

ISLAM, SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES AND LEADERSHIP IN SENEGAL: BETWEEN REPRESENTATIONS AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE

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Résumé

Ce texte explore l'influence sociale de l'Islam et des valeurs socioculturelles sur le leadership à travers une définition positive de l'influence relationnelle qui reflète l'essence du leadership telle que pensée et perçue par les musulmans sénégalais. Il montre, comment, à travers la récurrence des références à certaines valeurs incarnées non pas par les hommes politiques mais par certaines figures historiques et actuelles du champ religieux sénégalais, la religion structure les représentations que les sénégalais se font du leader. Ainsi, apparaît-il, que ces valeurs socioreligieuses à partir desquelles sont évalués les hommes politiques sont se conjuguent avec le modèle anthropologique du nit ku baax (un homme bon) qui est une compilation, sinon un condensé de valeurs, en particulier celles qui définissent le profil de l'homme pieux, honnête, sobre, digne, respectueux de sa parole et qui semble être la caractérisation du prototype parfait du leader. Sous ce rapport, la recherche révèle l'instrumentalisation des origines sociales ainsi que les stratégies de dénigrement en cours dans l'arène politique et dont la principale finalité est de détruire l'image positive que les sénégalais peuvent avoir sur un leader politique. L'article pointe aussi l'émergence d'un nouveau style de leadership citoyen prôné par les jeunes qui revendiquent l'avènement d'un « Nouveau type de sénégalais » dont le profil est largement déterminé par le modèle anthropologique défini ci-dessus.

Mots clés : Leadership, Leadership religieux, Valeurs socioreligieuses, Leadership authentique, Représentation du leadership, Mouvements citoyens

Abstract

This text explores the social influence of Islam and sociocultural values on leadership through a positive definition of relational influence that reflects the essence of leadership as thought and perceived by Senegalese Muslims. It shows how, through the recurrence of references to certain values embodied not by politicians but by certain historical and current figures of the Senegalese religious field, religion structures the representations that Senegalese make of the leader. Thus, it appears that these socio-religious values on the basis of which politicians are evaluated are combined with the anthropological model of the nit ku baax (a good man) which is a compilation, if not a condensation of values, in particular those that define the profile of the pious, honest, sober, dignified man, respectful of his word and which seems to be the characterization of the perfect prototype of the leader. In this regard, the research reveals the instrumentalization of social origins as well as the strategies of denigration underway in the political arena and whose main purpose is to destroy the positive image that Senegalese may have of a political leader. The article also points to the emergence of a new style of civic leadership advocated by young

people who claim the advent of a "New Type of Senegalese" whose profile is largely determined by the anthropological model defined above.

Key words: *Leadership, Religious Leadership, Socioreligious values, Authentic leadership, Leadership Representation, Civic movements*

Introduction

The incarnation of power, of an authority, an influence over others is reflected differently. If in anglo-saxon countries and in Europe, it means leadership, in Africa, the term chieftdom was often used to reflect this reality. But the term mostly used to describe this influential relationship is leadership that one could conceive as the ability of a person to influence and unite a group, to achieve a common goal, in a relationship of mutual trust. But what is a Senegalese people perception of leadership? Is it simply the exercise of influence over another one? Is leadership associated with politicians, businessmen, men of culture or religious people?

In the reflection that follows, we will focus on a Senegalese meaning of leadership that is associated with the position of a leader who embodies socioreligious values that make people trust him wholeheartedly because he is seen as fair, respectful sober and humble. Our bet is to say that if leadership refers to the ability of an individual to attract the voluntary participation and a high commitment of individuals, it can only be conceived as part of a cultural, ideological and identity related context. Through the study of emblematic figures of the senegalese society, we have tried to identify what were the values incarnated by this person and which made them an undisputed leader, the social cement of the senegalese society to take back E. Durkheim. Leadership refers then implicitly to the allocation process, the positive identification mechanisms or even projections, conducted by individuals towards other people¹ because they focus on a set of structuring values that Avolio² and Gardner, refers to as genuine

¹ Pelletier G., « Les formes du leadership », in *Les organisations. États des savoirs*, éd. Sciences humaines, 2002, p. 164.

² Avolio B. J., Gardner W. L., « Authentic leadership development: Getting to the root of positive forms of leadership », in *The Leadership Quarterly*, 16, Gallup Leadership Institute, College of Business Administration, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, NE, United State, 2004, pp. 315-338.

leadership. First of all, the issue is to question some areas particularly the social, cultural and religious genesis of the Senegalese society; second, we will make a socio-anthropological exploration of senegalese representations on some structuring values of leadership and finally, we'll point out the emergence of new types of leadership that emerge.

The legacy and impact of Marabouts' movements on leadership

Enjoying an outstanding geographical location with its opening on the Atlantic Ocean, Senegal played very early on a role of hub in the various exchanges between Europe, Africa and America. Until 1960, the French West Africa (A.O.F.) had as capital city Dakar, and the Senegal River, located in the north of the country has been a privileged contact area with several parts of Africa and the world. These contacts established very early with the outside, explain, to some extent, the openness of Senegalese whose socio-cultural values derived from three cultural registers.

Briefly, we have herewith, the sources that shape and frame the production and development of systems of values, ethics and attitudes: the traditional cultural depths, the religion which is expressed mainly through Islam, Christianity, animism and western-style modernity based on the republic and democracy and the industrial type market economy³. Of these three sources, Islam is by far the source which had the most decisive and determinant influence on the ways Senegalese act and do things. Being muslim at 95%, Senegalese mostly belong to religious brotherhoods that are real social regulators; 49% belong to the tijane brotherhood, 35% are mouride, the khadiriya brotherhood gathers 7% of the population and that of the layenne represents 5%. But the analysis of the evolution of the country shows that Senegal has achieved a high level of conciliation and integration of influences received from Islam, Christianity and traditional religions. Therefore, is it possible to notice that it exists between the original Islam and the Islam which is divided into brotherhood, an appropriation of Islam by the Senegalese and an inculturation of this religion by the values of traditional culture that was not inconsistent with it, especially that of

³ Report on the National Conference, 2011, p. 50.

pluralism. Indeed, Islam has produced and secreted literate people, leaders who were able to achieve and maintain the social equilibrium of the country. Today, this intangible heritage made these religious leaders' references who have profoundly shaped the evolution of Senegal and its people and this for centuries.

Unlike the empires of Mali and Songhai where Islam was first for a long time the case of the royal courts in Senegal, we have witnessed a very early Islam that arose from the people, in the sense that, it is in the Fouta-toro, considered as the cradle of senegalese Islam where we first witnessed the clash between the state apparatus controlled by the deniankés and the indigenous muslim groups. Until the sixteenth century, the Fouta-Toro was dominated by the Songhai Empire of Koly Tenguela who had established a centralized and despotic regime which subjected the muslim minorities composed of *torobe*⁴ to a variety of violations; those latter got organized, declared the holy war that was for them a moral and religious obligation. This uprising has been well translated by Delafosse in the following terms:

a muslim party called Torobe was formed ... including in general Muslims, who knew how to exploit the hatred that foreign conquerors raised against themselves. The Torobe began to preach resistance against the Déniankés. The marabout Souleymane Ball fomented a revolt that ended foreign domination. It was the victory of the Toucouleur party over the Fulani party at the same time that of the Muslim element on the pagan element.

Placed in its historical context, the *torobe* revolution is one of the biggest events of that time because it was terminating a type of economic and political domination but also a religious one. This opposition found its concrete manifestation by the action of some marabouts such as El Hadj Omar in the Fouta or further in the southern part, Samori Toure the famous leader of the dioula revolution or even Maba Diakhou Bâ who represented a strong leadership, because he recognized Europeans no law that could allow them to intervene in the kingdoms of Senegal and it was in the name of religion that he intended to oppose.

⁴ An ethnic group of the senegalese society very early characterized by strict Islamic orthodoxy.

Convergence between religious leadership and current representations of leadership

Through these few examples cited above, we found that Islam was not a superficial religion without much impact on the mental, political and social structures. The success of these maraboutic movement does not only result from the dynamism of muslim guides, but the convergence between Islam as a revolutionary ideology and the "old" tradition of an African democracy which main strength lies in the mistrust of the power. Starting from the idea that any power is dangerous and that its expansion should be contained and its omnipotence be limited, the political philosophy of Senegalese traditional societies find in Islam, not only a breakthrough, but a continuity in the sense that the Islamic Sufism joins it in its desire to move away from politics in order to rebuild the spirit, the ethics, in short, a spiritual elevation. If one assumes that African societies are generally societies divided into orders according to a strict hierarchy with nobles, freemen, craftsmen and slaves, we can think that these features permanently setting these societies up to control of a center to which nothing escapes.

The finding reveals the opposite because being aware of the perverse effects of any absolute power, traditional African societies have often prevented the leader to "play the chief"⁵ and made every effort so that absolute power does not appear. Moreover, it is in that impossibility to control the pagan prince that these societies took the path of the Islamic revolution. We can emphasize this constant concern to limit the power in Wolof country so as to bring it to provide authentic leadership, also at the ceremonial inauguration, the chief pledge to act in accordance with the tradition and to work for prosperity. In the Waalo⁶, for instance, the notable's spokesman warned the *Brak*, the king of Waalo who had just been elected, telling him that: "If you do not deviated from the normal path towards your subjects,

⁵ Ch. Coulon, *Les musulmans et le pouvoir en Afrique noire*, Paris, Karthala, 1983, pp.14-16

⁶ Waalo was a kingdom on the lower Senegal river in West Africa, in what are now Senegal and Mauritania, it included parts of the valley proper and areas north and south, extending to the Atlantic Ocean. To the north were Moorish emirates; to the south was the kingdom of Cayor to the east Jolof.

you will give us all your life. If you act against the grain, you will attract the odds of your voters and necessarily the hatred of your people". Indeed, the power is limited, shared and decentralized, because there is a whole body of dignitaries representing the various communities and their specific interests. Ch. A. Diop wrote about this:

"Nationals of all castes including slaves, are closely associated with power as actual ministers, and this is leading to institutional monarchies governed by councils of ministers including all the authentic representatives of the people".

This mistrust can be found even in popular wisdom that reminds the king for his duties towards people: the famous adage: *Buur du mbokk* or "a king is not a parent." By analogy, we can recall that in Islam, from the moment the individual joins the profession of faith, he dismisses and removes any dependence or allegiance to another person. Therefore, Islam has no clergy and the head being a guide, the obedience people vow him must necessarily be conditioned by his respect for Islamic principles that crossmatch certain traditional values listed above. Sulaymane Baal⁷ of the Fouta inspiring from Islam, knew how to symbolize an authentic leadership that still inspires many Senegalese.

He also said:

"I recommend you to follow the following guidelines to elect a guide

- Choose a wise, pious and honest man, that does not monopolise the riches of this world for his own benefit or that of his children;
- unseat any Imam whose wealth is grow and confiscate all his property;
- Ensure that the Imamate is not transformed into a hereditary monarchy where only son inherit from their fathers;
- Fight him and expel him if he persists;
- The Imam can be selected in any tribe;
- Always choose a wise and hardworking man;
- Never limit the choice to a single and same tribe;
- Always base yourself on the criterion of ability"⁸.

⁷ Thierno Suleyman Baal : he was the Imam who led the second jihad of the eighteenth century which took place in Futa toro. This jihad was waged by muslims scholars of various social origin and called themselves *torodbe* to chase Moors and Denyakobe out of futa from 1760 to 1770

⁸ Ch. Coulon, *Op. cit*, p. 37.

Today, in Senegal, the references to these historic leaders of Islam are recurrent.

Meaning and significance of leadership in Senegal: some structuring values

According to Kluckhohn and Schwartz⁹, values correspond to what is desirable in the abstract and serve as a guiding principle in the individual's life. In this same perspective, Rokeach¹⁰ specifies that it is a "lasting belief that a specific mode of conduct or goal of existence is personally and socially preferable to other conducts or goals. We can then retain that a value corresponds to a belief that allows the individual to arbitrate between two choices, in other words it functions as a standard that allows one to choose between "what is good" and "what is bad". So when we ask individuals about the representations they have of a leader, it's undoubtedly accepted that the leader must be a man shaped with values whose decisions always transcend personal interests and motivations. As if his actions and behavior must always be consistent with his beliefs; justice, selflessness and honesty are the intangible values on which he establishes his daily lifestyle. Thus, having a very high sense of his commitments vis-à-vis his values and his peers, he must, as emphasized by D. Messick¹¹, maintain his belief, his moral rectitude and his objectivity in all places and circumstances.

Also in this respect, he must not be afraid to expose his ideas and indicate new directions even going against what is commonly accepted and done. Recent history tells us two religious' leaders, in this case, Serigne Abdou Aziz Sy Dabakh¹², the third caliph of Senegal tidjane muslim brotherhood from 1957-1997 or Serigne Saliou Mbacke, the fifth mouride caliph who had a great aura in Senegalese community. The first did not hesitate to tell his disciples, "If you see me doing things that do not go hand in hand with what I tell and advise you,

⁹ S. H. Schwartz, « Les valeurs de base de la personne : théorie, mesures et applications », in *Revue française de sociologie*, 47(4), 929, 2006.

¹⁰ M. Rokeach (1968), "A Theory of Organization and Change Within Value-Attitude Systems", in *Journal of social issues*, Vol 24, pp. 13-33

¹¹ D. Messick, "Ethical Judgment and Moral Leadership", In Deborah L. Rhodes. Ed. *Moral Leadership: The Theory and Practice of Power, Judgment and Policy*, San Fransisco, John Wiley& Sons, Inc, 2010, 317-333

¹² The term Dabakh is a nickname which can be translated as goodness. On several occasions, he had distinguished himself through initiatives that avoided the chaos in the country.

please call me to order or I will never forgive you, and if necessary, separate yourself from me". This type of leader which all Senegalese talk about is undoubtedly the one that inspires confidence, the one who considers himself as the servant of his fellows, who forgets himself, and keep nothing to himself and therefore does not hesitate to give everything.

Senegalese people identify themselves strongly with these religious leaders particularly Abdoul Aziz Sy who was almost the only guide to bring the Senegalese to their senses during times of school, political or trade union crisis. He did not hesitate to summon all Senegalese generally in a mosque to deliver his messages. These messages were so impersonal that everyone found himself and he managed well to reconcile the most tense and most radical positions both between political opponents, pupils, students and their supervising ministry and between union representations and their employers. In view of its elements, it seems that Senegalese no longer identify themselves to politicians who are discredited and are most of the time assessed in terms of their propensity to keep their word, to be honest and selfless. It appears that the Senegalese are looking primarily for among the leader is first his capacity to assume the consequences of the decisions they take and the guidelines they give. This high sense of responsibility of the leader predisposes individuals to adhere more easily to the guidelines given to them because they have the certainty of having a leader who does not abdicate. Then, there is the leader's ability to comply with a "moral code" that governs organizational and personal behaviors and makes them predictable; indeed "the one who is responsible is the one who complies with the principles by which he intends to define his conduct, particularly when confronted with conflicting desires or pressure." Finally, the responsible leader must be able to define and share a sense of values and a common purpose and take responsibility in the sense that he is the depositary of those latter. P. Selznick speak in this sense of the contribution of the leader to the process leading to institutionalization, while C. Barnard, beyond the creation of a shared vision and a common moral code, the leader embodies them, as he applies them to himself as personal course of action.

This perception of the leader lead, in the wolof society, to the fact that the leader sees himself to the respect certain component moral

values of the anthropological model of *nit ku baax* (good man) which implies *nit ku am jom* (sense of honor) *nit ku am Kersa* (a reserved man, who has public decency) *nit ku jub* (a righteous man), *nit ku am diné* (man of faith), *nit ku doylu* (a sober man), *nit ku am kadu* (a man of his word) and *nit ku goré* (a good man), etc. Among these values, the *jom* has a special importance because it covers various meanings: it is both responsibility, sense of honor and dignity, *warugal* or a sense of well-done duty, the sense of effort, self-sacrifice, courage, inner requirement, self-awareness and awareness of his value¹³. In the understanding of wolof people, the leader must embody all those values which aggregate in the *Jom*, which is a compendium of values inconsistent with laziness, cowardice, lack of scruples and lies.

We can illustrate the importance of these values by questioning two case of political leaders perjury which illustrates perfectly the aversion of Senegalese in the unfulfilled words. The *wax waxeet* can be literally translates as "saying and retracting", which is a form of perjury that was promoted and popularized by the former President Abdoulaye Wade in Senegal's political arena. When he wanted to seek re-election for the presidential election of 2012, Abdoulaye Wade was taken short by saying to all Senegalese live on television *Wax waxeet* "I retract" knowing that a few years earlier he had argued that he would not stand for a third term. By doing so, and by not respecting his word, he had lost all credibility vis-à-vis the Senegalese and that's what defeated him. Today the fact to reverse his decision is seen as a perjury and aroused the ire of all the components of the society that no longer consider him as a credible leader. The famous Wolof proverb *gor sa wax ja* (the nobility is determined by respect of the given word) reflects the importance that Senegalese give to their words. One can easily argue that the leadership in Senegal is really influenced by socioreligious values. Indeed, an observation of the Senegalese sociocultural field, reveals that the true leaders are those who embody the spiritual power to the point that they even come to the head of state level, the highest political and administrative institution of the country, to pledge their allegiance to a religious authority and to bow down to him. To castigate this attitude, some observers speak of "lying down Republic". This

¹³ A. Sylla, « Aspects philosophiques et religieux des valeurs traditionnelles sénégalaises », in *Ethiopiennes*, Dakar, n° 31, 1982.

religious influence is also exercised in the economic and cultural sectors, especially in mouride community. The religious leaders are very influential and the political leadership as well as the economic one cannot fully be expressed except if it is backed and supported by religious authorities.

Representations of social stratification and influence in leadership

Acceptance of leadership is also determined by considerations of ethnicity and caste and this especially because the architecture of the division of labor in the social dynamic is structured around these two elements. Thus, these identifications can in some cases have implications for the decision and relational process and remains an invaluable and intangible asset to be taken into account to understand leadership. In Senegal, as in most African countries, most ethnic groups such as Wolof or Hal Pular are organized by castes which generally have three characteristics: they correspond to social class determined by birth; the caste is definitive and irreversible; and the division and specialization in a specific professional task. So we have a social stratification by caste, with at the top of society the caste of the *gor* who are nobles, *neeno* which include all professional and craft classes and the jaam or slaves. It should be noted, however, that today the stratification is less rigid due to the influence of Islam and the impact of the monetary economy.

The most obvious illustration of the influence of ethnicity on leadership concerns the dispute between the former President Wade who considered that his successor elected President Macky Sall at 65% in the last elections in 2012, did not have the legitimacy to replace him, and to be a fortiori his president because he is a descendant of slaves. We notice here the convocation of the social origin to delegitimize the exercise of leadership and the popular saying *Yax bu reuye* which can be literally translated as (large bones) in reference to the noble social origin expresses well this conception.

From this, it follows a structuring of the social, religious, economic and political relations around groups, in the broadest sense, and sometimes ethnic groups which makes sub-Saharan Africa a fundamentally communal society. The exercise of power and

consequently the leadership depends on "many aspects related to the socio-traditional system" and that is why it is essential to take into account the socio-cultural context characterized by three aspects: social stratification, parenting structures and moral values. As part of such social stratification, we note a strong parentalization of power relations related to the fact that in Senegal as elsewhere in Africa, the notion of relationship is more than a biological criterion because it defines a community of men, homes, activities or rituals. The relationship is represented by "all members of the living lineage, their women and children, in-laws, slaves and people of castes", which means that each member of the community carries on strictly defined roles and responsibilities part of the extended family. Obviously, this Community social structure based on a set of values, standards and codes deeply influenced gaming powers, organizational practices, communication modalities but also leadership styles and acceptance.

For instance, it can also be interesting to emphasize that unlike other ethnic groups, the lebu community is one of the few social groups in Senegal which has developed a strong traditional leadership backed a distinctive ethnic culture. Already in 1795, the lebu community was a democratic organization so that the french colonizer had called a "Republic". The lebu community has kept its customary community fundamentally socio-political organization embodied by the *Grand Serigne*, the higher authority, democratically elected under the Islamic and legal knowledge of sharia he has. Then comes the executive college which is composed of three personalities who are the *Jaraaf*, "head of government" that defines the foreign policy and the guarantor of the institutions, the *Ndeye-ji-rew* (literally mother of the nation) who is considered as an interior minister and the *Saltigue* who is the defense minister, worship, land and sea. These three members of the Executive shall be selected within the main matrilineal lineages of the great families that make up the community. We have, finally, the legislative body composed of popular assemblies hierarchically constituted by the principles of gerontocracy. The deep identification of lebu populations to customary leadership is measured by their strong mobilization when decisions are taken by these institutions to defend for example their land face spoliation ambitions of power or promoters.

We can highlight too the influence of colonization on the management of senegalese organizations especially those public which

are marked by the french bureaucratic model characterized by a centralization of power, high power distance and a personal reluctance to obey the hierarchy. Analyzed in terms of the senegalese anthropological model of *nit ku baax*, but also *yëg yëg ie* the importance Senegalese people attach to the recognition and consideration, one can easily understand senegalese difficulty to adjust to a leadership that proceeds by authoritarian imposition decisions without consultation or involvement of different stakeholders. This analysis provides information about the weaknesses and limitations of the existing leadership styles in organizations that often do not match the expectations and aspirations of senegalese with respect to leadership. The influence of this community principle backed solidarity which regulates social relations in the senegalese society is similar in many respects the two forms of interconnection of individuals namely *Ubuntu* which highlights the importance of community, solidarity and humanity *Indaba* (dialogue, palaver) that govern social relations in many African social groups. For E. Mutabazi, these two principles about leadership structure a diversity of principles of diversity that makes the decision-making and organizational processes the true result of a collective solidarity through which a person exists in a group with the result of a paternalistic and maternalistic style of leadership which can easily lead to the break line between professional and private world.

The concept of *Nit ku baax* : emergence of new style of youth leadership

A very important factor is the gerontocracy principle that makes the distribution of power very hierarchical with the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of one person who has the mission to perpetuate group cohesion, by calling solidarity between members. The immediate consequence of such a conception predisposes individuals to the obligation of respect, loyalty and duty to the guide. But today, the socioeconomic and political context of Senegal, characterized by dissatisfaction of the youth, blew apart these principles including civic engagement that leads them to take violent positions against against corruption, nepotism and disrespect for institutions.

It is in this context that emerges the protest movement *Yen a marre* ie *Y fed up* launched in February 2011 by two young rappers with a journalist and which claims a *New Type of Senegalese* (NTS) respectful of the structuring values of *nit ku baax* identified above. This movement has been able to make this slogan a rallying cry throughout Senegal and could gather on March 19, 2011 (the anniversary of the eleventh year of the democratic alternation, marked by the arrival of Wade) in Dakar more than 5,000 people, mostly young people, to said "no" to unemployment, high prices, power cuts, corruption. The movement "Y fed up" has succeeded in developing a real capacity for leadership by taking an active part in the large peaceful demonstration of 23 June 2011 which forced the government of Senegal to withdraw its proposed constitutional amendment introducing a ticket for the election of a president and a vice president elected simultaneously in the first round 25%.

The social influence and the structuring power of the religious leadership were also decisive in the reconciliation of the current Senegalese president Macky Sall and his predecessor Abdoulaye Wade. Indeed, under the auspices of the Khalifa of the Mouride brotherhood Serigne Mountakha Mbacké, the two politicians have, after the Friday prayer marking the inauguration of the *Massalikoul Djinane* mosque (roads to paradise) made peace in front of the marabout. Moreover, after having them in audience, the two sworn enemies went out hand in hand in front of a large audience and they took the same car on the way back. However, the most unprecedented fact remains the entry into politics of Ousmane Sonko who, barely 7 years after the creation of his political party named PASTEF, has managed the feat of becoming the most serious challenger to the current head of state. This former tax inspector, who had been a trade unionist, was expelled from the public administration by the government because of his recurrent denunciations of what he considers to be shady dealings in the allocation of oil and gas exploration permits, but also of tax exemptions from which multinational and senegalese deputies would have benefited illegally.

Knowing that he benefits from a great sympathy among Senegalese because of the content of his speech based on transparency, honesty and patriotism, he has become very embarrassing for the power in place which does not hesitate to attack him on the personal

register. Some of his supporters call him “Sayyidina Ousmane” in reference to Ousmane Boun Affan, companion, son-in-law of the prophet of Islam and 3rd caliph of the Muslims. Also, he was the object of several attempts of destabilization like the incredible accusation of rape, but also of land predation which remained until now without any material proof. We can say that, in the representations of many Senegalese, everything in the course of this political leader, his attitudes and his daily behaviors correspond to the profile of the prototype of *nit ku baax*. Thus, for his political opponents, the only way out is to destroy the image of the virtuous, pious man with which he is associated by attacking him on his moral qualities. In fact, the attempted arrest following his accusation of rape resulted in 14 deaths. All mediation efforts by *Jammi Rewmi*, a civil society platform that brings together some forty NGOs, had failed and had it not been for the intervention of the general caliph, the country would have fallen into chaos. At this level, the social influence of the religious leadership and their ability to ease political tensions is once again clear. It could be recalled that between 2004 and 2007, the open conflict between Abdoulaye Wade and Idrissa Seck, his Prime Minister, was finally settled in Touba, the holy city of the very influential Mouride brotherhood. And already in 2008, the former Senegalese president, in conflict with Macky Sall, president of the National Assembly, had no choice but to follow the recommendations of the general caliph of the mouride brotherhood, Serigne Bara Mbacké, and to work to improve his relations with Macky Sall.

The current President Macky Sall learned this the hard way, when during the 2012 presidential election campaign he declared: "Marabouts are citizens like all other citizens. There should be no special status for a marabout. They are subject to the law like everyone else. This must be made clear..." These words had raised the ire of marabouts as well as Senegalese of all sides, the vast majority of whom have great respect for religious guides. Coincidentally or not, it is noted that since then, the camp of the presidential party struggles to win elections in religious households, some religious men not hesitating to attack the head of state openly considering that he does not respect them. Aware of his mistake and the political weight of religious men, the president wanted to set the record straight by saying that he never said that marabouts are simple citizens. During a religious ceremony in

Tivaouane, the religious capital of the tidiane brotherhood, he made a 180-degree turn stressing: "It is politicians who have changed his words. They had maintained that I said that the marabouts are simple citizens. God knows I didn't say that. I said that the marabouts are citizens. Isn't that so? A citizen is someone who is part of the life of the nation". But despite this new declaration and the important investments made in these religious localities, the disenchantment remains.

Finally, we can point out in the same way that political leaders are forced to pledge allegiance to religious authorities in order to get the acceptance of their power and consolidate their leadership. In the same logic, a significant part of the senegalese economic elite claim to belong to religious groups particularly the mouride for which, work, money and success are at the heart of its doctrine. The strength of the mouride economic leadership is based on a prophetic hadith taken over by the founder of the brotherhood Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba who said: "Work for this life as if you will be eternal and works for the afterlife as if you will die tomorrow". Among the Mouride, there is no dichotomy between the temporal and the spiritual, because the work is considered as a form of prayer and such thought comes from all the social and economic organization that allows them to provide a real economic leadership and to position themselves as genuine competitors to Lebanese-Syrian who until now almost controlled a large part of the economy in Senegal.

This observation leads us to argue easily that leadership in Senegal is deeply influenced by religious and social values. In respect of all these regulations operated by the religious authorities make it possible to apprehend the religious universes and their social effects at the triple level of individuals, communities and ideologies. Thus, at each of these levels, the question of the charisma of the leader arises: its ideological rationalization, its collective management (at the level of the community) and its social effectiveness (at the level of individuals). In this sense, one could consider that religiosity can impact both instrumental values (through moral values for example) and terminal values (through personal or social origin). Indeed, the characteristic religiosity of a leader considered as *nit ku baax* translates a certain positioning in relation to "the values perceived as established by religion", and will generate "ethics", "beliefs" and behaviors while

situating the individual in relation to norms and a group. In this, one can estimate that its religiosity will be prescriptive of a certain morality and thus can influence the instrumental values but also give a certain vision of the world and direct goals. The latter can come from the community to which the individual belongs (and thus influence the social terminal values) or from the individual himself, from his relation with the religion (and thus influence the personal terminal values).

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