and classifies it as negative. Several studies, for instance (Liu et al., 2015), (Ikoro et al., 2018), and (Samuel et al., 2020) have been carried out by using SentimentR to analyse the data.

4.2.3. The Syuzhet package

Sentiment analysis of the French corpus was performed using the Syuzhet[39] package. Syuzhet is an R Package for the extraction of sentiment from texts. The name "Syuzhet" comes from the Russian Formalists Victor Shklovsky and Vladimir Propp who divided narrative into two components, the 'fabula' and the 'syuzhet'. Syuzhet refers to the technique of a narrative, that is the manner in which the elements of the story (fabula) are organised (syuzhet). The package incorporates four sentiment lexicons: syuzhet, afinn, bing and nrc. Our data were obtained using the nrc lexicon, developed by

---

[38] The SentimentR package is available at: https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/sentimentr/index.html
[39] The *Syuzhet* package is available on CRAN: https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/syuzhet/

Mohammad, Saif M. and Turney, Peter D. The nrc lexicon comprises 13889 words, distributed among eight emotions (anger, fear, anticipation, trust, surprise, sadness, joy, and disgust) and two sentiments (negative and positive) (Naldi, 2019: 3-4). The occurrence in the text of a word appearing in one of the categories (for example the trust one) counts as 1 in the sentiment score for that category. Therefore, when using the nrc lexicon, rather than receiving the algebraic score due to positive and negative words, each sentence gets a score for each sentiment category (Naldi, 2019: 3-4).

The Syuzhet package has been employed to perform sentiment analysis in different studies, among which (Zehe et al., 2016), (Valdivia et al., 2017) and (Kolagani et al., 2017).

4.2.4. Frequency Analysis results

Before analysing the sentiment expressed in the news, we proceeded to perform a word frequency analysis for both English and French corpus. By means of the frequency analysis, we aim at obtaining a wider view of the contents of the two corpora and establishing their subjects. Words are listed in their root form (stem) in order to incorporate entries of inflected or derived words related to the same stem.
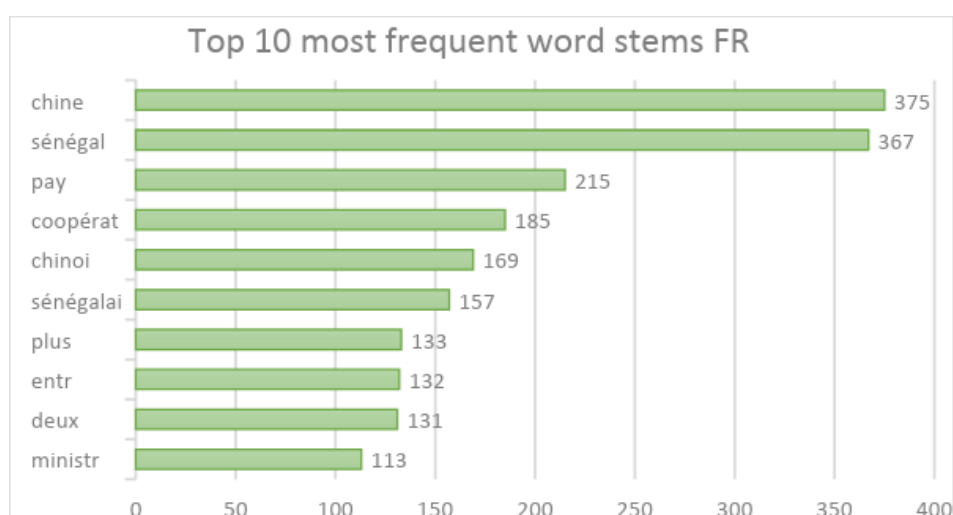
Figure 4.5. Frequency Analysis FR

Figure 4.5. indicates the top 10 word stems of the French corpus. As might be expected, stems related to the two countries (Chine, Sénégal, pay, Chinoi, Sénégalai) appear numerous times in our corpus. Interestingly, the stem coopérat, that includes all words linked to cooperation, and the stem ministr, referring to ministry or ministers, appear among the top 10 word stems, thus indicating the general topic of cooperation among the two countries at an institutional level.
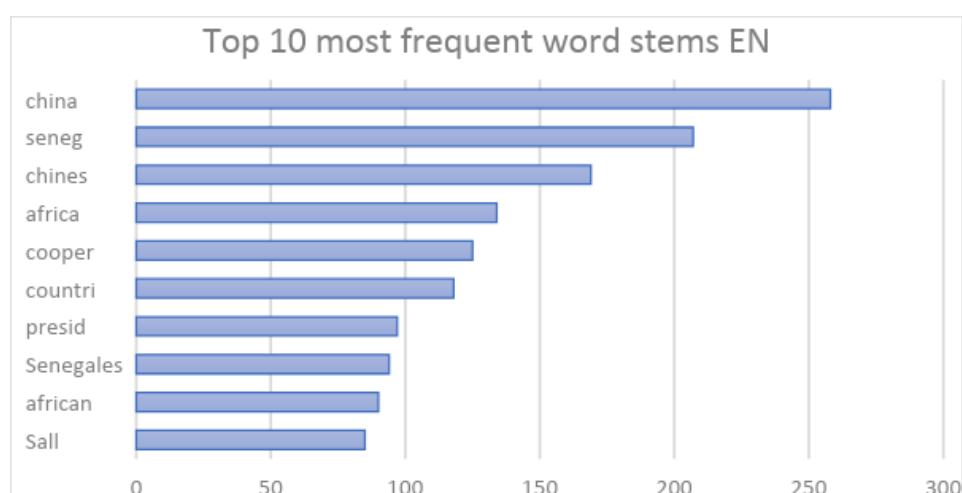

Figure 4.6. Frequency Analysis EN

To check for substantial differences in top-recurring words among the two corpora, we repeated the same operation for the English corpus. The resulting top 10 frequent word stems are reported in Figure 4.6. There are minor differences between the charts for the two corpora. This is confirmed by the most frequent stems that are basically the same: 'China', 'Seneg', 'Chines', 'Cooper', 'Countr'. In the English corpus, we furthermore observe the presence of the stem 'Africa' that brings the idea of a wider view of the phenomenon. The subject of institutional relation can be inferred by the presence of the stem 'presid', related to the words president or presidential and the stem 'Sall', indicating the surname of the current President of Senegal.

4.2.5. Sentiment Analysis results

Sentiment Analysis determines the polarity of text, and it can be done on document level, sentence level, word level or phrase level. This study explores sentiment analysis

on the document level, identifying whether the document's new articles expressed opinions are positive, negative or neutral.

According to the principle of document level sentiment analysis, each individual document is tagged with its respective polarity. This is generally done by finding polarities of each individual words/phrases and sentences and combining them to predict the polarity of the whole document. Treating each new article as a document, the sentiment conveyed in the research has been computed by combining polarities of individual words/phrases and sentences in news articles. The sentiment score of the whole news article has been calculated using the operations listed in Table 4.13.

French Corpus	English Corpus
text_fr <- Africa_Database_FR$Content class(text_fr) get_nrc_sentiment(text_fr, language = "french") sentimento_FR <- get_nrc_sentiment(text_fr, language = "french") View(sentimento_FR)	install.packages("sentimentr") library(sentimentr) mytext <- get_sentences(Africa_Database_ENG$Content) sentimentoAfrica <- sentiment_by(mytext, averaging.function = average_mean)

Table 4.13. Sentiment Analysis software operations

The procedure for the English corpus provides final results about sentiments: text having a sentiment score of -1 (totally negative), text having a sentiment score of 0 (neutral) and text having a sentiment score of +1 (totally positive). In this method, extremely few news tend to be assigned a perfectly neutral score and therefore researchers are required to estimate data-specific boundaries to estimate how the "weighting for valence shifters" accommodates neutral sentiment. Our analysis of a sample of the news data indicated that news articles with scores between +0.1 and −0.1 tended to bear neutral sentiment. Thus, we classified the news into three sentiment classes on the basis of sentiment scores: positive sentiment (score > 0.10), negative sentiment (score < −0.10) and neutral sentiment (−0.10 ≤ score ≤ 0.10).

It was observed that the majority of new articles of the English corpus fell into the positive (39) or neutral (14) categories with a minor percentage of articles having negative sentiments (4). The number of entries per each category are illustrated in Fig.4.7.
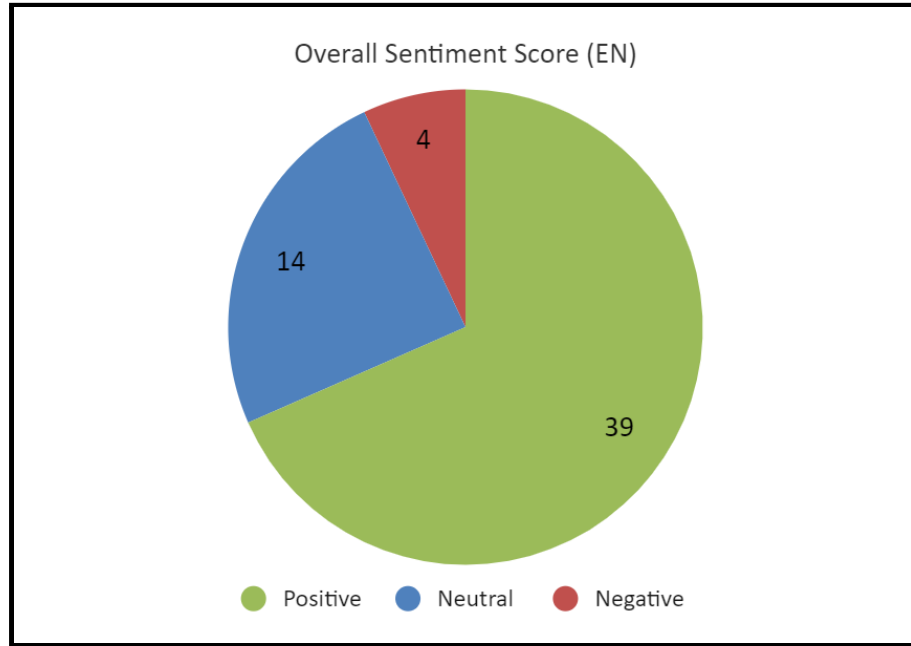

Figure 4.7. Overall Sentiment trend EN

However, we can still state that, generally, the average sentiment score of the English Corpus is neither very positive nor very negative as detailed in Table 4.14. We haven't found extremely positive or negative numbers because the texts are long and obviously neutral balancing phrases prevail. We manually checked for the most positive and negative news articles in order to understand their subjects. Negative articles speak about criminality, racism and economical concurrence between Chinese and local traders. Most positive articles are related to Sino-Senegalese diplomatic and economic relations and their strategic partnership.

Min.	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max.

-0.31	0.07	0.17	0.19	0.37	0.61

Table 4.14 Average Sentiment Score EN Corpus

As illustrated in section 4.1.3., the analysis of the French corpus through Syuzhet provides scores for the news on the basis of sentiments (positive and negative) and also on the basis of 8 emotions (fear, joy, anticipation, anger, disgust, sadness, surprise, trust). From the analysis of the sentiments, it was found that the average score for positive sentiment (16.14) is much higher than the negative one (7.65). This signifies that news articles of the French corpus have a general positive outlook towards the presence of China in Senegal and Sino-Senegalese relations in general. For a more detailed analysis of the corpus, the emotion quotient associated with news articles were analysed.
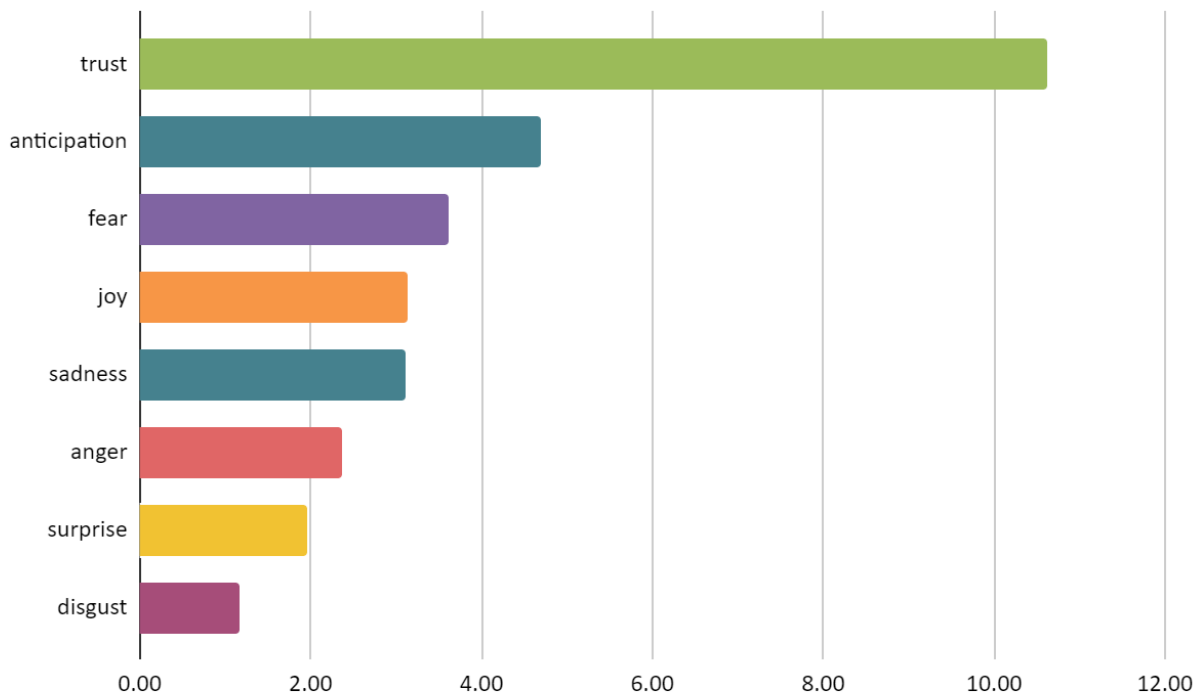
Figure 4.8. Sentiment Analysis French Corpus

During the analysis of the emotional quotient of the news, it was found that the news articles of our French corpus are presenting higher scores for three emotions: trust, anticipation and fear. Figure 4.8. shows that the average score for trust emotion is the highest (10.61), meaning African press in French language presents a confident and trustful vision of Sino-Senegalese relations. The score of the anticipation emotion (4.71) signifies the desire of experiencing Chinese presence in Senegal. On the other hand, the total score for fear illustrates the presence of worries regarding the consequences of this phenomenon. Emotions like joy, sadness, anger, surprise and disgust had relatively smaller average scores with a value of 3.14, 3.12, 2.38, 1.95 and 1.18 respectively. These results prove that articles of the French corpus show a general positive outlook regarding Chinese presence in Senegal, but some concerns about the phenomenon emerge from the analysis of the African press.

4.2.6. Conclusion

It was observed that African newspaper coverage of Chinese presence in Senegal revealed a general positive sentiment towards the phenomenon. Indeed, both French and English corpus show a predominant positive or neutral narrative on Sino-Senegalese relations. An additional but not wholly unexpected finding was that there are some concerns regarding the Chinese presence, particularly regarding the impact of Chinese enterprises on the local market and the disadvantages that this could bring to Senegalese entrepreneurs and traders. In general, the most discussed topics related to China in Senegal are 'Covid', 'Sino-Senegalese relations' and 'economy' among the articles written in French. Sino-Senegalese relations is by far the most discussed issue into the English corpus.

As we can only expect Sino-Senegalese relations to grow in both scale and intensity, further studies of local perceptions of China's engagement in Senegal as reflected in African press should be encouraged.

4.3. Analysis of Interviews

This subchapter reports the analysis of data collected throughout semi-structured interviews. Data analysis was performed according to the following procedures: compiling data, disassembling data, reassembling data, interpreting data and making conclusions. As explained in the methodology (see § 3.2.4.), online semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 senegalese participants, in addition 4 ethnostories were collected from Chinese participants living in Senegal. The interviews concerned several related themes of this research, such as Senegalese participants' attitude towards Chinese people living in Senegal, participants' cultural identity, Chinese participants' level of social integration in Senegal and others.

The interviews were firstly transcribed into text documents and input into NVivo 12 Plus to build a database for this research. Interviews were then coded with several themes such as perception regarding the Chinese presence, intercultural relations, level of integration of the Chinese community, description of the Chinese, French and Senegalese cultures and other themes related to research questions. This task was accomplished through the node defining function of NVivo. Secondly, the case classification function of NVivo was used to code the data according to the attributes of participants (e.g., place of origins, age, sex). In such a way, several matrices with the dimensions of nodes and cases can be generated. Matrices help to reorganise and therefore reassemble data. Following data reassembling, the last two procedures of data analysis were interpreting and concluding.

4.3.1. Chinese communities through Senegalese eyes

As reported in Chapter 2, since 1990 more and more Chinese have migrated to Senegal, concentrating and opening small shops in an area called Le Centenaire, in particular along *Papa Gueye Fall Avenue* and the *Boulevard Général de Gaulle,* one of the major roads in Dakar. By selling affordable products to the local population, the Chinese

community became quite popular, and it was able to extend in this area, renting the front yards, building stalls or transforming the existing garages into shops. For residents in this area, the arrival of the Chinese was an unexpected but welcome source of income, whence this phenomenon so rapidly took on the dimensions that it did (Dittegen, 2010: 5). Today some people regard the Boulevard as the Champs-Elysées of Dakar. In 2010, about 160 Chinese shops were identified along these two main streets in Dakar (Kernen, 2010: 258). Participants repeatedly confirmed this area still remains the centre of Chinese life in Dakar.

> [1] *Mais @ on les voit dans la vie de tous les jours ! on les voit dans -[40] j'étais dans un - dans un quartier où [...] il y avait des communautés de Chinois qui étaient, qui étaient des commerçants [...] du Centenaire de la République. Le Centenaire de la République, c'est ça* (Binta).

> But @ We see them in everyday life! we see them in- I was in a- in a neighbourhood where […] there were communities of Chinese who were traders […] of Le Centenaire de la Replied, Le Centenaire de la République that's it (Binta).[41]

When they were asked how they learned about the Chinese community in their city, participants replied they often meet Chinese people on the street, they see their shops, their restaurants in the Centenaire district. Some participants coming from different areas (e.g., Thiés) underline that Chinese communities are mainly concentrated in Dakar.

> [2] *Tu les croises, tu vas dans les marchés ; par exemple, 'y a un marché ici qu'on appelle Centenaire, le Centenaire. Si tu as l'habitude de faire le tour des allées centenaires, tu ne vois que des boutiques chinoises, des magasins chinois. Tu vois parfois même des restaurants chinois. Parfois tu les croise donc 'y a une forte communauté chinoise présente ici au Sénégal, ça saute de vue quoi, ça saute de vue parce que tu les rencontres, tu les vois. Ils sont partout* (Bamba).

> You meet them, you go to the markets; for example, there is a market here called Centenaire, le Centenaire. If you are used to going around the centuries-old alleys,

---

[40] According to our transcription code (see 3.2.6.), the simbol "-" following a word without space indicates a sharp termination of a word or a sentence. In the French transcriptions, a space has been added before the hyphen so as not to conflict with the grammatical rules of the language. The meaning of the symbol remains unchanged.
[41] Each excerpt of interviews is translated into English by the author

you only see Chinese shops, Chinese stores. Sometimes you even see Chinese restaurants. Sometimes you meet them. There is a strong Chinese community present here in Senegal, it jumps out, it jumps out because you meet them, you see them. <u>They are everywhere</u> (Bamba).

As reported by McQuail (2003: 6), in every society media play a key role as information sources on what is happening not only within the local environment, but also beyond. They can be seen as reflection of political and economic conditions of a society and as major sources of information of the public. Indeed, more than one participant mentioned Senegalese media such as the television, radio or simpler internet often reporting about Chinese investments, economic aids and infrastructural plans in Senegal.

> [3] *[…] c'est juste que par rapport aux informations à la télé, à la radio et bien plus encore sur l'Internet, nous sommes capables de pouvoir déduire par les sources venant des entreprises chinoises, leur présence par exemple sur les infrastructures sénégalaises, par exemple (l'Arène Nationale) ou le Stade […]* (Modou).

> […] It is just from TV, radio and particularly the Internet, that we are able to gather information about the resources coming from Chinese companies and about their presence in the field of Senegalese infrastructures for example, like [the National Arena] or the Stadium […] (Modou).

The leverage that Chinese engagement gives Africa compared to other powers or the donor community is perceived positively by the African community. China indeed is often considered to be more risk taking in its investments, channelling funds into regions that other countries would be more hesitant to engage in (Rebol, 2010: 156). Chinese economic engagement in Senegal is likely welcomed by our sample on the one hand.

> [4] *[Bruits]. Pour moi, je considère que c'est un, c'est un atout pour les Sénégalais et aussi le gouvernement sénégalais parce que (.) l'opportunité que nous offrent les Chinois (.) je disais, l'opportunité que nous offre les Chinois c'est plutôt une bonne chose pour nous, car ça peut nous aider à pouvoir nous investir plus sur beaucoup de choses et de travailler plus sur le développement […]* (Modou).

> [Noises]. In my opinion, it is an, it is an asset for the Senegalese people and also the Senegalese government because (.) the opportunity that the Chinese offer us (.)

I said, the opportunity that the Chinese offer us is rather a good thing for us, because it can help us to be able to invest more in a lot of things and to work more on development […] (Modou).

On the other hand, it is important to underline that the perception of the economic impact of China on Senegal is subject to highly polarising opinions. Indeed, participants' perceptions are moving towards two directions: the positive trend and the negative one.

[5] *Bon, ma perception peut être que ... j'ai deux, j'ai deux volets, c'est le volet positif et le volet négatif* (Ousmane).

Well, my perception may be that ... I see two, I see two sides, the positive side and the negative side (Ousmane).

The positive side concerns Chinese investments into Senegalese different sectors, such as infrastructure, health, agriculture and culture. These investments contribute in large scale to a fast and lasting development of Senegalese society, furthermore they open new job opportunities for Senegalese people, a factor that is certainly much welcomed from the local population.

[6] *Pour moi la présence est positive au Sénégal parce qu'ils aident dans le développement de notre pays sur le plan de l'agriculture, du commerce et tout, et leur présence est positive pour moi, surtout sur le plan de l'économie* (Diarra).

For me, the presence is positive in Senegal because they help in the development of our country in terms of agriculture, trade and other sectors, and their presence is positive for me, especially in terms of economy (Diarra).

[7] *Bon, la population chinoise au Sénégal et la présence est bénéfique d'une part, parce que vous savez, comme je l'ai dit, ça nous permet de connaître au moins de découvrir la culture chinoise, d'autant plus aujourd'hui avec l'implantation, par exemple, des activités économiques et des investisseurs chinois, ici au Sénégal. Ils créent des emplois parce que les gens travaillent avec des Chinois. Même dans les... même dans les boutiques là, chaque fois que tu rentres dans une boutique d'un Chinois, tu vois un Sénégalais qui est là, qui sert de traducteur, qui sert d'interprète ou bien qui sert de vendeur* (Bamba).

Well, the presence of the Chinese population in Senegal is beneficial on the one hand, because you know, as I said, it allows us to know, at least to discover Chinese culture, especially today with the establishment, for example, of economic activities and Chinese investors, here in Senegal. They create jobs because people

collaborate with Chinese people. Even in the… even in the shops, every time you enter a Chinese shop, you see a Senegalese who is there, who serves as a translator, who serves as an interpreter or who serves as a salesperson (Bamba).

Afterwards there is China as a provider of consumer goods. As Chinese businesses enter the Senegalese retail market, consumer goods become available for the first time for certain parts of the society. Their low prices allow the poorest part of Senegalese consumers to buy several kinds of products. This is definitely good news for the population, even if the low quality of Chinese products is often reported by Senegalese consumers, also worried about the harmful potential of these products (e.g., toxicity).

[8] *Bon, d'une part, on peut dire que c'est un atout parce que vu que le Sénégal c'est un pays qui n'est pas aussi riche donc les produits chinois - les produits chinois du moins avec leurs prix, ça permet au Sénégalais de pouvoir, d'acquérir ces produits-là* (Samba).

Well, on the one hand, we can say that this is a help because since Senegal is a country that is not that rich, Chinese products - Chinese products with their prices allow Senegalese to acquire these products (Samba).

On the other hand, some of the respondents underlined local traders as being damaged by the presence of Chinese enterprises because they cannot stand the competition of Chinese low-cost products.

[9] *Ils sont lésés, certains mais d'autres non, parce que… Par exemple, je vais prendre l'exemple de nos artisans, de nos artisans. Quand ils fabriquent des chaussures traditionnelles, les gens ne vont pas acheter ces chaussures parce que celles des Chinois sont beaucoup moins chères, mais elles ne sont pas de bonne qualité, c'est ça* (Diarra).

They are damaged, some but others not, because… for example, let me take the example of our craftsmen, our craftsmen. When they make traditional shoes, people are not going to buy these shoes because the Chinese ones are much cheaper, but they are not of good quality, that is it (Diarra).

Critics from some participants are very harsh when it comes to overfishing. Chinese fishers are accused of plundering of Senegalese fisheries resources. Given the fact that fishing is one of the most important economic activities in Senegal, this is perceived as a major negative impact of the Chinese presence. Some of the collected testimonies are in line with the report entitled "Seasickness: While West Africa is confined by Covid-19, its waters remain open to looting" published in 2020 by Greenpeace Africa[42].

[10] *Ça dépend des secteurs, des secteurs d'activité. Par exemple, concernant la pêche, en tout cas là-bas, c'est sûr que la présence des Chinois c'est une présence nocive, c'est une présence qui va, qui va détruire l'économie du Sénégal. Ça n'a aucun sens, n'a pas de sens, parce que ça - il n'y a pas d'avantages dans ça, vraiment* (Mamadou).

It depends on sectors, fields of activity. For example, concerning fishing, in any case over there, it is certain that the presence of the Chinese is a harmful presence, it is a presence which will go, which will destroy the economy of Senegal. It doesn't make sense, doesn't make sense, because it- there's no benefit in that, really (Mamadou).

[11] *Et en tout cas, le Sénégal c'est un pays qui est en développement, c'est un pays avec un fort potentiel et bon, c'est un peu triste de le dire, mais nous savons que notre gouvernement fait des contrats, voilà des contrats avec ces gens-là, avec ces Chinois, des contrats de pêche, par exemple. Et eux, ils viennent ici, dans l'océan, dans notre océan, l'océan Atlantique, pour venir - pour puiser nos richesses, quoi. Parce qu'en ce moment, il y a beaucoup de pêcheurs locaux ici qui sont fâchés, qui se plaignent toujours, qui font des manifestations parce qu'ils disent que l'activité de la pêche ne marche plus. [...] Et après, les gens disent que la nouvelle génération a dit que vraiment, nous devons nous libérer de ces gens, pas seulement des Chinois, mais de toutes les personnes qui viennent en Afrique et qui exploitent l'Afrique. C'est bien de s'ouvrir au monde, mais ça doit être des contrats gagnant-gagnant* (Mamadou).

42

https://www.greenpeace.org/africa/en/blogs/12395/as-covid-19-locks-down-west-africa-its-waters-remain-open-to-plunder/

In any case, Senegal is a developing country, it is a country with a strong potential, and it's a little sad to say it, but we know that our government makes contracts, that's it. Contracts with these people, with these Chinese, fishing contracts, for example. And then, they come here, in the ocean, in our ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, to come- to plunder our wealth. Because right now there are a lot of local fishers here who are angry, who are still complaining, who are protesting because they say the fishing activity is not working anymore. […] And then people say that the new generation said that really, that we have to free ourselves from these people, not just the Chinese, but all the people who come to Africa and exploit Africa. It is good to open up to the world, but it has to be win-win contracts (Mamadou).

4.3.2. Perceived level of integration

The term diaspora comes from Greek, and originally means 'dispersion'. It was frequently used in the past to designate situations of forced exodus of populations, like the Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion. Nowadays, the word diaspora has acquired a different meaning. In anthropology, it is used to describe the mass, often involuntary, dispersal of a population from a centre (homeland) to multiple areas, and the creation of communities and identities maintaining an intense sense of belonging in relation to their country of origin and ancestral cultural roots (Eves & Rocha-Trindade, 2008: 159).

Diasporas, characterised by a strong cultural identity, the maintenance of links with the country of origin and transnational identity, have begun to play a role of increasing relevance in the global society. The integration with the hosting society creates indeed new economic, cultural and societal changes.

When asked about the level of integration of the Chinese community, the majority of Senegalese respondents pointed out that the Chinese community seems to be well integrated into the Senegalese society. According to participants, one of the straightforward signs of this integration is represented by the presence of Senegalese workers into Chinese shops. In addition, the presence of a Chinese radio broadcasting station and the Confucius institute in Dakar university are a testimony of the cultural influence of the Chinese diaspora on the hosting society.

[12] *Oui, parfaitement intégrés. Parce que quand vous allez dans leurs boutiques, ils ne sont pas [inaudible], ils sont avec des Sénégalais et je peux dire que même la société sénégalaise achète plus de produits chinois que n'importe quels autres produits, en fait* (Aminata).

Yes, perfectly integrated. Because when you go to their stores, they are not [inaudible], they are with Senegalese and I can say that even the Senegalese company buys more Chinese products than any other product, in fact (Aminata).

[13] *Je pense qu'ils sont bien intégrés ici, parce que donc on ne le fait pas de mal, on achète - on achète leurs produits, on visite leurs boutiques et tout et on demande aussi de main-d'œuvre dans les entreprises, avec le travail routier ils prennent beaucoup de jeunes Sénégalais pour travailler avec eux* (Ousmane).

I think they are well integrated here, because so we don't hurt them, we buy- we buy their products, we visit their shops and everything and we also ask for their labour force in companies, with the road work they take a lot of young Senegalese to work with them (Ousmane).

On the contrary, other participants claim Chinese tend to create their own (semi-independent) transnational spaces – negotiated through mobility, networks and resources. This "encapsulated" community is perceived by some Senegalese as a non-interactive part of the society, which refuses linguistic and cultural contacts.

[14] *Ça pose un problème parce que j'ai vu chez les Chinois que c'est une communauté qui est retranchée en elle-même* (Bamba).

This is a problem because I have noticed the Chinese community is a community that is "encapsulated" in itself (Bamba).

[15] *Par exemple là où je travaille, si un Américain, il vient, par exemple, un Américain, il vient, il vient, il se présente à ma communauté. « Are you American ? How long have you been here ? » Il est content parce que je suis en train de parler sa langue. Mais le Chinois, quand il vient, je dis : « Nihao » ; là, au lieu de me parler chinois, lui, il préfère me parler wolof, ou il me parle français* (Bamba).

For example, where I work, if an American, he comes, for example, an American, he comes, he comes, he presents himself to my community. "Are you American? How long have you been here?" He's happy because I'm speaking his language. But when it comes to a Chinese person and I say "Nihao;" there, instead of speaking Chinese to me, he prefers to speak Wolof to me, or he speaks French to me (Bamba).

The testimony of Dao, reported below, proves that the Chinese encountered a mostly welcoming host society that expected them to engage in social relations, and attach significant importance to verbal communication and interactions. The power of language as a space of encounter between different worlds is perfectly described by the words of Dao.

[16] *Ils n'ont qu'à essayer de parler, tout ça, après le reste ça va venir, le fait de saluer la personne, de répondre aux salutations, d'essayer de créer une communication un peu de communication. C'est la porte, je dirais que c'est la porte pour connaître [inaudible] les gens avec qui tu vis, [inaudible], et de s'intéresser [inaudible], et vraiment partager tout ce qu'il a [inaudible]. Donc si quelqu'un veut vraiment intégrer la culture, si elle s'accroche, ça va marcher, vraiment ça va marcher, comme ça a marché avec tout le monde aussi* (Dao).

They just have to try to talk, all that, after the rest it's going to come, the fact of greeting the person, answering the greetings, trying to create a little communication. This is the door, I would say it is the door to get to know [inaudible] the people you live with, [inaudible], and to be interested [inaudible], and really share all that he has [inaudible]. So, if someone really wants to integrate to the culture, if they hang on, it's going to work, really, it's going to work, like it has worked with everyone else (Dao).

4.3.3. Cultural perspective

In this section we report the answers of respondents concerning Senegalese, Chinese and French cultures. Indeed, as already mentioned, part of the interviewing process

aimed at understanding how Senegalese people construct their cultural identity in relation or contrast to others. In particular we examined their perceptions about Chinese culture, as part of the main objective of this research and about French culture, because of the historical intersection of French and Senegalese cultures.

Self-representation of cultural identity seems to be based, for Senegalese people, on the concept of *Teranga* (hospitality), mentioned by almost all respondents as the most peculiar trait of Senegalese culture.

[17] *Alors comme je vous l'ai dit, qui dit Sénégal dit Teranga. Teranga ça veut dire en français hospitalité. Qui dit Sénégal dit partage. Qui dit Sénégal dit ouverture. Ce sont ces trois mots là que je retiens de notre pays* (Aminata).

So, as I told you, if you say Senegal, you say *Teranga*. In French, *Teranga* means hospitality. If you say Senegal, you say sharing. If you say Senegal, you say openness. These are the three words I treasure about my country (Aminata).

As reported in Chapter 2 (§ 2.2.2.), the concept of *Teranga* embraces the ideas of material and spiritual generosity and honour. It means to open your doors to any guest who may enter and treat them as family for as long as they choose to stay.

According to Senegalese participants, their culture is peaceful, tolerant and positive. Senegalese people are reported to be smiling even in the face of harsh problems, like the one of hunger. Moreover, Senegal is described as a country in which different religions and ethnic groups coexist peacefully.

[18] *On a une culture très pacifique, très tolérante, aussi très tolérante, qui peut vivre avec tout le monde. Des gens qui, qui qui comprennent les gens. Parce qu'ici il y a des chrétiens et des musulmans. Mais il n'y a pas de problèmes entre nous. On vit ensemble, tout le monde se respecte. Chacun respecte son prochain. Voilà, donc. C'est un pays très pacifique. C'est un pays très tolérant. C'est un pays aussi très accueillant* (Mamadou).

Our culture is very peaceful, very tolerant, also very tolerant, it can coexist with everyone. People who, who understand people. Because here there are Christians and Muslims. But there are no problems between us. We live together, everyone respects each other. Everyone respects their neighbour. So, there you are. It is a very peaceful country. It is a very tolerant country. It is also a very welcoming country (Mamadou).

Participants underlined the significant importance Senegalese people give to traditions, which are respected and regarded as a precious heritage to be preserved, the sense of community is central in this regard.

[19] *L'art de vivre ensemble ici au Sénégal on - on connaît ça, vivre ensemble, on partage tout, on partage tout, on vit ensemble, on mange ensemble tout, dans ou tout d'un bol et tout c'est ensemble* (Ousmane).

The art of living together, here in Senegal, we know that, living together, we share everything, we share everything, we live together, we eat everything together, in or out of one bowl and everything is together (Ousmane).

When asked about French culture, the majority of participants emphasised how this culture is actually rooted into the Senegalese one, that has embodied several traits of it, primarily the language. A key informant emphasised that French and more generally European habits, coming from the colonial heritage, are now part of the modern identity of Senegalese people.

[20] *Il y a cette culture peut être de manger sur table, par exemple. L'Africain a la culture de manger par terre, de manger tous ensemble. Mais peut-être que dans certaines familles ici au Sénégal, ces habitudes commencent à disparaître et les gens ont une tendance européenne qui vont vers la culture en général européenne* (Mamadou).

There is the culture of eating at the table, for example. The African has a culture of eating on the floor, of eating together. But maybe in some families here in Senegal

these habits are starting to disappear, and people have a European tendency towards the general European culture (Mamadou).

Mamadou also reported that Senegal society is divided into two groups. The first group of people appreciate the past and present outcomes of the French presence in Senegal, the second one believes French is an imperialist country and it has been always exploiting Africa in general, and Senegal in particular. Indeed, while from the point of view of the culture, most informants believe French culture being beautiful and rich; the presence of French is still perceived by some as unfavourable for Senegalese economic and sociocultural independence. The Sino-French relationship is often viewed as unequal and unfair as the French continue to control the trade and currency of its former colony, having a sort of monopoly in international economic relations.

[21] *Alors vous savez c'est une culture (.) vous savez (.) les Français - les Français et nous, c'est une longue histoire vous savez, depuis la colonisation. Nous sommes tellement (2) nous sommes tellement proches mais ce qui me dérange avec les Français (.) ils sont partout, ils sont partout. Vous savez 'y a les Auchan, 'y a Total. Les industries de gaz là, Total, ils sont partout, ils sont partout, ils nous suivent partout. Et ce qui me plairait avec notre pays, c'est qu'on ait des accords, des accords avec d'autres pays, des accords diversifiés* (Moussa).

So, you know it's a culture (.) you know (.) the French - the French and us, it's a long story, you know, since colonisation. We are so (.) we are so close but what bothers me with the French (.) they are everywhere, they are everywhere. You know there are Auchans, there is Total. The gas industries there, Total, they are everywhere, they are everywhere, they follow us everywhere. And what I would like with our country is that we have agreements, agreements with other countries, various agreements (Moussa).

The maintenance of economic domination allows the prolongation of political domination. Corruption and unfair political agreements are often denounced by respondents who describe a certain level of dependency of the Senegalese politicians from France.

[22] *La culture française je la définis (2) c'est un peu ample. Nous, la culture française, nous l'avons infulgé en nous, avec la colonisation. Il y a des choses qui existent beaucoup en nous (.) à nous les Sénégalais voilà. Donc sur le côté politique d'habitude on dit que nos, nos, nos dirigeants, ils copient les choses françaises et tout et donc (.) ils apprennent déjà des Français, pour leur dire vous devez faire ceci vous doit faire cela. Ils ne sont pas tout à fait libres. Ils ne sont pas totalement libres* (Ousmane).

I define French culture (2) it's a bit broad. We, the French culture, we have infused it into us, with colonisation. There are things that exist a lot in us (.) here we are, the Senegalese. So, on the political side we usually say that our, our, our leaders they copy French things and everything and so (.) they are already learning French, to tell them you have to do this you have to do that. They are not entirely free. They are not completely free (Ousmane).

When asked about Chinese culture, dial, Aminata and Mamadou commented they do not know much about it since Chinese people are very closed-off and they do not create interconnection with Senegalese people.

[23] *Ils ne se familiarisent pas avec nous. Je ne peux pas connaître leurs cultures, connaître leurs modes de vie aussi* (Dao).

They don't get closer to us. I cannot know their cultures; I cannot know their ways of life either (Dao).

[24] *Bon, je ne connais pas très bien la culture chinoise, mais je sais que c'est des gens qui ne qui ne sont pas ouverts aux Sénégalais, ils ne sont pas très ouverts. C'est des gens très fermés et qui préfèrent toujours rester entre eux. Comprenez ? aussi ce sont des gens qui ne consomment pas la nourriture locale, toute leur nourriture ce sont des produits qui viennent de Chine. Donc, c'est eux-mêmes qui achètent leurs trucs, qui mettent ça dans leur maison, qui cuisinent pour eux. Donc ils ne mangent pas sénégalais, ils ne se marient pas avec des Sénégalais, ils sont toujours entre eux. C'est ça que je cônes de leur culture* (Mamadou).

Well, I don't know Chinese culture very well, but I know that these are people who are not open to Senegalese, they are not very open. They are very closed-off people

who always prefer to stay among themselves. Understand? Also these are people who do not consume the local food, all their food comes from China. So, it's themselves who buy their stuff, who put it in their house, who cook for themselves. So, they don't eat Senegalese, they don't marry Senegalese people, they are always among themselves. That's what I know about their culture (Mamadou).

Samba on the other hand, underlined how rich and amazing Chinese culture is. Traditionalism, discipline and respect are the main characteristics associated with Chinese culture by our informants. Senegalese see Chinese people as people extremely attached to their culture and their traditions, so that they bring China wherever they go. This is reflected in the way they approach to work, or in their eating habits for example.

[25] *La culture chinoise est une culture beaucoup plus particulière [inaudible] comme les arts martiaux, le bouddhisme, [inaudible], les Chinois sont plus [pratiquants] que les Sénégalais au début, ils sont plus attachés à leur culture et leurs traditions, cultures, alimentations, etc.* (Samba).

Chinese culture is a much more particular culture [inaudible] like martial arts, Buddhism, [inaudible], the Chinese are more [practising] than the Senegalese at the beginning, they are more attached to their culture and their traditions, cultures, food, etc. (Samba).

4.3.4. Intersection of cultures

In order to infer what kind of intercultural dynamics are in place nowadays in Senegal, we asked participants to reflect on Sino-Senegalese and French-Senegalese relations. The aim is to analyse closely the effect of these dynamics on Senegalese society. Starting from the definition of society as a group of individuals involved in persistent social interaction and sharing the same spatial or social territory, we focus on individuals' perceptions. In this regard, we believe it is extremely important to hear different voices and narratives to better explore Sacramento's idea of multiculturalism that is composed by "polyphonic narratives of dynamic tensions" (Sacramento, 2014: 606).

4.3.4.1. French and Senegalese cultures

France and Senegal shared a special relationship for over three hundred years that date back to the 17th century; moreover, Senegal became the capital of French West Africa during the colonial period and therefore, French had a more concentrated and central presence there than other colonies. For this reason, its culture became particularly ingrained into Senegalese life. The two countries have maintained close ties since political independence (1960) and many elements of French culture introduced during the colonial period remain an important part of Senegalese identity (Barwa, 2013).

Perceptions regarding the French presence and influence in Senegal appear to develop into a dichotomic vision, as the one embedded in Sino Senegalese relations. While some participants perceive French culture as a natural part of Senegalese life, others judge this coexistence as dangerous and unfavourable for Senegalese people.

[26] *[Bruis] pour les Sénégalais, la présence française c'est un peu dérangeuse parce que c'est de la France a été le pays colonisateur alors et a su profiter des africains et c'est devenu un pays africain. Par rapport à ça, beaucoup de Sénégalais, beaucoup d'africains ont une vision négative sur les Français* (Modou).

[Bruisy] for Senegalese people, the French presence is a bit disturbing because France was the colonising country then, and it knew how to take advantage of the Africans and it became an African country. In relation to that, many Senegalese, many Africans have a negative view of the French (Modou).

Samba pointed out the main difference between French and Senegalese cultures is the multicultural nature of the Senegalese world, which embrace languages, traditions and ways of being and thinking of many different ethnic groups. However, he underlined there is a certain level of complementariness between the two cultures and this complementary space is built day by day by the exchanges of various kinds, existing between the two diverse cultures.

[27] *En général, avec nous les Sénégalais, on peut dire qu'il ya une différence entre, bon, la culture française et celle du Sénégal. Parce que, parce que ici au Sénégal, 'y a beaucoup, beaucoup d'ethnies qui sont là, ce qui fait que il y a ce qu'on appelle la diversité culturelle qui est là, parce qu'ici on voit des comme moi, moi je suis Peul qui ont leur propre culture, ce qui fait qu' avec les Français, actuellement, avec la mondialisation, la plupart des gens prétendent ou bien ils adoptent la culture française avec leurs manières, leurs manières de dire, mais bon c'est quelque chose qui est appréciée, c'est quelque chose qui est imitée également donc on peut dire qu'il y a une complémentarité entre la culture française et la culture, la culture sénégalaise* (Samba).

In general, with us Senegalese, we can say that there is a difference between, well, the French culture and that of Senegal. Because, because here in Senegal, there are many, many ethnic groups who are there, which means that there is what we call cultural diversity which is there, because here we see people like me, I am Peul who have their own culture, which means that with the French, currently, with globalisation, most people claim or they adopt French culture with their manners, their ways of saying, but hey it's something that is appreciated, it's something that is also imitated so we can say that there is a complementarity between the French culture and the culture, the Senegalese culture (Samba).

Regarding the French impact on Senegalese modern society, Ousmane and Aminata unearthed the problem of cultural displacement. It is known that in postcolonial nations, it is extremely difficult to uproot the tangible or intangible control of culture perpetuated by the former colonial power and actually, "this is just what postcolonialism is primarily concerned about. In fact, we can go as far as to claim that postcolonialism is actually a cultural colonialism" (Wang, 2018: 651).

[28] *[…] Parce qu'il y a certains qui aiment trop copier l'occident et par contre il y a d'autres familles qui n'aiment pas la culture occidentale, parce qu'avec la culture occidentale, les enfants ne sont plus respectueux envers les aînés et tout. [...] Il y a cette culture, Il y a cette base là au Sénégal, on respecte tout quand même et on ne veut pas perdre cela parce que si on le perd et on tend à imiter trop l'occident, on risque d'être déraciné et on ne voit pas cela. On ne voit pas aussi pour nous enfants* (Ousmane).

[…] Because there are some who like to copy the West too much and on the other hand there are other families who do not like Western culture, because with Western culture, children are no longer respectful towards the elders etc. [...] There is this culture, there is this basis here in Senegal, we respect everything anyway and we don't want to lose that because if we lose it and we tend to imitate the West too much, we risk being uprooted and we do not want that. We also do not want it for our children (Ousmane).

As a possible solution to this critical issue, Aminata advocated for a middle-path alternative between ethnocentric nationalism and complete uprooting, following the principles of the so-called Senghor cosmopolitanism (§ 3.2.1.).

[29] *Alors, je pourrais dire que l'impact qui a dans - la présence - que la présence française a sur notre culture, c'est le fait de ne plus être enracinée. Certains ont tendance à oublier leurs origines. Si vous n'êtes pas trop ancrés dans la culture, dans les origines, dans la famille et tout, ce sera beaucoup plus facile d'oublier sa provenance, d'adopter cette nouvelle culture. Et pour moi je pense que ça - on doit allier les deux : accueillir la culture française tout en restant enraciné dans la nôtre en fait* (Aminata).

So, I could say that the impact that has in- the presence- that the French presence has on our culture, is the fact of no longer being rooted. Some tend to forget their origins. If you are not too anchored to the culture, the origins, the family, and all, it will be much easier to forget where you come from, to embrace this new culture. And for me I think that- we have to combine the two: welcoming French culture, while remaining rooted in ours (Aminata).

4.3.4.2. Chinese and Senegalese cultures

The intersection of Chinese and Senegalese cultures is somehow recent. It started with the establishment of China and Senegal diplomatic relations in 1971 that after a break of 9 years, were restored in 2005. In recent years, the Sino Senegalese international partnership strengthened, so did the Chinese diaspora in Senegal, and consequently Sino Senegalese cultural intersections.

Participants were asked to identify similarities and differences between the Senegalese and the Chinese culture, and to interrogate themselves on the level of compatibility of these two different visions of the world.

According to respondents, one of the major differences between Chinese and Senegalese cultures is the level of openness of Senegalese, and on the other hand the closed attitude of Chinese people towards other cultures.

[30] *Les cultures sont un peu différentes. Moi, j'ai vu que nous, Sénégalais, nous sommes ouverts, nous on est intégré, nous nous sommes ouverts. Par contre les Chinois, c'est des gens, c'est des gens un peu réservés. [...] Maintenant ça n'empêche pas, ils, c'est sûr qu'ils ont des amis sénégalais. Ils travaillent avec des Sénégalais, mais c'est des gens qui vivent entre eux* (Bamba).

The cultures are a little different. Me, I saw that we, Senegalese, we are open, we are integrated, we are open. On the other hand, the Chinese are people, they are a little reserved. [...] Now that does not prevent, they, it is sure that they have Senegalese friends. They work with Senegalese, but they are people who live among them (Bamba).

[31] *Vraiment, peut être que c'est des cultures qui s'opposent parce que le Sénégalais, comme je vous avais dit, c'est une personne qui parle à tout le monde, qui veut connaître tout le monde, qui veut découvrir qui, qui voyage partout pour pour pour voir de nouvelles choses. Mais quand même le chinois, je pense que c'est une personne qui reste toujours avec sa famille, avec ces gens, et c'est une personne qui n'est pas vraiment ouverte. Bon, moi peut être que je peux me tromper aussi parce que je ne connais pas bien la Chine. C'est seulement ce que je constate, c'est ce que je vois. Mais je peux dire que ces deux choses, c'est deux cultures différentes, mais quand même... Même si les cultures sont différentes, il suffit aussi de trouver des points d'entente. Il faut que les gens se connaissent pour que, pour qu'on puisse s'aimer entre nous quoi* (Mamadou).

Really, maybe it's cultures that are opposed because the Senegalese, as I told you, is a person who speaks to everyone, who wants to know everyone, who wants to discover who, who travels everywhere for- for to see new things. But still Chinese, I think he is a person who always stays with his family, with these people, and he is a person who is not really open. Well, maybe I could be wrong too because I don't

know China well. This is only what I see, this is what I see. But I can say that these two things are two distinct cultures, but still ... Even if the cultures are different, it is also enough to find common ground. People need to know each other so that, so that we can love each other (Mamadou).

Respondents also reported about some similar traits of Chinese and Senegalese cultures, mainly the importance of family and community life, the great attachment to traditions and their own culture.

[32] *Pas carrément, pas complètement différent. Que si je -, si je ne me trompe pas, c'est qu'une communauté qui vit en communauté en fait, parce qu'ils sont des familles - Si je me trompe, par exemple, ils ont des familles comme ici au Sénégal, ils vivent en famille, en grandes familles* (Aminata).

Not entirely, not completely different. That if I-, if I am not wrong, it is a community that lives in community in fact, because they are families- if I am not wrong, for example, they have families like here in Senegal, they live in families, in large families (Aminata).

[33] *Pour moi, la culture chinoise n'est pas différente de la culture sénégalaise parce que toutes les deux sont liés à la tradition, que ce soit au Sénégal ou Chine, et elles sont bien compatibles, les deux* (Diarra).

For me, Chinese culture is no different from Senegalese culture because both are linked to tradition, whether in Senegal or China, and they are well compatible, the two (Diarra).

Generally, we can affirm that the majority of Senegalese participants see the intersection, fusion and synthesis of Chinese and Senegalese cultures as possible and fruitful.

4.3.4.3. Contacts between languages

Lo Bianco (2003) refers to language as a "cultural behaviour" that shares the same qualities of culture and describes it also as a medium to meet and interact with diverse

cultural systems and individuals, to negotiate and absorb differences and in return feedback to a cultural system or an individual.

We asked Senegalese participants about the languages they use to communicate with Chinese people, and if they feel the communication is difficult or smooth. Answers to this question were diverse. Most of the respondents reported that English is the language used to interact with Chinese people.

[34] *Ils ne comprennent pas le Wolof et la majeure partie des gens ne parle pas français donc...L'anglais c'est une langue universelle donc je privilégie la langue anglais(e) pour parler avec eux* (Dao).

They don't understand Wolof and most of the people don't speak French so ... English is a universal language, so I prefer the English language to speak with them (Dao).

Others reported communication with Chinese is complicated because of the language barrier. Most of the Chinese living in Senegal, speak only Chinese according to our respondents, apart from some exceptions who can speak Wolof or French, mostly managers or head of enterprises.

[35] *[...] peut-être les chefs d'entreprise, ils savent - ils parlent peut-être français ou anglais. Mais tous les ouvriers, les gens qui qui n'ont pas beaucoup de connaissances, savent parler que chinois. Ils ne parlent pas d'autres langues. Donc, ce n'est pas facile de parler avec avec ces gens-là. Il y a cette barrière de la langue* (Mamadou).

[…] maybe business managers, they know- they maybe speak French or English. But all the workers, the people who don't have much knowledge, can only speak Chinese. They don't speak any other languages. So, it's not easy to talk to these people. There is a language barrier (Mamadou).

The majority of participants said that Senegalese employees are often working in Chinese shops to help the communication among clients and the Chinese staff. They speak Chinese and are interpreters or Chinese students from the Confucius institute of Dakar.

[36] *Voilà, il y a des interprètes, parfois même 'y a des Chinois qui parlent Wolof, 'y a des Chinois qui parlent français. Maintenant quand ils recrutent des gens qui leur servent d'interprètes entre eux et les acheteurs [...]* (Bamba).

There you are, there are interpreters, sometimes there are even Chinese who speak Wolof, there are Chinese who speak French. Now they also recruit people who function as interpreters between themselves and the buyers […] (Bamba).

[37] *En général, ils recrutent, par exemple, le plus souvent, ils recrutent des étudiants qui ont fait le Confucius* (Bamba).

In general, they recruit, for example, more often than not they recruit students who have attended the Confucius (Bamba).

4.3.4.4. Identity construction

In this section, following the general lines of the research of Versluys (2010), illustrated in the book *Langues et Identités au Sénégal*, we aim at designating the identity parameters on which a certain feeling of Senegalese belonging is based. In our interview sample, this sense of belonging is articulated in opposition to the French and the Chinese cultures. The 'Senegalese' affiliation in question could just as easily be seen from an ethnic perspective, but our aim is to identify a framework of linguistic features revealing identity construction mechanisms. Furthermore, we aim at observing how these mechanisms are changing and evolving within the space of encounter of these diverse cultures, languages and social structures. This space of encounter, defined by the postcolonial cultural critic Homi Bhabba (1990, 1994) as "third space", allow us

to "focus beyond the entities that interlocutors are conceivably 'locked into' towards a new site opened up between interlocutors, thereby adding a conceptual lens to our debate about cross-cultural and/or intercultural communication" (Zhou & Pilcher, 2018).

Starting from the post structural vision of identity as a multiple, fluid and often conflictive process of negotiating social relations in everyday encounters (Han, 2012: 137), we analyse language as a medium for identity negotiation. Colonialism provoked specific identity construction mechanisms, Elenga (2003) argues that the postcolonial condition is essentially marked by the experience of uncertainty. This uncertainty and complexity, with the elements of temporality, cause, resistance and inclusion will be found in the identities presented below. In this contrastive act, languages serve as the main identity markers.

Taking a closer look at how informants construct a 'Senegalese' group feeling, it is notable that the starting point of this identity construction is the linguistic assertions of the informants. We will see how French, Chinese and English are constructed as 'foreign' languages in contraposition to the Wolof language that is introduced as the native element par excellence.

[38] Interviewer: *Mais quand vous dites "votre langue", vous entendez le wolof ou le français?*

Bamba*: Quand je dis "notre langue", <u>j'entendais par "notre langue" le Wolof</u>.*

Interviewer: But when you say 'your language', do you mean Wolof or French?

Bamba: When I say 'our language', by 'our language' I mean Wolof.

[…]

[39] Bamba: *mais le chinois, quand il vient, je dis "Nihao" (Bonjour). Là, au lieu de me parler chinois, lui, il préfère me parler wolof, ou il me parle français.*

Interviewer: *ok, donc si vous parlez chinois avec des Chinois, ils répondent en Français ou en wolof ? Pas en chinois ?*

Bamba*: Voilà, exactement. Par contre, l'américain ou le français, quand tu lui parles sa langue, là, là, là, il vient, il te rejoint dans ce que tu dis.*

Bamba: But the Chinese, when he comes, I say "Nihao" (Hello). There, instead of speaking Chinese to me, he prefers to speak Wolof to me, or to speak French to me.

Interviewer: ok, so if you speak Chinese with Chinese people, they answer in French or in Wolof? Not in Chinese?

Bamba: There you are, exactly. On the other hand, the American or the French, when you speak his language, there, there, there, he comes, he joins you in what you say.

The meanings attributed to languages generate a dichotomy between two social groups, notably the 'Senegalese' and the "Foreigners".

[40] *[…] parce que là notre langue nationale pratiquement ce n'est pas le français, la langue cou - (2) courante pour communiquer c'est le wolof […]* (Ousmane).

[...] because here our national language is practically not French, the cu- (2) current language for communication is Wolof [...] (Ousmane).

We noticed the French group, traditionally associated with the "Westerns," assumes different conformations with respect to the Chinese social group. This is due to the long colonial history and the ancient French presence in the territory.

[41] *[…] au Sénégal, les Français, c'est comme s'ils sont chez eux* (Bamba).

[…] In Senegal, French people are just like they are at home in Senegal (Bamba).

[42] *Nous, la culture française nous l'avons <u>infulgé</u>[43] <u>en nous</u>, avec la colonisation. Il y a des choses qui existent beaucoup <u>en nous</u> ... <u>à nous les Sénégalais,</u> voilà* (Ousmane).

We, the French culture, we have <u>infused it into us</u>, with colonisation. There are things that exist a lot <u>in us ... to us Senegalese, that's it</u> (Ousmane).

However, Although the French culture is strongly interconnected and merged into the Senegal one, it is noticeably clear from participants' perception that French language is not a code of 'we,' but it is instead associated with the 'other'.

[43] *De nos jours, beaucoup de gens, sur le plan culturel, beaucoup de gens ont des difficultés d'accepter qu'ils ne sont pas (.) qu'ils ne sont pas des Français. Ils ont un complexe de parler français. [...] ils ne doivent pas faire de fautes en parlant. Tout en oubliant <u>qu'ils sont des Sénégalais, ils ont nos propres langues</u>* (Moussa).

Nowadays, many people, culturally, many people have difficulty accepting that they are not (.) that they are not French. They have a complex to speak French. [...] they must not make mistakes in speaking. While forgetting that <u>they are Senegalese, they have our own languages</u> (Moussa).

In the above section of Moussa's speech, we note a very spontaneous association between the language and the people, as if the desire to speak correct French were automatically associated with the desire to be French. In the following passage, Mamadou expressed the same concept by underlining how strange it is that in Dakar, some Senegalese prefer to speak French instead of Wolof.

[44] *Le Sénégal est un pays vraiment où la culture française est imprégnée dans notre société [...] Par exemple à Dakar, il y a beaucoup de gens et <u>ils préfèrent parler français que parler wolof</u>. Vous comprenez ? même dans les familles, Ils parlent plus français que wolof, <u>ils sont des Sénégalais, tu vois</u> ?* (Mamadou).

---

[43] Diatopic variation

Senegal is really a country where French culture is imbued in our society [...] For example in Dakar, there are a lot of people, and <u>they prefer to speak French than to speak Wolof</u>. You understand? even in families, they speak more French than wolof, <u>they are Senegalese, you see?</u> (Mamadou).

However, we also noticed that the identity dichotomy is not absolute and that informants also engage in opposite positions. We therefore observe once again considerable identity variability. In this regard, it is remarkably interesting to note how Aminata, in the passage reported below, shifts from 'we' to 'they' while describing Senegalese attitude towards other cultures and people. In the first part of his discourse, he identifies himself as Senegalese by using the personal pronoun 'we'; immediately after he distances himself by the Senegalese group introducing the personal pronoun 'they'.

[45] *Ici au Sénégal <u>nous som - nous sommes ouverts</u>. Ce n'est pas pour rien que on dit que le Sénégal est un pays de la Teranga. La Teranga ça veut dire le partage, cette… <u>cette possibilité qu'ils ont</u> à mettre à l'aise les gens par rapport à leur provenance et tout* (Aminata).

Here in Senegal, <u>we ar- we are open</u>. It is not for nothing that we say that Senegal is the land of *Teranga*. *Teranga* means sharing, <u>this possibility that they</u> have to make people feel comfortable about where they come from and everything (Aminata).

Mamadou similarly uses the personal pronoun "they" to describe his people when empathising with the generosity of spirit of Senegalese.

[46] *La culture sénégalaise c'est une culture très accueillante. <u>Les Sénégalais aiment</u> tout le monde<u>, ils aiment</u> les étrangers, <u>ils aiment</u> les gens qui viennent de partout du monde, donc <u>c'est des gens qui</u> aiment accueillir* (Mamadou).

Senegalese culture is a very welcoming culture. Senegalese people love everyone, <u>they love</u> foreigners, <u>they love</u> people who come from all over the world, so <u>it is a people who</u> like to welcome (Mamadou).

The term *Teranga* appears in almost every interview we collected. *Teranga* is a Wolof word and although it has a recognized French translation (hospitality), all Senegalese participants used the Wolof term to describe it. This code switching phenomenon is indicative of the importance that the word *Teranga* holds as a key concept of Senegalese identity. The fact that this central concept is expressed in Wolof and not in French, despite the interviews being collected in French language, suggests Wolof language is an important means for Senegalese's identity construction.

The identity positioning of Senegalese people in relation to the Chinese population moves on an alternation of proximity and distance. In fact, the vision of the 'Asian other' appears to be different from the 'Western other' in the speeches of participants. Indeed, the west is often associated with modernity and is somehow viewed in contraposition with African traditional values. This contraposition is based on the binary categories of "centre" and "periphery" of the world, and of "traditional" and "modern" and it is often associated with the fear of uprooting from origins. We retrace the use of several words connected with uprooting, losing, disconnecting while describing the French impact on Senegalese culture.

[47] *[...] si on le perd et on tend à imiter trop l'occident, <u>on risque d'être déraciné</u>* (Ousmane)

[…] if we lose it and tend to imitate the West too much, <u>we risk being uprooted</u> (Ousmane)

The vision of the impact of Chinese people on the society instead, traced in the words of our participants, never reveals this fear of losing something ancient or culturally precious. On the contrary, the word 'tradition' seems to be a bridge of connection between China and Africa within the thinking of several respondents.

[48] *Pour moi, la culture chinoise n'est pas différente à la culture sénégalaise parce que toutes les deux sont <u>liés à la tradition</u>, que ce soit au Sénégal ou Chine, et ils sont bien compatibles, les deux* (Diarra).

> For me, Chinese culture is no different from Senegalese culture because both are linked to tradition, whether in Senegal or China, and they are well compatible, the two (Diarra).

Chinese people are described as 'very anchored' to their culture, such as Senegalese people. According to participants the concept of 'anchoring' in one's traditions and cultures is a shared feature among Senegalese and Chinese people, which is the exact opposite of the concept of uprooting associated with western culture and French people.

> [49] *Je dis que c'est ça, que ces des peuples fiers, très ancrés dans leur culture. C'est ça notre ressemblance* (Bamba).

> I say that's it, that they are proud people, very anchored in their culture. This is our resemblance (Bamba).

Moreover, another common feature often cited by informants is the one of ancient culture, which again opposes the concept of modernity usually linked to the West. The elements that express a certain level of distance from Chinese culture and people, can be retracted into the dichotomy of openness and closeness. While Senegalese participants describe their own using words as 'open', 'welcoming', 'integrated', they depict the Chinese community as 'reserved', 'turned on itself', 'entrenched in itself'.

4.3.5. Four Chinese ethnostories

In this section we report the content of four interviews conducted with Chinese people living in Senegal.

Lan

Lan is 29 years old; she has a beautiful smile, a Senegalese husband and a child; she has been living in Africa for 6 years and she works in a Chinese company in Dakar. She loves music, particularly black African music. Her interests in music brought her to Africa the first time, then she found love and a job to stay. She is a rare example of profound integration into the Senegalese society. She reports speaking French at home, and sometimes Chinese with her child.

[50]　我们都是在家用法语，因为我老公是　Wolof　但是我也没有认真去学 Wolof　所以我也是- 就他和我说的也是法语为主，但我和我的小孩会说一些中文。

We all speak French at home, because my husband is Wolof, but I didn't take the study of Wolof seriously, so I am too- me and him speak mainly French, but me and my child speak some Chinese.

Lan says she usually uses French to speak to Senegalese people around the city. In Dakar it is easy, she comments, because most of the people can speak good French, but if you go to the countryside then it could be hard to communicate. Her life plans are still fluid, she may stay in Africa or go back to China at a certain point, she does not know yet. Life is different in China, she says, prices are more convenient. Architecturally speaking, Dakar is not that beautiful, but it is a very lively city. What she likes most is the multicultural environment of Dakar, just walking around the city you can see all sorts of people and experience, she reports with smiling eyes. She has a lot of Senegalese friends, but also friends coming from other parts of Africa like Benin, Congo, Mali. They all play music together, they are all "happy to play music together" and she loves playing music.

[51] [...] 我觉得它给了我很多新鲜感。就我刚来的时候，这里的人，他们的生活习惯，他们的文化习俗都和中国很不一样，就比如说吃的呀，吃的也和我们不太一样。穿着呀，他们现在还是喜欢自己做衣服，就像我小的时候，我们的父母特别喜欢去裁缝店做衣服，但现在大家都在买，买买买这种，但在塞内加尔大家还是喜欢自己做衣服。然后就穿的挺五颜六色的那种，所以我来这边的时候冲击蛮大的，就它很特别，其实很像北京、上海这种城市，因为它是首都嘛，而且有很多很多的游客，就一下子感觉它是一个大都市，但却又是没那么有规划的那种 (2) 像我老家湖南，我长大的那个地方，虽然什么都很方便，都很安居乐业，但是没有那么多文化活动，那我觉得来塞内加尔、来达喀尔会有很多音乐会，很多展览，包括在海边- 对，艺术的环境挺有生命力的，就有很多的活动你可以去参加，所以我觉得给我的影响是这样的，对。

[...] I think it gives me a lot of freshness. When I first came, the people here, their living habits, and their cultural customs were hugely different from China. For example, the food is different from ours. Dressing, they still like to make their own clothes. Just like when I was little, our parents liked to go to the tailor shop to make clothes, but now everyone is buying, buying and buying this kind of clothes, but in Senegal, everyone still likes to make their own clothes. Then I wore a very colourful one, so when I came here, the impact was quite big. It is very special. In

fact, it is very similar to cities like Beijing and Shanghai, because it is the capital, and there are many, many tourists. It feels like it is a big city, but it is not so organised (2) like my hometown in Hunan, where I grew up, although everything is convenient, it is easy to live and work, but there are not many Cultural events, then I think there will be many concerts and many exhibitions in Senegal and Dakar, including by the sea- Yes, the art environment is very vigorous, and there are many activities you can participate in, so I think the impact on me is like this, right.

Lan believes art is a powerful means of communication, "the kind that transcends language, nationality, and national boundaries", but it depends on whether you can find something to communicate and whether you are open to do so. She complains many Chinese come here in Senegal just for money and they don't want to share all this, they have many prejudices, they think they can't understand this 'black world'.

[52] 像我会说，我在塞内加尔学到很多东西，然后我也吸收了很多很多的知识，但 [...] 我觉得很多人他可能不太懂这个艺术，所以能不能帮助人沟通，我觉得得看人的精神层面是怎样的。

I would say, I learned a lot in Senegal, and then I also absorbed a lot of knowledge, but [...] I think many people may not understand this art, so if it can help people communicate, I think it depends on the spiritual level of the person.

When she speaks about China, she seems a bit lost, she said she does not know all aspects of China very well, because it has many ethnic groups, and it is too big. It is very peaceful in China, most people in China are peaceful, she adds. In general, she found it difficult to describe her country, because "it has a lot of good things but also many problems". Moreover, China has undergone enormous changes in the last decades and the new generation appears to be vastly different from the previous one. The main difference she points out is the openness towards the world that the new Chinese generation is acquiring.

[53] 觉得传统就是很重要，但是当然传统和新的思想，基本上不是两个不同的东西，就是（.）的看法，我觉得，所以如果一个人可以保持他的传统，当然他也可以学，可以了解别的国家的传统和别的国家文化，所以，应该保持自己的传统但是对别的国家保持开放的文化，我觉得就很酷。

I think tradition is very important, but of course, tradition and new ideas are basically not two different things, that is, the view of (.) I think, so if a person can keep his tradition, of course he can also learn and understand the traditions and cultures of other countries, so you should keep your own traditions but maintain the culture open to other countries. I think it is very cool.

One of the main differences Lan sees in Chinese and Senegalese culture is related to language. She explains how the Chinese language and cultural world rely on writing; the special writing system of Chinese language preserves the treasure of ancient Chinese culture. Senegalese culture, on the other hand, is a culture profoundly linked to oral tradition.

[54] [...] 我觉得塞内加尔虽然它，尤其是达喀尔是比较现代化，那我觉得传统方面塞内比中国保存要的好一点，就是这种文化习俗，因为中国是彻底的被现代化给吞没了. [...] 所以中国人已经把自己的根给丢掉了。可能还是要找回来，那是一个过程，但真的已经把自己的根丢掉了。[...] 塞内加尔的话，他们还是比较保存自己的传统，比如说，包括你看他么女人穿衣服，还是穿以前的那种衣服，包括他们穆斯林节日，他们还是会很严格按照传统去过，包括他们的音乐也是这样，但是音乐和艺术- 这个跟中国- 因为中国有文革嘛，你知道，所以把很多东西切掉了，很多时候我们不知道自己的传统是什么- 可能以前 [...] 比如说，我小时候，住的地方还有那种八月的灯会，他们就是会有- 灯会- 比如说，会舞狮子呀，那种节日，小孩会特别开心的那种，但现在就是很多东西就都被取消了。

[…] I think Senegal, especially Dakar, is relatively modern. Then I think traditions in Senegal are better preserved than in China. It is this kind of cultural custom because China has been swallowed by a complete Modernization. […] So, Chinese people have lost their roots. It might be a process to get it back, but now they really lost their roots. […] In Senegal, they still preserve their own traditions. For example, women wear the same clothes of before. The same is for their Muslim holidays, they still go there strictly, according to the tradition. The same is for their music, but music and art- this is the same also in China- because of the Cultural Revolution, you know, China has cut off many things. Many times, we do not know about our traditions- before I think they did […] For example, when I was a child, where I lived there was a lantern festival in August. A lantern festival, for example, with a lion dance, that kind of festival. The kind that children are particularly happy about, but now many things have been cancelled.

Even if Lan expresses a certain kind of sadness for lost Chinese traditions, she underlines how nature was and is still important in Chinese culture. The Chinese pay

attention to the "unity of nature and man" and find relief in nature. Chinese people, she continued, like to grow vegetables and build small yards. Look at the bamboo or flowers in China. Every plant has its meaning (3) Chinese people project their spirit there. Lan believes that when people are surrounded by nature, they are able to "find the position of the universe in nature, and nature gives them that kind of energy." According to her, this strong relation with nature is related to the fact that China is an agricultural country and has a farming society. She sees Senegalese as people more connected to the sea, given the fact that fishery is one of the most important sectors in Senegal. She also reported that probably the south of Senegal resembles much more to China in this regard. Because there is a florid vegetation there but not in Dakar, in Dakar she cannot feel this connection with nature.

Lan also expresses a clear position towards one of the main points of our research: language. According to her, language is particularly important, and it is a pity that most Chinese who have come to Senegal cannot integrate into Senegalese society because of the language. According to Lan, the relationship among Chinese and Senegalese is on one hand mutually beneficial, but on the other hand is somehow unbalanced and Chinese people usually do not show any desire of integration and basically know nothing about Senegalese society.

[55] 塞内加尔人会觉得说 " 哎呀, 你们中国人来了, 把我们的钱都赚走了。" 的那种, 就 "你们是来赚钱, 把我们的钱都赚走了, 那个中国人就会说 "哎呀 , 塞内加尔又穷, 啥都没有。" 就这种观念你知道吗? 就觉得, 你无法理解他们的文化习俗, 语言又沟通不了, 所以我觉得这两个团体, 中国和塞内加尔社会, 直到现在还是有非常大的鸿沟, 鸿沟非常大。 [...] 所以说不管是社会或文化方面, 因为他们关起门做生意那种, 就 "我只是卖东西, 然后我下班就 -" 他们吃自己的中国菜, 当然吃饭那些他们能够了解一些当地人吃的是什么东西。

Senegalese will feel like saying, "Oh, you Chinese are here, and you have made all our money, you are here to make money and make all our money." The Chinese would say, "Oh, Senegal is poor and there is nothing at all." Do you know this concept? I just feel that they cannot understand their culture and customs, and they cannot communicate with each other. So, I think there is still a noticeably big gap between the two groups, China and Senegalese society, and the gap is very big.

[…] So, whether it is social or cultural, because they close the door to do business, "I just sell things, and then I leave-" They eat their own Chinese food, and of course they eat those that they can understand some locals eat.

However, Lan appears to be quite different in this regard, she does not have any Chinese friends in Senegal, her friends are all Senegalese or foreigners and she often goes to local concerts, exhibitions and attends Senegalese festivities. Despite all this, she said she does not feel at home in Senegal, she is always in constant move and therefore it is hard for her to find stability, showing the signs of the typical lack of sense of belonging of people living far from their home country.

[57] 我始终没有感受到那种 " 稳定下来了啊, 这个地方是我的家, 我要去好好打理的那种。" 我始终都在不断的变动之中，所以还没有找到一个归属感。

I have never felt that kind of "stability, this place is my home, I am going to play it hard here." I am always in constant change, so I have not found a sense of belonging.

Ming

Ming is 28 years old and works in a Chinese company in Dakar. He arrived 2 years and a half ago, but he still perceives it is extremely hard to integrate into Senegalese society. According to him, the major causes of this condition are three: culture, living habits and language. His experience of integration started last December, when he met a younger friend, who he calls a little sister. This fourteen years old girl, who has Senegalese mother and Cantonise father, and her family represents for Ming the access door to Senegalese society. He does not speak Wolof but a fairly good English, although he believes knowing Wolof would be better for his integration. He reports not having many contacts with Senegalese people in his daily life.

[58]　其实我们和塞内加尔人沟通还是比较少的, 除了生意上, 我们基本上交流还是中国人和中国人在一起，因为就刚刚我提到的，很多习俗和文化很难融入到一起 [...] 我这边的话，基本还是用英语的比较多，因为法语，他有翘舌音知不知道？像英语的发音就是平舌音比较多。

In fact, we still have relatively little contact with Senegalese people. Except for business, we basically communicate with other Chinese. Because as I mentioned

just now, it is difficult to integrate many customs and cultures [...] In my case, I still use English more, because French has this strange pronunciation sound, you know? The pronunciation of English is more flat tongue.

Ming finds life in Senegal very different from life in China. First of all, he expected prices to be lower but the cost of living in Africa is considerably higher than in South Asia. Life for foreigners is still good and affordable, he specifies, but locals earn really little money and struggle. Life is different, Ming experienced it can be also dangerous.

[59] 在不久吧，就在两个星期，一个星期前，有人拿了两把非常大的 knife, 水果刀，对我进行抢劫，然后我的同事还有我被抢走了两部手机。然后像非洲呢 (.) 是有时候感觉它很危险，但有时侯它又充满了一种神秘感吧。

Not long ago, just two weeks ago, a week ago, someone took two large knives and fruit knives and robbed me, and then my colleague and I were robbed of two mobile phones. Africa (.) sometimes it feels dangerous, but sometimes it is full of a sense of mystery.

Ming's life in Senegal is centred on work, on Sunday he usually spends time with his "Senegalese family," he goes out with his "little sister," he pays for her study tuitions, he buys her goods. He really feels part of this Sino Senegalese family and treats her mother like his own. Describing Senegalese people, Ming points out they are open and welcoming, they love sport, and they have an unusual way of spending time and money compared to Chinese people.

[60] 第一个是开朗吧，因为他这边的人就是- 因为我可能是外国人，然后他们都会主动的和你打招呼，或者干嘛。对，感觉就比较平易近人，也就是比较开朗，可能不像我们亚洲人比较害羞，不愿意去和陌生人去打招呼什么的，这是第一个。然后，第二个是热爱运动吧，可以这么说。他们像那个运动还有健身方面都是比较喜欢的。因为经常我这边下班以后去海边走走，有很多人都在那里做俯卧撑，或是举杠铃的，我能盯他们看到。第三个是，嗯，我想一下，热爱运动和开朗，第三个就是，我可以就用随性这个词来形容，他们没有我们中国人工作压力那么大，他们可能就是你存多少钱、花多少钱，你有钱了就去享受，就是活在当下，不会像我们中国人一样活的那么累。这个可能跟你们欧洲人比较相近吧。这是我看到他们身上比较好的优点。

The first one is openness, because people here are- maybe it is because I am a foreigner, and then they will take the initiative to greet you, or so but yes, it feels they are more approachable, that is, more open. It may not be like us Asians, who are shy and unwilling to greet strangers. This is the first one. Then, the second one is they love sports. They like sports and fitness. Because I often go to the beach

after getting off work here. There are many people doing push-ups or lifting barbells. I can stare at them. The third is, um, let me think about it, they love sports and are open, and the third is, I can just use the word laid-back to describe them, they are not as we Chinese, always under pressure with work, they are more like how much money you save, how much money you spend, you can enjoy it when you have money, that is, live in the moment and not live as tired as we Chinese. This may be closer to you, Europeans. This is the best strength I see in them.

Ming expresses a certain level of difficulty in communicating with Senegalese, first of all because of the language. Many people can just speak Wolof or French and not English, so he finds it hard to speak with them. Secondly, the cultural gap is great, and this is something that, according to Ming, makes communication and reciprocal understanding quite difficult. He adds the capacity and level of integration into another society depends also on the attitude of individuals, on their personal characteristics and behaviours.

> [61] [..] 跟性格，他的接受程度有很大的关系，比如说你活泼、开朗、积极向上，对外很热情，他就很容易去接受另外一种文化传统。但是对于那种性格比较内向的，像内敛的，那你叫他去接受非洲有些传统还是很困难的。所以这还是对个人而言吧。比如像我，我感觉我是入乡随俗，有时候，但是有些东西我还是不能够做到。就比如吃的方面，他们有时候会去用手抓东西，这个我是不能接受的。[…] 这种习俗有时我们还是不能接受，但是大部分有些我是接受的。我是可以接受的。

> […] It has a lot to do with personality, a person's level of acceptance. For example, if you are lively, open and positive, upward and enthusiastic to the outside world, it is easy to accept another cultural tradition. But for those who are more reserved, like introverted ones, it is still very difficult for you to ask them to accept some African traditions. So, this is for the individual. For example, like me, I feel that I do what I do in the countryside, sometimes, but there are some things I still cannot do. For example, when it comes to eating, they sometimes grab things with their hands, which I cannot accept. […] Sometimes, we still cannot accept this custom, but I accept most of it. I can accept it.

Zhao

Zhao is 35 years old and lives in Dakar. After graduating from university, his first job was in a Chinese TV station that has many offices in Africa. Therefore, he first moved to Kenya where he worked for four years. During this experience, he found Africa very

interesting and at the end of his contract, the company offered him to move to West Africa, in Senegal.

[62]　第一个任期四年结束之后，我们的同事和领导就问我说：你现在下一步有什么打算？想不想去西边，去西非看一看？后来我说这西非呀，特别是塞内加尔说法语，我也不太会，他说没有关系你可以去学，我想说 "那可以呀！这是一个很好的挑战。" 那我也熟悉一下不同的非洲。所以我就在肯亚东边非洲的四年之后就跑到西非了。这就是我也想更加的 open my eyes, 想学一下法文。

When my first four-year term ended, our colleagues and chief asked me: what are your plans for the next step? Do you want to go to the west and take a look at West Africa? I said that West Africa, especially Senegal, speaks French and I do not really speak French. He said: "it's okay you can learn it." I said: "That's okay! This is a very good challenge", I will get familiar with this different Africa. So, I moved to West Africa after four years in Kenya, Eastern Africa. This is how I want to open my eyes more, and I want to learn French.

When he first arrived in Nairobi, he felt very nervous because he did not know anything about Africa, and he felt Africa was the land of desert, and it was going to be especially hot every day. He heard about the war, and he thought there were going to be guns and guns every day. He recalls an ancient famous photo, as one of the main impressions he had about Africa before arriving.

[63]　[…] 对于我们大部分中国人来说，就是这个 (2) 这个国家- 以前有个照片，有一个孩子在地上面, 然后呢有好多这个 vulture 一种鸟, 在他身边, 这个照片是一个特别著名的记者叫卡伦凯特拍的 […] 我当时的印象就是 "哎呀, 非洲就是这个样子" 。

[...] For most of us Chinese, this is (2) this country- there used to be a photo depicting a child on the ground, and a lot of vultures, a kind of bird, beside him. This photo is from a particularly well-known reporter named Karen Kate […] my impression at the time was "Oh, this is what Africa is like."

When Zhao finally arrived in Kenya, he was very surprised to see that, although it was incomparable with modern Europeans, Americans, and Chinese cities, it was still a modern city with high-rise buildings, good supermarkets etc. Zhao laughingly confesses he was convinced in Kenya he may not find very simple goods such as toothpaste, or pens and therefore he brought a lot of these things in his luggage. When he finally realised supermarkets had everything, he understood he really did not know anything

about Africa. He was even more surprised to realise in Kenya in June it is actually cold. After the first impact, he slowly started to adapt to Africa but something that still makes him feel uncomfortable about it is the African concept of time. He said that Chinese and Japanese, people from the East in general, are pretty the same: if they say ten o'clock, it is ten o'clock. For African people, the concept of time is very different, almost random. Ten o'clock can be twelve o'clock or fourteen o'clock, either. This different perception of time is very hard to accept according to Zhao, it generates conflicts and problems at work.

When Zhao moved to Senegal, he could not speak French, so he used English to communicate but later he found out that it was impossible to work in Northwest Africa without French, so he decided to study it. Nowadays, he mainly uses French to communicate with Senegalese people. He does not speak Wolof, but he reports to know many Senegalese who can speak Chinese.

[64]　我认识很多很多塞内加尔人会说中文的。为什么呢，因为在塞内加尔，有一个中国文化中心 Chinatown Centre 那边会教中文，而且在塞内加尔的很多大学也有中文系，所以在我的工作当中遇到过很多中文说得很好的塞内加尔人。

I know many Senegalese who can speak Chinese. Why? Because in Senegal, there is a Chinese cultural centre, Chinatown Centre, that teaches Chinese, and many universities in Senegal also have Chinese departments, so I have met many Senegalese who speak Chinese very well in my work.

Even if life is very different in Senegal, Zhao found a new reality in Dakar. He has both Chinese and Senegalese friends, he believes Senegalese people are very inclusive, tolerant and proud of their culture and traditions. These traditions are of course completely different from the ones of China, so it needs a certain degree of adaptation to enter Senegalese culture, Zhao explains. However, he really likes Senegalese food, and he thinks Senegalese culinary tradition is not that different from the Chinese one.

[65]　塞内加尔也是。塞内加尔他们的主食居然是米饭 rice。这个就跟中国人很一样了，因为在肯尼亚，他们的主食是玉米 corn、mais，但是塞内加尔他是

rice, 这个很奇怪的，这就跟中国非常像，所以就是米饭和菜或者是鱼肉在一块，他就跟中国菜一摸一样。所以我就很喜欢塞内加尔餐。

In Senegal, their staple food is rice. This is very similar to the Chinese, because in Kenya, their staple food is corn and mais, but in Senegal is rice. This is very strange, it is very similar to China, so rice is mixed with vegetables or fish, it is exactly the same as Chinese food. That is why I like Senegalese food very much.

Zhao also appreciates a lot also Senegalese culture; he believes the fact that the first Senegalese President was also a poet makes Senegal a very romantic nation. He loves Senegalese traditional, colourful and very well painted fishing boats, as well as Senegalese beautiful traditional costumes, and women's dresses. He really appreciates Senegalese relations with sports.

[66] 而且我认为中国人应该学习塞内加尔这种热爱运动的精神，塞内加尔你去看，他们在海边 (2) 每天晚上, doing exercise, 跑步和锻炼, 那个感觉非常的好, 中国人不行, 中国人吃完饭就开始拿手机刷抖音、上网。

And I think Chinese people should learn from Senegal's sports-loving spirit, Senegal, you see them, they are at the beach (2) every night, doing exercise, running and exercising, that feels very good, Chinese people cannot, Chinese people finish eating and start to use their mobile phone to surf the Internet.

He thinks Chinese people in general should try to adapt to Senegalese local habits, because most of the Chinese that are in Africa have mainly Chinese friends. Zhao believes Chinese people are particularly conservative, traditional. They do not like to make friends but, in this regard, the language issue is very crucial.

[67] 大部分中国人来说，能把 English 说好的人就不太多了。更别说法文了、更别说　[inaudible]了。所以我承认一个想象，很多中国人在塞内加尔有时候并不是很喜欢入乡随俗，不是他不愿意，而是他真的没有那个语言能力，所以他只能是 gathering only with Chinese because he cannot- the language is too important (2) 因为你们欧洲人 too smart too intelligent at very young age, 你们可以说三、四、五种语言，但对于中国人来说，中文，你现在已经学习中文了, the system of Chinese and European languages is totally different, It's not like French and English, 所以对他们来说太难了, 这是第一个原因, 我认为他们没法融入当地，但是第二点, 在主观上, 中国人确实不像欧洲人有一种探索精神, 我发现, 比方说法国人或其他国家的人, 他们可能会跟塞内加尔人走的很近, 或确实来说, 中国人还是喜欢和中国人在一起。因为就是吃饭问题, 包括很多习俗问题, 没法适应, 比如到现在为止, 虽然我说塞内加尔的餐很好吃，但你让我天天吃塞内加尔的餐我还是忍受不了，我还是会自己做一些中餐。

The majority of Chinese cannot speak English well, let alone French, let alone [Wolof]. So, I imagine, many Chinese people do not like to go to the countryside when in Senegal. It is not that they don't want to, but that they really do not have the language ability to go, so they can only be gathering with Chinese because they cannot- the language is too important (2) because you Europeans are too smart, too intelligent at very young age, you can speak three, four, or five languages, but for Chinese, Chinese, you have learned Chinese now, the system of Chinese and European languages is totally different, It's not like French and English, so it's too difficult for them. This is the first reason. I do not think they can integrate into the local area, but the second point, subjectively, the Chinese are really not like Europeans who have an exploratory spirit. I found that, for example, French people or people from other countries may get close to Senegalese, or indeed, Chinese people still like to be with Chinese people. Because it is just eating problems, including many custom problems, I cannot adapt. For example, until now, although I say that Senegalese food is delicious, I still cannot bear it if you let me eat Senegalese food every day. I will still cook some Chinese food by myself.

Mei

Mei is 27 years old and moved to Senegal because her relatives and friends work there. She owns a retail shop in Dakar. When she describes her moving to Senegal, she specifies this is not a kind of 'migration' in her perspective, it is just a unique way to "live a life away from home." The only information she had about Senegal before coming to Africa, were the ones she acquired by watching a TV series.

> [68] 当时我就是一个人从中国做飞机飞过来的。因为我从小看电视剧我就知道有非洲这个地方。我就知道这里的人的皮肤是黑色的。而且我一直特别向往想要出去看一看。所以我一个人就过来了我才知道，原来世界上。还有这么遥远的地方。坐飞机居然要做两天。

> At that time, I was flying from China alone. I knew there was this place, Africa, only because since I was a child I used to watch a TV series on it. I knew that the skin of the people here is black. And I have always wanted to go out and take a look. That is why I came here, alone, and I knew that there was still such a far place in the world. It took me two days to arrive by plane.

She describes life in Senegal as very different from life in China. In her perception, China compared to Senegal is very safe. In Senegal "friends around me have basically been robbed and stolen," she reports nervously. According to Mei, Chinese medical and

education conditions are very good in all aspects, on the contrary she does not believe Senegal's conditions are that good. However, she finds Senegalese people are very nice and kind. She has several Senegalese friends, and, in her shop, she works with two local employees.

[69] 我感觉这里的人民还是挺可爱的。他们很善良，有信仰也很淳朴

I feel that the people here are quite lovely. They are kind, faithful and simple

She lives with Chinese friends and at home she speaks Chinese, in the neighbourhood she mainly uses French language to communicate and Wolof. She reported having learnt Wolof at work, with her employees.

[70] 在这边还是法语用的会比较多。我大部分时间还是用法语沟通。[...] 法语还有他们当地的方言。我会一些简单的英语，法语，还有俄洛夫语。每天跟我的员工聊天 就会学得很快。

I still use French more here. I still communicate in French most of the time. I can speak some simple English, French, and Wolof, chatting with my staff every day. I learn very quickly.

Even if she said it is impossible to completely avoid racial discrimination in a foreign country, Mei is used to life in Senegal by now, and she feels welcomed because of the "warm, friendly and spiritual attitude of Senegalese people."

[71] 在中国有一句话: "既来之 则安之"，就要安心的呆在这里。

There is a saying in Chinese that goes: "since we are here, we may make the best of it", meaning you must stay here with peace of mind.

4.3.6. Conclusions

The analysis of patterns of Chinese diaspora-homeland interactions in Senegal leads to the following observations.

First, the perception of the impact of China on Senegal is subject to highly polarising opinions and can be analysed mainly from two perspectives: the economic impact and the sociocultural impact. Senegalese participants expressed very positive opinions concerning Chinese investments in Senegal, the creation of new job opportunities and

the availability on the market of Chinese affordable products. On the other hand, some of the respondents underlined local traders as being damaged by the presence of Chinese enterprises because they cannot compete with Chinese low-cost products. Critics are very harsh when it comes to the economic exploitation of Senegalese resources by Chinese enterprises. When asked about Chinese culture, informants often admitted a lack of knowledge in this regard, the primary cause of which are the poor relational contacts established with the Chinese community. However, the sense of community and the importance of traditions are regarded as common features among Senegalese and Chinese cultures. The problem of Senegalese cultural displacement and uprooting is often associated with the French presence but not with the Chinese one. On the contrary, the majority of Senegalese participants generally see the intersection, fusion and synthesis of Chinese and Senegalese cultures possible. In order to reach this aim, however, a greater effort is needed on the part of the Chinese community. Language is still considered as a barrier to communication among the two populations.

Second, Senegalese postcolonial society presents specific traits, derived from the colonial experience, that can be traced in the way in which individuals perceive the presence of the 'other' in their society. Significantly, the comparison between Senegalese perception of French and Chinese presence underlined the heritage of French colonialism have a double effect on how Senegalese people perceive the growing Chinese presence in Senegal. Indeed, as per confrontation, Senegalese people regard at Asian presence in a much more positive way compared to European presence. China has become an alternative choice for many Senegalese who see in this new power the perfect escape from the edge of the western neo-colonialism. On the other hand, the colonial and neo-colonial dynamics long experienced by Senegalese foster a negative vision about the growing economic power of China within Senegalese borders and its possible negative outcomes.

Third, contemporary Chinese immigrants are heterogeneous with regard not only to their places of origin and socioeconomic backgrounds, mobility and integration patterns and outcomes, but also to their patterns of diasporic formation, development and transnationalism. Our four Chinese stories reveal indeed different degrees of integration

into the Senegalese society. Cultural differences, communication difficulties due to the language, challenging social aspects of Senegalese life are mentioned and perceived by all Chinese informants, as well as the welcoming nature of the Senegalese population and their openness to different peoples.

5. Discussions

Chapter 5 illustrates the triangulation of results and concludes the study by summarising the key research findings in relation to the research aims and questions and discussing the value and contribution thereof. We will also review the limitations of the study and propose opportunities for future research.

5.1. Triangulation of results

This study aimed at investigating the sociocultural impact of the Chinese presence in Senegal, at unearthing patterns of Sino-Senegalese intercultural dynamics, and at comparing the perception of locals on the Western (France) and Asian (China) influence in the country. Moreover, through the analysis of intercultural relations and interlinguistic communication, we aimed at contributing to a broader view of the identity construction process in postcolonial society.

As already mentioned in the introduction, the study addressed the following major research questions:

1. How do Chinese and Senegalese communities interact in their daily life in Senegal? What kind of intercultural dynamics can be observed and what language/s do they use in their interactions?

2. How do locals perceive the Chinese community? Are there differences in the perception of the French and the Chinese presence in Senegal?

3. Does the Chinese presence have an impact on Senegalese social and language contact dynamics?

The findings of this research indicate that personal interactions between the two studied populations are sporadic and mostly due to commercial needs. The Chinese community often keeps to itself and entertain rare relations with the local population. One of the root causes of this phenomenon has been recognised both from Chinese and Senegalese participants as the language barrier, which makes communication and integration extremely difficult. For this reason, interactions between Chinese and Senegalese

people are often mediated by the presence, almost in Chinese shops and companies, of Senegalese employees able to speak Chinese, and therefore to act as intermediaries with local customers. This phenomenon is noteworthy because it presupposes an increase in the study of the Chinese language by the Senegalese population. This trend, witnessed by the interviewees, seems to be confirmed by the results of the administered questionnaire, which indicate 17 out of 163 participants can speak Chinese. The number, although not very high, is however indicative of the trend that the participants described in the interviews. It would therefore be appropriate to investigate the phenomenon with quantitative studies.

Senegalese people have a natural positive attitude towards the presence of different ethnocultural groups, and therefore towards the Chinese diaspora group. However, according to locals, there is a need for interconnection and interaction among the two populations in order to create a better integrated society. The ingroupness of the Chinese diaspora group is perceived by Senegalese participants as an isolation strategy, and it is not viewed positively. As reported in Chapter 4, the perception of the impact of China on Senegal is subject to highly polarising opinions and can be analysed mainly from two perspectives: the economic impact and the sociocultural impact.

African newspaper coverage of Chinese presence in Senegal reveals a general predominant positive or neutral narrative on Sino-Senegalese relations. Despite this, the African press reports some concerns regarding the impact of Chinese enterprises on the local market and the disadvantages that this could bring to Senegalese entrepreneurs and traders. This trend is confirmed by the results obtained from interviews and questionnaires. Chinese immigration consequences are generally regarded as neutral by Senegalese participants. However, positive and negative effects are still perceived. With regard to the economic sphere, Chinese contribution to Senegal economic development is seen mainly positively. This includes Chinese investments and aids, the development of infrastructures and services, the creation of new job opportunities, the introduction of Chinese low-cost and affordable products on Senegalese market. On the other hand, perceived negative outcomes of the Chinese economic engagement are the exploitation of African resources, the harsh commercial competition that damages local traders, along with unbalanced institutional agreements that seem to favour China over Senegal.

The socio-cultural impact of China is hardly perceived by the locals. Reason for this is that the poor relational contacts have not allowed to build an integrated Sino-Senegalese social network. Nevertheless, some common points between the two cultures have been identified by our sample: the attachment to traditions, the importance of community life and the proudness towards national culture. Our findings suggest that Chinese immigrants are differently positioned in the hosting society due to their social and economic status. The Chinese diaspora is highly heterogeneous with regard to the composition but also to integration patterns and outcomes. Our four Chinese ethno stories reveal indeed different degrees of integration into the Senegalese society. Cultural differences, communication difficulties due to the language, challenging social aspects of Senegalese life are mentioned and perceived by all Chinese informants, as well as the welcoming nature of the Senegalese population and their openness to different peoples.

Considering what is reported by Senegalese participants, it is possible to deduce that their perceptions of France and China influence on Senegal are very different. Indeed, the colonial heritage, the ideological environment of modern Senegal and its process toward the construction of a new identity reflects on Senegalese international relations. Senegalese modern society, as every postcolonial society, is a space of cultural superfluity, linguistic cross-fertilisation and identity restructuration. French culture is considered as a rich and positive part of Senegalese cultural heritage. Moreover, French people integrate themselves much easier than Chinese people in Senegal, according to participants. Despite this, in many cases French people and culture are still associated with the idea of the 'coloniser'. The impact of French culture is therefore linked, according to some participants, to concepts like uprooting or cultural displacement. Indeed, a love-hate relationship exists between Senegal and France. France is generally associated to the West and to modernity, concepts often constructed in opposition to the concepts of Africa and tradition.

Chinese presence, on the other hand, is not that invasive in terms of imposition of culture, and therefore is perceived as safer. Furthermore, Chinese diplomatic rhetoric, spread by means of media and other soft power tools, is centred on the idea of a new south-south cooperation to break free from a common history under the hegemony of

western civilization. Nevertheless, if it is true that on one hand the Chinese presence is regarded as a valuable alternative to the hegemony of the West in Senegal, it is also true that there are increasing concerns about the possible negative outcomes of Chinese growing power in Africa.

During the interview process, it was also possible to observe mechanisms of cultural identity construction by the Senegalese participants. Particularly interesting in this respect is the function of language as a medium for identity negotiation. Taking a closer look at how informants construct a 'Senegalese' group feeling, it is notable that the starting point of this identity construction is the linguistic assertions of the informants. French, Chinese and English are constructed as 'foreign' languages in contraposition to the Wolof language that is introduced as the native element par excellence. However, identity positioning is not absolute and that informants often engage in a variable scale of proximity and distance from the Chinese and French group. Thus, confirming the identity hybridisation of people in postcolonial multilingual contexts and the way in which people take on different linguistic forms as they align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages (Bloommaert & Rampton, 2011: 5).

The present findings, coming from the analysis of individuals' personal experience and media coverage, confirm the tendency to look at Sino-African relations from one of two polarised positions, either as inherently exploitative and neocolonialist or as the great hope for long-term African development. However, as suggested by Rich & Recker (2013), reality lies somewhere in the centre, with the possibility of deeper mutually beneficial partnerships coexisting with some exploitation. For African countries, Chinese presence brings new obstacles, as well as chances for improved positioning in the global market without the constraints of Western markets. As China establishes deeper roots in Africa, even if mostly for economic reasons, one might expect an interesting evolution of intercultural relations. This historic moment characterised by strong growth in Sino-African relations can certainly be a major push to bring about the change in the lives of millions of Africans that has long been hoped for by many parties. Indirectly, the opening up of Chinese markets for African goods and the possibility of purchasing Chinese goods at a price that is accessible to the African population can make a truly significant contribution to economic development in Africa, not to mention

infrastructure development which is considered one of the major obstacles to African growth. But precisely in relation to African development, human rights are destined to become increasingly part of Beijing's policies because it is difficult to think of sustainable economic development in a context of corruption, deprivation of civil liberties in the absence of an adequate ruling class and an involved civil society. The real objective is one that starts from the effectiveness of human rights to orient policies towards the development of people.

Sino-african relations in the frame of South-South cooperation are an area of research that demands greater attention, we believe the present study can provide a valid example of a multidisciplinary approach aimed at deepening sociolinguistic and cultural aspects of this phenomenon and connecting them to the diplomatic and political level.

5.2. Limitation of the study

This research was initially conceived as field research and thus participant observation and interviewing were selected as the primary methods of investigation. Due to the Covid19 outbreak, the research design has undergone deep changes and has been restructured in order to collect data online. Therefore, this study clearly presents some limitations. The most important limitation lies in sampling. The present project sampling was limited in several ways. First, the interviews, the questionnaires and newspaper dataset samples are numerically limited. This is due to the enormous obstacles encountered in finding online participants who lived in Senegal willing to take part in the study. Likewise, access to African news online resources is limited. On the field, it would have been definitely easier to involve a greater number of participants and collect more news resources from libraries or research centres.

Second, the sample for questionnaires is not representative. Indeed, most of the participants were recruited online through social media, particularly Linkedin, and personal connections. This produced an unbalanced stratification of the sample, representative of a population living in urban centres and with an averagely high education level. A large part of Senegalese people not using social networks were

excluded from the sample. Moreover, both questionnaires and interviews to Senegalese participants were conducted in French, this excluded the other part of the population that does not speak French properly. Chinese participants, on the other hand, were a very small number because of the impossibility to find online channels of communication with Chinese people living in Senegal.

We also believe, the impossibility of performing participant observation on the field, deprived the research of a vast variety of data that would have been extremely useful, especially for the sociolinguistic analysis of the relations between Chinese and Senegalese. Indeed, close observation of real-life interactions is precious to understand important sociocultural dynamics.

In any case, the use of digital tools for ethnographic purposes has given rise to an interesting reflection on the potential technological advancements as a way of improving classical methods with newer methods of research.

5.3. Suggestion for future work

Because the views presented here are not comprehensive, this research does not seek to draw conclusions about Sino-Senegalese interpersonal relations, but rather to suggest the need for a more representative examination of it.

Indeed, as we can only expect Sino-Senegalese relations to grow in the near future, it is recommended that further research is undertaken in this area. Particularly, we would like to underline the importance of studies that analyse the impact of the Chinese presence in Africa from a micro and a macro perspective. Indeed, this phenomenon is mostly studied from diplomatic, political and economic points of view. Actually, perceptions, reactions and cultural intersections of individuals are extremely important in this regard because societies are composed of individual realities which interact to generate cultural, social and linguistic changes.

We hope that our research will serve as a base for future studies on the subject, and that the mixed methods designed here presented, will be integrated with participant observation, fieldwork and landscape linguistics.

References

A'Zami, D. (2015) China in Africa: From Under-researched to Under-theorised? *Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 724-734 (online).

Adie, W. A. (1964) Chou En-lai on Safari. *The China Quarterly*, No. 18, 174-194 (online).

Agar, M. H. (1997) Ethnography: an overview. *Substance use & misuse*, Vol. 32, No. 9, 1155-1173 (online).

Agarwal, B. & Mittal, N. (2016) *Prominent feature extraction for sentiment analysis*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Agbebi, M. (2018) Exploring the human capital development dimensions of Chinese investments in Africa: Opportunities, implications, and directions for further research. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 54, No.2, 189-210 (online).

Aidoo, R., & Hess, S. (2015) Non-interference 2.0: China's evolving foreign policy towards a changing Africa. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 1, 107-139 (online).

Aime, M. (2004). *Eccessi di culture*. Torino: Einaudi.

Alden, C. (2006) Through African eyes: Representations of China on the African continent. Paper presented at the *SciPo/Fudan/LSE Conference*, October 2, 2006.

Alvesson, M. (2003). Beyond neopositivists, romantics, and localists: A reflexive approach to interviews in organizational research. *Academy of management review*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 13-33 (online).

Amselle, J-L. (1999) *Logiche meticce. Antropologia dell'identità in Africa e altrove*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Anchimbe, E. A. (2007) Linguabridity: Redefining linguistic identities among children in urban areas. Anchimbe, E. A. (Ed.) *Linguistic identity in postcolonial multilingual spaces*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 66-86.

Andreouli, E. (2010) Identity, positioning and self-other relations. *Papers on Social Representations*, Vol. 19. No. 14, 1-13 (online).

Angelini, M. (2012) Down to the roots of the word" culture". *PAN: Philosophy Activism Nature*, No. 9, 90-94.

Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arecchi, A. (1985) Dakar, città d'economia "dominata". *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente,* Vol. 40, No. 1, 115-132.

Arora, R., & Srinivasa, S. (2014) A faceted characterization of the opinion mining landscape. Paper presented at the *6th International Conference on Communication Systems and Networks,* January 2014, January 6-10, 2014, IEEE, 1-6.

Asante, M. K. and Chai, R. (2013) *Nkrabea* and *yuan* in Akan and Chinese: Cultural intersections and communication implications in an African and an Asian society. *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 44, No 2, 119-136 (online).

Baayen, H. R., Podesva, R. J., & Sharma, D. (2013). *Research methods in linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Bailard, C. S. (2016) China in Africa: an analysis of the effect of Chinese media expansion on African public opinion. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 446-471 (online).

Balahur, A., Steinberger, R., Kabadjov, M., Zavarella, V., Van Der Goot, E., Halkia, M., Pouliquen, B., & Belyaeva, J. (2010) Sentiment analysis in the news. Paper presented at the *7th international conference on language resources and evaluation (LREC'10)*, May 19-21, 2010, 2216-2220.

Bartocci, E. (1959) Profilo geo-economico del Senegal. *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, Vol. 14, No. 5/6, 370-372.

Bassiouney, R. (2017) *Identity and dialect performance: A study of communities and dialects*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bauman, Z. (2001). Identity in the globalising world. *Social anthropology*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 121-129 (online).

Bawa, A. B. (2013) From Imperialism to Diplomacy: A Historical Analysis of French and Senegal Cultural Relationship. Paper presented at the *London Art as Cultural Diplomacy Conference,* August 21-24, 2013, 1-9.

Bayram, M. (2019) La Politique Étrangère du Sénégal de Léopold Senghor à Macky Sall. *Bartın Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 10, No.20, 225-237.

Berg, E., Wan, R., & Lau, R. (2010). *Senegal* (Vol. 17). New York: Cavendish Square Publishing.

Bernardi, B. (1998) *Africa: tradizione e modernità*. Roma: Carocci Editore.

Bernardini, F. (2018) Senegal: bastion of democracy, migration priority for the EU. In Depth Analysis. Brussels: European Parliament (online).

Berry, J. W. (2003) Conceptual approaches to acculturation. *K. Chun, P. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research*. Washington: American Psychological Association, 17-37.

Berry, J. W. (2006) Contexts of acculturation. *Sam, D. L. & Berry, J. W. (Eds.), The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 27–42.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995) Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 national survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 301-320 (online).

Besada, H. & O' Bright, B. (2017) Maturing Sino-Africa relations. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 655-677 (online).

Blommaert, J. and Rampton, B. (2011) Language and superdiversity. *New Diversities*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1-21 (online).

Bonetti, A. (2019). *La Cina in Africa: la cooperazione educativa quale prisma di lettura della presenza cinese nel continente africano*. (Doctoral Thesis, First Advisor: Gandolfi, S.). Aisberg: Università degli studi di Bergamo Scholarly publishing initiatives.

Brautigam, D. (2011) *The dragon's gift: the real story of China in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brossier, M. (2017) Senegal's Arabic literates: from transnational education to national linguistic and political activism. *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 155-175 (online).

Bucholtz, M. (2000) The politics of transcription. *Journal of pragmatics*, Vol. 32, No. 10, 1439-1465 (online).

Buckley, L. (2011) Eating bitter to taste sweet: An ethnographic sketch of a Chinese agriculture project in Senegal. Paper presented at the *International Conference on Global Land Grabbing*, April 6-8, 2011.

Calvino, I. (2012). *Le città invisibili*. Milano: Edizioni Mondadori.

Carmody, P. (2011) India and the 'Asian drivers' in Africa. *Mawdsley, E. & McCann, G. (Eds.) India in Africa: Changing geographies of power*, Cape Town: Pambazuka Press, 30-48.

Carmody, P., Dasandi, N. and Mikhaylov, S. J. (2019) Power plays and balancing acts: The paradoxical effects of Chinese trade on African foreign policy positions. *Political Studies*, Vol. 68, No. 1, 224-246 (online).

Ceccagno, A. (2016), Africa e Cina: Imprese e Lavoro. *Mondo Cinese,* 86-96.

Chafer, T. (2012). Senegal. *Caplan, R. (Ed.) Exit strategies and state building*. New York: Oxford University Press, 38-56.

Chomsky, N. (2006). *Language and mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christoff, K., Gordon, A., & Smith, R. (2011) The role of spontaneous thought in human cognition. *Vartanian, O. & Mandel, D.R. (Eds.) Neuroscience of decision making*. New York: Psychology Press, 259-284.

Cissé, D. (2013) South-South migration and Sino-African small traders: A comparative study of Chinese in Senegal and Africans in China. *African Review of Economics and Finance*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 17-28 (online).

Cissé, M. (2005) Langues, État et société au Sénégal. *SudLangues. Revue électronique internationale de Sciences du langage*, No. 5, 99-133 (online).

Clark, A. F. & Phillips, L. C. (1994) *Hystorical Dictionary of Senegal*. London: Scarecrow Press.

Clemons, A. and Yerende E. (2009) Interrelationships of non-formal mother tongue education and citizenship in Guinea and Senegal. *International Journal of Bilingual Education & Bilingualism*, Vol. 12, No 4, 415-427 (online).

Correia, P. (2011) Dakar-Pékin: une réconciliation opportuniste mais problématique. *Outre-Terre*, Vol. 4, No. 30, 351-358 (online).

Crower, M. (1984) *The Cambridge History of Africa: Volume 8, from c. 1940 to c. 1975*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Daff, M. (1995) Enquête lexicale et français oral au Sénégal: État de la méthodologie d'enquête mise au point. *Francard, M., Latin, D. (éds), Le régionalisme lexical*, 119-127.

Daff, M. (1998) L'aménagement linguistique et didactique de la coexistence du français et des langues nationales au Sénégal. *DiversCité Langues.* Vol. 3 (online).

De Féral, C. (2010) Les «variétés» du français en Afrique. Stigmatisations, dénominations, réification: à qui la faute?. *Cahiers de sociolinguistique*, Vol. 1, No. 15, 41-53 (online).

Degli Uberti, S. (2010) Da Modou modou a Européen: rappresentazioni e auto-rappresentazioni. Il caso delle "migrazioni clandestine in piroga" dal Senegal." *Mondi Migranti*, No. 3, 99-116 (online).

DeWalt, K. M. and DeWalt, B. R. (2011) *Participant Observation: a guide for fieldworkers*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.

Diallo, I. (2011) To understand lessons, think through your own languages. An analysis of narratives in support of the introduction of indigenous languages in the education system in Senegal. *Language Matters*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 207-230 (online).

Diop, B. B. (2006) Le Sénégal entre Cheikh Anta Diop et Senghor. *The University of Texas at Austin*. https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/france-ut/_files/pdf/resources/Diop.pdf.

Diouf, M. and Rendall, S. (2000) The Senegalese Murid trade diaspora and the making of a vernacular cosmopolitanism. *Public Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 679-702.

Dittgen, R. (2010) l'Afrique en Chine: l'autre face des relations sino-africaines. *China Institute-Économie*, 1-17 (online).

Djité, P. G. (2008) *The sociolinguistics of development in Africa*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Dollot, L. (1964) *Les relations culturelles internationales*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 36-60.

Dowden, R. (2014) *Africa: Altered States, ordinary Miracles*. London: Portobello Books.

Dreyfus, M. and Juillard, C. (2004) *Le plurilinguisme au Sénégal: langues et identités en devenir.* Paris: Karthala Editions.

Du Bois, John W. (1991) Transcription design principles for spoken discourse research. *Pragmatics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 71-106 (online).

Dumont, P. (1969) Le français au Sénégal: interférences du wolof dans le français des élèves sénégalais. *Le français en France et hors de France. I. Créoles et contacts africains, Collection IDERIC*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 71-90.

Duranti, A. (2000) *Antropologia del linguaggio*. Roma: Meltemi editore.

Ebongue, A. E., & Hurst, E. (2017) *Sociolinguistics in African Contexts: perspectives and challenges*. Berlin: Springer.

Eckert, P. (2000) *Language variation as social practice: The linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Eckert, P. (2012) Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual review of Anthropology*, Vol. 41, No. 1, 87-100 (online).

Edwards, J. (2009) *Language and Identity: an introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, J. R. (2001). Multidimensional constructs in organizational behavior research: An integrative analytical framework. *Organizational research methods*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 144-192.

Eze, C. (2014) Rethinking African culture and identity: the Afropolitan model. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 234-247 (online).

Fabietti, U. (2013) *L'identità etnica. Storia e critica di un concetto univoco.* Roma: Carocci Editore.

Faghih, N. (2019) An introduction to: Globalization and development—Entrepreneurship, innovation, business and policy insights from Asia and Africa. *Faghih, N. (Ed.) Globalization and development.* Cham: Springer, 1-10.

Faye, P. (2017) The politics of recognition, and the manufacturing of citizenship and identity in Senegal's decentralised charcoal market. *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 44, No. 151, 66-84 (online).

Fergus, S. (2013) China & Africa: A review of media coverage. *The Politics Reader Blogspot* (online).

Fitzgerald, D. S. (2010). Mixing methods and crossing boundaries in the study of international migration. *COMCAD Working Papers*. No. 73, 2-20 (online).

Floquet, O. (2018) *Aspects linguistiques et sociolinguistiques des Français africains*. Roma: Sapienza Università Editrice, Vol. 72.

Franceschini, R. (2011) Multilingualism and multicompetence: A conceptual view. *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 95, No. 3, 344-355 (online).

Fredericks, R. (2014) The Old Man is Dead': Hip Hop and the Arts of Citizenship of Senegalese Youth. Antipode, Vol. 46, No. 1, 130-148 (online).

Gallissot, R., Kilani, M., and Rivera, A. (2001) *L'imbroglio etnico in quattordici parole-chiave*. Bari: Edizioni Dedalo.

Gao, S. (2017) The sociolinguistics of globalizing China. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, Vol. 11, No. 6, 1-10 (online).

Gasparetti, F. (2011) Relying on Teranga: Senegalese migrants to Italy and their children left behind. *Autrepart*, Vol. 1-2, No. 57-58 , 215-232 (online).

Gaye, A. (2008) China in Africa: After the gun and the bible: A West African perspective. *Alden, C., Large, D., de Olivera, R. S. (Eds.) China Returns to Africa–A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace.* London: Hurst & Company, 129-141.

Geertz, C. (1993) Religion as a cultural system. *Geertz, C. (Ed.) The interpretation of cultures: selected essays*, London: Fontana Press, 87-125.

Gehrold, S., & Tietze, L. (2011) Far from altruistic: China's presence in Senegal. *KAS International report*, Vol. 11, 90-118 (online).

Gellar, S. (2020) *Senegal: an African nation between Islam and the West*. Boulder CO: Westview Press.

George, T. Y. (2009) China, Africa, and Globalization: The" China Alternative". *Asia Papers.* Institute for Security and Development Policy, 1-30.

Gergen, K. J. (1999) Agency: Social construction and relational action. *Theory & Psychology*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 113-115 (online).

Giddens, A. (2003) *Runaway world: How globalization is reshaping our lives*. New York: Routledge.

Grabski, J. L. (2003) Dakar's urban landscapes: locating modern art and artists in the city. *African Arts*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 28-93 (online).

Green, C. S. C. (1997) *Globalization and survival in the Black diaspora: The New Urban Challenge*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Gumperz, J. J., & Berenz, N. (1993) Transcribing conversational exchanges. *Edwards, J.A. & Lampert, M. D.(Eds.), data: Transcription and coding in discourse research.* New York: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates, 91-122.

Haddi, E., Liu, X., & Shi, Y. (2013) The role of text pre-processing in sentiment analysis. *Procedia Computer Science*, No. 17, 26-32 (online).

Han, H. (2012) Being and becoming "a new immigrant" in Canada: How language matters or not. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 136-149 (online).

Harris, M. (1975) *Culture, people, nature: An introduction to general anthropology*. New York: Harper Collins College Publishers.

Haugen, H. Ø. (2011) Chinese exports to Africa: competition, complementarity, and cooperation between micro-level actors. *Forum for Development Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 157-176 (online).

Herzog, L., & Mui, W. Z. (2016) Faith and development in focus: Senegal. *World faiths development dialogue.* Washington: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World affairs.

Hongoh, J. (2016) The Asian-African Conference (Bandung) and Pan-Africanism: the challenge of reconciling continental solidarity with national sovereignty. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 4, 374-390 (online).

Irele, A. (1965) Négritude-Literature and Ideology. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 499-526.

Jackson, T. (2012) Postcolonialism and organizational knowledge in the wake of China's presence in Africa: interrogating South-South relations. *Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 181-204 (online).

Jefferson, G. (2004) Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. *Pragmatics and beyond new series*, No. 125, 13-34 (online).

Jideofor, A. (2009) *Who is an African? Identity, Citizenship, and the Making of the Africa-Nation*. London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers.

Kasanda, A. (2016) Exploring Pan-Africanism's theories: from race-based solidarity to political unity and beyond. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 179-195.

Keese, A. (2015) *Ethnicity and the Colonial State: Finding and Representing Group Identifications in a Coastal West African and Global Perspective (1850–1960)*. Leiden: Brill.

Kendall, T. (2008) On the history and future of sociolinguistic data. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 332-351 (online).

Kernen, A. (2010) Small and medium-sized Chinese businesses in Mali and Senegal. *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 252-268.

Kolagani, S. H. D., Negahban, A., & Witt, C. (2017) Identifying trending sentiments in the 2016 us presidential election: A case study of twitter analytics. *Issues in Information Systems*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 80-86 (online).

Kozinets, R. V. (2010) Netnography: The marketer's secret weapon. *Netbase White paper*, 1-13 (online).

Kramsch, C. (2000) Second language acquisition, applied linguistics, and the teaching of foreign languages. *The Modern Language Journal,* Vol. 84, No. 3, 311-326 (online).

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1966) *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. New York: Vintage.

Kvale, S. (1996) The 1,000-page question. *Qualitative inquiry*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 275-284 (online).

Laurier, E. (2010) Participant Observation. *Key Methods in Geography*. London: Sage Publications, 116-130.

Leech, B. L. (2002) Asking questions: Techniques for semistructured interviews. *Political science and politics*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 665-668.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Denzin, N. K. (2003) *Turning points in qualitative research: Tying knots in a handkerchief*. Laham: Altamira Press.

Lobasso, F., di Scalea, I. L., Tonioli, V., & Caon, F. (2018) *Tra lingue e culture*. Venezia:Edizioni Ca' Foscari.

Low, S. M., & Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (2003) Locating culture. Low, S. M., & Lawrence-Zúñiga, D. (Eds.) *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture*. Malden: Blackwell, 1-47.

Luconi, M. (2018) *Léopold Sédar Senghor. Il poeta presidente della rinascita africana*. Firenze: Edizioni Clichy.

Lüpke, F., & Storch, A. (2013) *Repertoires and choices in African languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Macamo, E. (2010) Making modernity asscountable: A case study of youth in Mozambique. *Cadernos de estudos africanos*, No. 18/19, 19-46 (online).

Mackey, W. F. (2000) Espaces urbains et coexistence des langues. *Terminogramme 93-94*. Quebec: Office de la langue française.

Makoni, S. B. (2011) Sociolinguistics, colonial and postcolonial: an integrationist perspective. *Language Sciences*, Vol. 33, No. 4, 680-688.

Mamdani, M. (2005) Political identity, citizenship and ethnicity in post-colonial Africa. Paper presented at the *World Bank conference "New frontiers of social policy"*, 12-15.

Marfaing, L. and Thiel, A. (2011) Chinese commodity imports in Ghana and Senegal: Demystifying Chinese business strength in urban West Africa, *Working Papers*. German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), No. 180, 1-26.

Marfaing, L. and Thiel, A. (2013) The impact of Chinese business on market entry in Ghana and Senegal. *Africa*, Vol. 83, 646-669 (online).

Marková, I. (2007). Social representations and identity. Moloney, G. & Walker, L., (Eds.) *Social identities and social representations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 215-236.

Mason, R. (2017) China's impact on the landscape of African International Relations: implications for dependency theory. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 84-96 (online).

Mbembe, A. (2020) Afropolitanism. *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art 2020*, Vol. 46, 56-61.

Mbembe, A. and Sarr, F. (2017). *Ecrire l'Afrique-monde*. Dakar: Philippe Rey/Jimsaan.

Mbembe, A., & Balakrishnan, S. (2016) Pan-African legacies, afropolitan futures. *Transition: An International Review*, Vol.120, 28-37 (online).

McGrath, C., Palmgren, P. J., & Liljedahl, M. (2019). Twelve tips for conducting qualitative research interviews. *Medical teacher*, Vol. 41, No. 9, 1002-1006 (online).

McLaughlin, F. (2001) Dakar Wolof and the configuration of an urban identity. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 14, No.2, 153-172.

McLaughlin, F. (2008) Senegal: The emergence of a national lingua franca. *Language and national identity in Africa*, 79-97.

McQuail, D. (2003) *Media accountability and freedom of publication*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Miller, B. (2019) *Antropologia Culturale* (Second Edition). Milano: Pearson Italia.

Miniesy, R. S., & Adams, J. D. (2016) Local employment additionality impacts of Chinese overseas foreign direct investment in selected African economies. *Local Economy*, Vol. 31, No. 6, 665-689 (online).

Mishler, E. G. (1991). Representing discourse: The rhetoric of transcription. *Journal of narrative and life history*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 255-280 (online).

Misuraca, M., Forciniti, A., Scepi, G., & Spano, M. (2020) Sentiment Analysis for Education with R: packages, methods and practical applications. *arXiv, abs2005.12840* (online).

Mlambo, C., Kushamba, A., & Simawu, M. B. (2016) China-Africa relations: What lies beneath? *The Chinese Economy*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 257-276 (online).

Musante, K., & DeWalt, B. R. (2010) *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Muyingi, M. A. (2015) African Traditional Religion: A New Struggle for African Identity. *Asia Journal of Theology*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 88-98 (online).

Naida, M. (2016) *Senegal's language problem: A discourse of disparity* (Honors Thesis, First Advisor: Hasting, L.). Michigan: Western Michigan University.

Naldi, M. (2019) A review of sentiment computation methods with R packages. *arXiv, abs: 1901.08319* (online).

Nassanga, G., & Makara, S. (2014) Perceptions of Chinese presence in Case study of Uganda. Paper presented at the *International conference China and Africa Media, Communications and Public Diplomacy,* September 10-11, 2014, Beijing, 1-14 (online).

Natow, R. S. (2020) The use of triangulation in qualitative studies employing elite interviews. *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 160-173 (online). Ndao, P. A. (2002) Le français au Sénégal: une approche polynomique. *SudLangues. Revue électronique internationale de Sciences du langage*, Vol. 1, 51-64 (online).

N'Diaye, D. B. (1990) Tradition and cultural identity in Senegal. *Festival of American Folklife Program Book 1990*, 38-47.

Ndiaye, E. M. (2010) *L'économie sénégalaise: enjeux et problématiques*. Dakar: l'Harmattan.

Ngom, F. (1999) A sociolinguistic profile of the Senegalese speech community. *Studies in linguistic sciences*, Vol 29, No. 1, 131-146 (online).

Ngugi, M. W. (2018) *The Rise of the African Novel: Politics of Language, Identity, and Ownership*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Nguyen, H. L., & Jung, J. E. (2017) Statistical approach for figurative sentiment analysis on social networking services: a case study on twitter. *Multimedia Tools and Applications*, Vol. 76, No. 6, 8901-8914 (online).

Niang Camara, F. B. (2014) Dynamique des langues locales et de la langue française au Sénégal en 1988 et 2002. Paper presented at XVIIe colloque international de l'AIDELF sur Démographie et politiques sociales, Ouagadougou, novembre 2012, 1-24.

Nimbona, G. & Steien, G. B. (2019) Modes monolingues dans des écologies multilingues: les études phonologiques des Français africains. *Langue française*, No. 2, 43-59 (online).

Ochs, E. (1979). Planned and unplanned discourse. Givon, T. (Ed.)*, Discourse and syntax*, Leiden: Brill, 51-80.

Olson, J. (1996) *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*. London: Greenwood Press.

Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, O. I. (2019) Présentation de l'édition 2019 de La langue française dans le monde. https://www.auf.org/nouvelles/actualites/presentation-de-ledition-2019-de-la-langue-francaise-dans-le-monde.

Padmaja, S., Fatima, S. S., & Bandu, S. (2014) Evaluating sentiment analysis methods and identifying scope of negation in newspaper articles. *Int. J. Adv. Res. Artif. Intell*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (online).

Poggensee, A. (2016) The effects of globalization on English language learning: Perspectives from Senegal and the United States, (Honours Thesis, First Advisor: Hyter, Y.) *Oxford Applied Linguistics: Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Power, M. and Mohan, G. (2010) Towards a critical geopolitics of China's engagement with African development. *Geopolitics,* Vol. 15, No. 3, 462-495 (online).

Qu, S.Q., Dumay, J. (2011). The qualitative research interview. *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 238-264 (online).

Rabine, L. W. (2014) "These Walls Belong to Everybody" The Graffiti Art Movement in Dakar. *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 89-112 (online).

Raina, P. (2013) Sentiment analysis in news articles using sentic computing. Paper presented at the *2013 IEEE 13th International Conference on Data Mining Workshops*, December 7-10, 2013, 959-962.

Rao, Y., Lei, J., Wenyin, L., Li, Q., & Chen, M. (2014) Building emotional dictionary for sentiment analysis of online news. *World Wide Web*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 723-742 (online).

Rebol, M. (2010) Public perceptions and reactions: Gauging African views of China in Africa. *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 4, 149-186.

Remotti, F. (2001) *Contro l'identità*. Bari: Editori Laterza.

Riccio, B. (2005) Talkin'about migration-some ethnographic notes on the ambivalent representation of migrants in contemporary Senegal. *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, Vol. 8, No. 5, 99-118 (online).

Rich, T. S., & Recker, S. (2013). Understanding Sino-African relations: neocolonialism or a new era?. *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 61-76.

Roth-Gordon, J., & Woronov, T. E. (2009) Youthful concerns: Movement, belonging and modernity. *Pragmatics*, Vol. 19, No.1, 129-143 (online).

Sall, O. (2016) Chinese Soft Power in Africa: Case of Senegal. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 133-142 (online).

Samuel, J., Ali, G. G., Rahman, M., Esawi, E., & Samuel, Y. (2020) Covid-19 public sentiment insights and machine learning for tweets classification. *Information*, Vol. 6, 1-21 (online).

Sang, A. (2012) The Interaction of Wolof and French in Dakarois Families: A Specific Look at Ouakam Households. *Indipendent Study Project (ISP) Collection*, No. 1257, 1-23 (online).

Sapir, E. (1921) *Language: an introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc.

Sapir, E. (1993) Language. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan, 155-169.

Sarmento, C. (2014). Interculturalism, multiculturalism, and intercultural studies: Questioning definitions and repositioning strategies. *Intercultural Pragmatics,* Vol. 11, No. 4, 603–618 (online).

Sarr, F. (2018) *Afrotopia.* Roma: Edizioni dell'Asino.

Sarr, I. (2014) Language Imperialism and the Fate of Minority Languages: Indoctrination through the So-Called Wolofisation of the Senegalese Society. *Journal of Foreign Languages, Cultures and Civilisations*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 93-104 (online).

Scheld, S. (2007) Youth cosmopolitanism: clothing, the city and globalization in Dakar, Senegal. *City & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 232-253.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D. (1999) *Essential ethnographic methods: Observations, interviews, and questionnaires*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Schiavone, C. (2007) Plurilinguismo e francofonia in Senegal: contatto, interferenza e mediazione linguistico–culturale nello spazio francofono. *Interfrancophonies,* No. 2, 1-37 (online).

Schiavone, C. (2018). Slogans de la société civile, diaspora, médias sénégalais: la langue comme miroir d'une identité nationale en affirmation par le bas. Floquet, O. (Ed.) *Aspects linguistiques et sociolinguistiques des Français africains*, Roma: Sapienza Unicersità Editrice, 21-33.

Schleef, E. (2013) Written surveys and questionnaires in sociolinguistics. *Holmes, J. & Hazen, K. (Eds.) Research methods in sociolinguistics*, New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 42-57.

Schmidt di Fridberg, O. (2001) La confraternita muride in Senegal: Un'alternativa allo Stato?. Fasana, E. (Ed.) *Quaderni storici 2: le confraternite cristiane e musulmane*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 219-240.

Schultz, E. A. & Lavenda, R. H. (2012) *Anthropology: what does it mean to be human?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Seck, A. and Kaag, M. (2015) *État, sociétés et islam au Sénégal: un air de nouveau temps ?* Paris: Karthala.

Semin, J. (2009) L'ethnologue dans les réseaux économiques des femmes migrantes: modes de présence simultanée entre la France et l'Afrique. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 101-113 (online).

Senghor, L. S. (1966) Negritude: A humanism of the twentieth century. *Grinker, R. R. & Steiner, C. B. (Eds.) Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history and representation*, 629-636.

Shinn, D. H., & Eisenman, J. (2012) *China and Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Simpson, A. (2008) *Language and national identity in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Spariosu, M. (2006) *Remapping knowledge: Intercultural studies for a global age*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Spradley, J. P. (2016) *Participant observation*. Long Grove IL: Waveland Press.

Stamm, E. (2006) *L'engagement de la Chine au Sénégal: Bilan et perspectives, un an après la reprise des relations diplomatiques*. Dakar: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Statista (2021) Senegal Country report. https://www.statista.com/study/48481/senegal/

Swigart, L. (1994) Cultural creolisation and language use in post-colonial Africa: The case of Senegal. *Africa*, Vol. 64, No.2, 175-189.

Swigart, L. (2000) The limits of legitimacy: Language ideology and shift in contemporary Senegal. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 90-130.

Taj, S., Shaikh, B. B., & Meghji, A. F. (2019) Sentiment analysis of news articles: A lexicon-based approach. Paper presented at the *2019 2nd International Conference on Computing, Mathematics and Engineering Technologies (iCoMET),* 1-5.

Tang, D., Qin, B., & Liu, T. (2015) Deep learning for sentiment analysis: successful approaches and future challenges. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Data Mining and Knowledge Discovery*, Vol. 5, No. 6, 292-303.

Tessier, S. (2012) From field notes, to transcripts, to tape recordings: Evolution or combination? *International journal of qualitative methods*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 446-460.

Thiam, O. (2020) Français et Multilinguisme au Sénégal: dynamiques sociales et scolaires. *CollectionFLE/FLA*, No. 1, 155-167.

Thiong'o, N. W. (2015) *Decolonizzare la mente: la politica della lingua nella letteratura africana.* Milano: Editoriale Jaka Book.

Turchetta, B. (2000) *La ricerca di campo in linguistica: metodi e tecniche d'indagine.* Roma: Carocci Editore.

Turchetta, B. (2019) Silenzio e parola in Africa nera: aspetti culturali e simbolici. *Quaderni di semantica: rivista internazionale di semantica teorica e applicata*, No. 5, 31-48.

Usman, S. M., & Lyu, Z. (2021) Sino-Africa relations: Gradual changes in Chinese foreign strategy towards African countries. *Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal (LASSIJ)*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 154-167 (online).

Valdivia, A., Luzón, M. V., & Herrera, F. (2017) Sentiment analysis in tripadvisor. *IEEE Intelligent Systems*, Vol. 32, No.4, 72-77.

Venkateswaran, L. (2020) China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa. *Observer Research Foundation Brief*, No. 395, 1-11 (online).

Versluys, E. (2008) Multilingualism and the city: the construction of urban identities in Dakar (Senegal). *City & Society*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 282-300.

Versluys, E. (2010) *Langues et identités au Sénégal*. Dakar: l'Harmattan.

Vertovec, S. (2010) Towards post‑multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International social science journal*, Vol. 61, No. 199, 83-95 (online).

Vieira, V. C. C. (2019) From Third World Theory to Belt and Road Initiative: International Aid as a Chinese Foreign Policy Tool. *Contexto Internacional*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 529-551.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (1986) *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: James Currey.

Wang, C., & Flam, D. (2007, June) Bridging the gap: Experiences and attitudes in Sino-African relations. *China Rights Forum*, Vol. 2, 196-208 (online).

Wasserman, H. (2012) China in South Africa: Media responses to a developing relationship. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 336-354 (online).

Wolfram, W. (1991) The linguistic variable: Fact and fantasy. *American Speech*, Vol. 66, No. 1, 22-32 (online).

Wright, H. K. (2002) Notes on the (Im)Possibility of Articulating Continental African Identity. *Critical Arts: A South-North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies*. Vol. 16, No. 2, 1-18 (online).

Xiaowei Zhou, V., & Pilcher, N. (2019) Revisiting the 'third space'in language and intercultural studies. *Language and Intercultural Communication,* Vol. 19, No. 1, 1-8 (online).

Yafooz, W. M., Abidin, S. Z., Omar, N., & Halim, R. A. (2013) Dynamic semantic textual document clustering using frequent terms and named entity. Paper presented at the *2013 IEEE 3rd International Conference on System Engineering and Technology*, August, 2013, 336-340.

Yu, G. T. (1968) Dragon in the bush: Peking's presence in Africa. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 8, No. 12, 1018-1026 (online).

Yu, G. T. (1977) China's role in Africa. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 432, No.1, 96-109.

Zehe, A., Becker, M., Hettinger, L., Hotho, A., Reger, I., & Jannidis, F. (2016) Prediction of happy endings in German novels based on sentiment information. Paper presented at the *3rd Workshop on Interactions between Data Mining and Natural Language Processing,*. 9-16.

苏长和. (2014) 和平共处五项原则与中国国际法理论体系的思索. 世界经济与政治, No. *6*, E14, 4-22.

APPENDIX I

Informations personnelles

1. **Sexe**

   ☐Femme

   ☐Homme

   ☐Autre

2. **Âge**

   ☐18-24

   ☐25-34

   ☐35-44

   ☐45-54

   ☐55 ans et plus

3. **Quelle est votre nationalité?** _____

4. **Où habitez-vous?** _____

5. **Quelle est votre origine ethnique ?**

   ☐Bambara

   ☐Diola

   ☐Mandingues

   ☐Pulaar

   ☐Sereer

   ☐Soninké

   ☐Wolof

   ☐Other _____

6. **Quelle est l'origine ethnique de votre**

Père _____

Mère _____

7. Quel est votre niveau d'étude ?

☐ Aucun

☐ École primaire (pas achevé)

☐ École primaire (achevé)

☐ École secondaire (pas achevé)

☐ École secondaire (achevé)

☐ École supérieur (pas achevé)

☐ École supérieur (achevé)

☐ Universités (pas achevé)

☐ Diplôme d'études supérieures

8. Quelle est votre activité professionnelle ?

☐ Étudiant

☐ Sans emploi

☐ Femme au foyer/homme au foyer

☐ Employé (Secteur Privé)

☐ Travailler Indépendant

☐ Emploi non déclaré

☐ Employé (Secteur public)

☐ Retraité

☐ Autre (veuillez préciser) : _____

9. Quelle (s) langue (s) parlez-vous à la maison ? À quelle fréquence?

	Jamais	rarement	parfois	souvent	Toujours
Arabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Français	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Malinke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Portugais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pulaar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sereer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Soninké	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wolof	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Autre langues (préciser): _____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Quelle (s) langue (s) parlez-vous dans votre quartier ? À quelle fréquence ?

	Jamais	rarement	parfois	souvent	toujours
Arabe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diola	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Anglais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Français	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Malinke	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Portugais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pulaar	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sereer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Soninké	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wolof	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Autre langues (préciser):	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

_____

11. Pratiquez-vous une religion ?

☐Oui

☐Non

12. Si oui, laquelle ?

☐Animiste

☐Bouddhiste
☐Chrétien Orthodoxe

☐Chrétien Protestant

☐Chrétien Catholique

☐Hindou

☐Juif
☐Musulman
☐Autres (veuillez préciser) : _____

Contacts sociaux et dynamique des langues

a) Interagissez-vous avec des personnes chinoises au quotidien ?

☐Jamais

☐Rarement

☐Parfois

☐Souvent

☐Tous les jours

b) Quels types d'interactions avez-vous avec ces personnes dans votre pays ?

☐Je travaille avec des Chinois

☐Je travaille pour les Chinois

☐Je vais dans les magasins / restaurants chinois

☐J'ai des amis chinois

☐J'ai des voisins chinois

☐Je n'ai aucune interaction avec les Chinois

☐ Autres (veuillez préciser) : _____

c) Combien de personnes de nationalité chinoise connaissez-vous dans votre entourage proche ?

☐Aucun

☐1

☐2-5

☐5-10

☐Plus que 10

d) Quelle (s) langue (s) parlez-vous lorsque vous communiquez avec des Chinois?

	Jamais	Rarement	Parfois	Souvent	Tous les jours
Anglais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Français	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wolof	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Autre langues (préciser):					

e) Dans quelle mesure vous:

	Pas du tout	Un peu	Suffisamment bien	bien	très bien
a) Comprenez le chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b) Parlez chinois ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

c) Lisez le chinois ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

d) Vous écrivez chinois ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

f) Connaissez-vous la culture chinoise ?

☐ Pas du tout

☐ Un peu

☐ Suffisamment bien

☐ Bien

☐ Très bien

g) Quels mots vous viennent à l'esprit lorsque vous pensez au peuple / à la culture chinoise ?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

h) Selon vous, quelle sorte de contribution les Chinois apportent au pays ?

_____

_____

_____

_____

i) La communauté chinoise est-elle intégrée à la population sénégalaise selon vous ?

☐ Pas du tout

☐ Très peu

☐Assez

☐Dans une large mesure

j) Comment nommez-vous les Chinois dans votre langue ?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

I)   Comment considérez-vous ce/ces mot/s (ci-dessus) ?

☐Très positif

☐Plutôt positif

☐Positif

☐Neutre

☐Négatif

☐Plutôt négatif

☐Très négatif

Attentes d'acculturation

	Fortement en désaccord	En désaccord	Pas certain/ neutre	En accord	Fortement en accord
Le peuple chinois doit maintenir les traditions culturelles chinoises et ne pas s'adapter aux traditions sénégalaises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il n'est pas important pour les Chinois de parler couramment en chinois ou en langue française	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Il n'est pas important pour les Chinois de parler couramment en chinois ou en langue Wolof	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois devraient s'engager dans des activités sociales impliquant uniquement des Chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois doivent parler couramment le français et le chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois doivent parler couramment le wolof et le chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois devraient s'engager dans des activités sociales impliquant uniquement des Sénégalais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il n'est pas important pour les Chinois de maintenir les traditions culturelles chinoises ou d'adopter celles des Sénégalais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important que les Chinois parlent couramment le chinois que le français	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important que les Chinois parlent couramment le chinois que les langues wolof	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Les Chinois devrait maintenir les traditions culturelles chinoises mais adopter également les traditions sénégalaises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Le peuple chinois devrait adopter les traditions culturelles sénégalaises et ne pas conserver celles chinoises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois ne devraient avoir que des fréquentations sénégalaises	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important que les Chinois parlent couramment le français que le chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important que les Chinois parlent couramment le wolof que le chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je ne souhaite pas avoir d'amis sénégalais ou chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois ne devraient avoir que des amis chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois devraient s'engager dans des activités sociales impliquant à la fois les Sénégalais et les Chinois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les Chinois devraient avoir des amis chinois et sénégalais	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Attitudes envers les groupes ethnoculturels

J'aimerais maintenant connaître vos ressentis à l'égard de ces différentes populations. Sur une échelle de 0 à 10, 0 étant très défavorable et 10 étant très favorable, pourriez-vous décrire votre position ? Les groupes sociaux que j'aimerais que vous notiez sont des personnes d'origines ethnoculturelles diverses, qui vivent maintenant au Sénégal.
Veuillez fournir un nombre entre 0 et 10 pour indiquer votre attitude envers :

- Les Sénégalais   _____

- Les Français   _____

- Les Portugais   _____

- Les Chinois   _____

- Les Libanais   _____

Conséquences perçues de l'immigration chinoise

Veuillez indiquer dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou pas d'accord avec chacune des affirmations suivantes, en utilisant l'échelle de 5 points suivante, où 1 signifie « totalement en désaccord » et 5 signifie « totalement d'accord ».

1. La présence de la communauté chinoise n'est pas un atout pour l'apprentissage culturel des enfants sénégalais et pour leurs expériences personnelles.	1	2	3	4	5
2. La présence chinoise enrichit le contexte culturel sénégalais.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Avec plus d'immigration chinoise, les Sénégalais perdraient leur identité.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Les immigrants chinois contribuent à créer une meilleure société sénégalaise.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Les immigrants chinois prennent des emplois d'autres Sénégalais.	1	2	3	4	5
6. La présence d'immigrants chinois n'entraînera pas de baisse de salaire.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Notre pays ne s'effondre pas à cause de la diversité des groupes ethnoculturels.	1	2	3	4	5

8. La culture sénégalaise n'est pas affectée par les immigrants chinois.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Si davantage d'immigrants chinois venaient au Sénégal, il y aurait plus de possibilités d'emploi.	1	2	3	4	5

Compléter les phrases suivantes

La présence chinoise au Sénégal est

_____

La présence française au Sénégal est

_____

APPENDIX II

Semi-structured Interview (Chinese people)

a. Pouvez-vous vous présenter?

b. Savez-vous qu'il existe une communauté de Chinois au Sénégal ?

c. Si oui, comment avez-vous appris cela ?

d. Comment percevez-vous la présence croissante de population chinoise au Sénégal ?

e. Pourriez-vous expliquer votre réponse ?

f. Pensez-vous que les entreprises chinoises soient un atout pour l'économie sénégalaise ?

g. Pensez-vous que les entrepreneurs sénégalais sont lésés par les commerçants chinois ?

h. Comment décririez-vous la culture française ?

i. Comment décririez-vous la culture chinoise ?

j. En trois mots, pourriez-vous décrire la singularité / particularité de la culture sénégalaise ?

k. Selon vous, quel impact la présence française a-t-elle eu sur la société et la culture sénégalaises ?

l. Pensez-vous que la communauté chinoise soit bien intégrée à la société sénégalaise ?

m. En quoi trouvez-vous les cultures chinoise et sénégalaise différentes ? Sont-elles incompatibles selon vous ?

n. Pensez-vous que ces communautés ont des points communs ?

o. D'après votre expérience, est-il difficile de communiquer avec ces populations chinoises ?

p. Quelle (s) langue (s) utilisez-vous lorsque vous communiquez avec des personnes de nationalité chinoise ?

APPENDIX III

Semi-structured Interview (Chinese people)

a. 请你自我介绍一下自己，好吗？年龄、国际，名族，教育水平，职业等等

b. 你是哪儿的人?

c. 你是什么时候来到塞内加尔?

d. 为什么你决定搬到塞内尔伽_ 你住在塞内加尔的哪一个城市?

e. 移徙过程怎么样? 请描述你的移民经验。

f. 你有孩子吗?

g. 他们出生在塞内尔伽还是中国?他们去塞内尔伽的学校吗?

h. 你会说多少语言? 那些?

i. 你认为生活在塞内尔伽跟生活在你国家一样不一样?

j. 为什么一样/不一样?

k. 你能描述一下你在塞内加尔通常的一天吗?

l. 你和塞内加尔人工作还是和中国人工作?

m. 你认识塞内加尔文化吗? 怎么会描述它?

n. 想到塞内加尔人民/文化时，您会想到哪些词？

o. 说出三个字来描述中国文化。

p. 在家你用哪一个语言来讲话?

q. 您在您的社区用哪一个语言来讲话？

r. 和塞内加人沟通时，你用哪一个语言?

s. 对你来说，和塞内加人沟通容易不容易?

t. 你有塞内加朋友吗?

u. 你认为中国人应该保持他们自己的传统还是应该瑞乡随俗吗?

v. 你通常参加包括塞内加尔人的社会活动吗?

w. 在塞内尔伽你有家感觉吗?

x. 你有没有因为你的种族出身而受到某种歧视?

y. 你能完成下面的句子吗?

z. 塞内加尔人很……