



SENEGAL CONFLICT VULNERABILITY ASSESSMENT

FINAL REPORT

DECEMBER 2017

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AGR	Activites Generatrices de Revenue
AGEROUTE	Agence des Travaux et de Gestion des Routes
ANPEJ	Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes
ANRAC	Agence Nationale pour la Relance des Activités Economique et Sociales de la Casamance
AQIM	al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ARD	Agence Régionale de Développement
CDCS	Country Development Cooperation Strategy
CFA	Franc (Senegalese currency)
CGP	Committé de Gestion de la Paix
CLPA	Conseil Local de Pêche Artisanale
CMU	Couverture Maladie Universelle
CNCR	Conseil National de Concertation et de Coopération des Ruraux
COMFISH	Collaborative Management for Sustainable Fisheries in Senegal
CR	Communauté Rurale
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
DIRECT	Dialogue et Réconciliation Transfrontalière dans le Balantacounda Sénégal
ECOMIB	ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoM	Government of Mauritania
GoS	Government of Senegal
HDI	Human Development Index
HHS+	Health Systems Strengthening Plus
IDP	Internally Displaced Person

IMF	International Monetary Fund
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MINUSMA	UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MFDC	Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance
MLNA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MUJAO	Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa
PADAER	Programme D'Appui Au Développement Agricole et à L'Entreprenariat Rural
PAP	Priority Action Plan
PPDC	Project Pôle de Développement de la Casamance
PRAESC	National Agency for the Revival of Economic and Social Activities in Casamance
PRODAC	Le Programme des Domaines Agricoles Communautaires
PSE	Plan Sénégal Emergent
PSI	Policy Support Instrument
PUDC	Programme d'Urgence de Développement Communautaire
PUMA	Programme d'Urgence de Modernisatoïn des Axes et Territoires Frontaliers
SENELEC	Société National d'Électricité du Sénégal
SHOPS	Sustaining Health Outcomes through the Private Sector
TGC	Teranga Gold Corporation
TOC	Theory of Change
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2017, USAID/Senegal requested an assessment of conflict dynamics and mitigating factors to inform their new Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS). The assessment team explored contextual trends, shifts, opportunities, and threats to support USAID’s efforts to implement a conflict-sensitive portfolio of programs and their ability to achieve intended results.

To inform the upcoming CDCS, the assessment focused on the following key areas of investigation:

- 1) Decentralization and service provision;
- 2) GoS reform agenda (including anticorruption, economic development, land tenure reform, and peace in Casamance);
- 3) Cross-border dynamics (including emigration, trafficking of commodities and persons, violent extremism, and the change of government in The Gambia).

The team also collected data on cross-cutting issues, including how women and youth affect, and are affected by, conflict dynamics.

The team focused on collecting perception data because it is largely people’s perceptions that drive dynamics related to conflict and peace. The assessment represents findings gleaned from this perception data in a subset of border regions. These findings may not necessarily represent conflict dynamics nationwide.

A detailed regional snapshot for each of the seven regions of Senegal and Banjul, The Gambia, can be found in Annex A. Trajectories and recommendations are all within the body of the main report.

SOCIAL PATTERN AND CORE THEMES

Perception data collected from approximately 400 individuals in seven regions and Dakar reflect a cross-cutting social pattern of unfulfilled expectations and the effects on Senegalese citizens.

Cross-Cutting Social Pattern

Unmet expectations of promised economic, social, and political GoS reforms and limited opportunities for citizen engagement in public-sector decision making have led to growing dissatisfaction and disillusionment of citizens in border regions.

Under the umbrella of this social pattern, five distinct but interrelated core themes emerged across all regions. These included perceptions of:

- 1) Limited livelihoods opportunities;
- 2) Lack of transparency and politicization of land allocation;
- 3) Limited capacity of local communes to implement decentralization and deliver services;
- 4) Lack of transparency in local commune resource allocation;

- 5) Political, economic, and social exclusion of youth.

In addition, there were also three themes specific to certain regions reflecting perceptions of:

- 6) Security force intimidation of youth (Kolda and Kédougou);
- 7) Neither peace nor war (Casamance–Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, and Kolda);
- 8) Ethnic tensions (border areas between Senegal and The Gambia).

MITIGATING FACTORS

Mitigating factors are elements that have the potential to dampen tensions and avoid violent conflict. Mitigating factors are not normatively positive or negative, but do play a role in diminishing the likelihood of violence. The number of mitigating factors contributes to the team’s conclusion that widespread violent conflict is unlikely to erupt in Senegal. For additional discussion of mitigating factors, refer to the regional snapshots in Annex A.

EMIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Emigration to urban areas and overseas serve as a release valve for lack of economic opportunities, particularly for youth seeking a better life. Remittances sent home by these *émigrés* contribute to meeting community needs, filling gaps in service delivery, and spurring economic development.

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES THAT PLAY A MEDIATION ROLE

Traditional leaders and structures continue to play a strong conflict mediation role in Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Kolda, Kédougou, Matam, and Saint Louis. However, in all of these regions except Kédougou, traditional mechanisms seem to resonate less with youth than with older segments of the population.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS (IMAMS AND CHRISTIAN CLERGY)

Religious leaders continue to play a strong role in moderating behavior in Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Saint Louis, and Matam.

KINSHIP TIES AND ETHNIC INTERMARRIAGE

Extensive kinship ties across regions and international borders, as well as intermarriage, appear to contribute significantly to conflict prevention and resolution.

INDICATIONS THAT THE MFDC IS MOVING TOWARD UNIFICATION

There is a widespread belief among Casamançais interviewed that there is a new window of opportunity to negotiate a formal peace agreement between the GoS and the Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance (MFDC). Many people attribute this opening to the change of government in The Gambia, which is no longer offering protection to the MFDC and is closing its border to illicit timber trafficking.

LOCAL CONFLICT-MITIGATION MECHANISMS

There are local conflict-mitigation mechanisms in place that help both to prevent and to resolve conflicts. Examples include *Comités de Gestion de la Paix* in Casamance and the conflict resolution commissions in the *Conseil Local de Pêche Artisanale (CLPA)* in each fishing area of Saint Louis.

FAITH IN THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

In some regions, such as Saint Louis and Matam, people express faith in the electoral system and the power of their vote to bring about change. This indicates that, from the perspective of citizens, the electoral system is working, which can serve as an outlet for disenchantment with the performance of their elected officials.

TRAJECTORIES

The interviews clearly indicate Senegal is not in danger of erupting into widespread violent conflict. However, there are a few conflict dynamics and trajectories that have the potential to erupt in sporadic violence and therefore deserve immediate attention:

- Land tenure is causing low-level conflict. The tensions may continue as sporadic bursts of violence, but in areas such as Kédougou, where land is linked with livelihoods and perceptions of exclusion, there is the potential for land tenure issues to erupt into a wider conflict.
- Youth frustration in Kolda and Kédougou has already led to violence, with youth using SMS and social media as tools for organization. These incidents have the potential to spread to other segments of the population that are dissatisfied with lack of opportunities and the perception that foreign companies and the GoS are benefiting from development while citizens continue to suffer.
- Interviewees in the Saint Louis area warn that the frustrations of fishermen around their inability to make a living in the overfished waters of Senegal and the perceived abandonment by their government also have the potential to ignite violence. There are mechanisms in place to resolve disputes among the fishermen (see mitigating factors below). Nonetheless, grievance with the GoS services in charge of the oversight of the fisheries has the potential to turn violent.
- Ethnic tensions in the border area between The Gambia and Senegal should be monitored.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the core themes, mitigating factors, and anticipated trajectories discussed above, the assessment team offers the following recommendations that focus on implementation of projects planned under the new CDCS.

The recommendations section is organized into three subsections.

- I) Recommendations for immediate activities;

- 2) Recommendations for integration into development programming; and
- 3) Recommendations for support for policy reform

While this is a useful way of categorizing recommendations, it is important to note that one subsection of recommendations will not be effective in preventing conflict in the long term without the actions in the other subsections.

Operational Framework for Recommendations

Given funding, timing, and operational constraints, recommendations focus on adaptations to planned projects, opportunities for cross-sectoral integration that support good governance, and conflict sensitive programming as pathways for meeting development objectives.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTIVITIES

- 1) Engage local civil society in efforts to create or restore mediation mechanisms that include women and youth in Kolda and Kédougou to reduce tensions between communities and security forces.
- 2) Encourage dialogue between local civil society and security forces in Kolda and Kédougou. Explore opportunities to establish joint monitoring mechanisms to ensure that both citizens and security forces respect the law.

These two recommendations are intended to address harsh treatment of youth by security forces in Kolda and Kédougou. In these regions, formal systems are perceived as being dominated by state interests and security forces and trust in informal systems, such as traditional and community mediation, is eroding. Mediation mechanisms and enforcement options that are acceptable to all stakeholders need to be identified and developed. This may mean revitalizing existing mechanisms, adapting acceptable mechanisms to this purpose, or creating something new.

- 3) Continue to monitor in The Gambia the possibility of escalating ethnic tensions that may make refugee populations more vulnerable. As feasible, look for opportunities to incorporate trauma healing and reconciliation into activities with border populations and refugees.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTEGRATION INTO DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING

- 1) When working to curtail illicit economic activities, simultaneously provide opportunities for licit livelihoods (diversification options) to affected populations.
- 2) Ensure all livelihood activities are inclusive of, accessible to, and relevant to women and youth.
- 3) Work with local governments to create environments conducive to private-sector investment and economic development.
- 4) Explore opportunities to facilitate partnerships between local governments and the private sector for improved service delivery.

- 5) As feasible, look for opportunities to support local companies in economic growth initiatives.
- 6) Expand on Yaajeende, Naatal Mbay, and other projects to introduce and support more productive natural resource management practices.
- 7) Support local government competencies to implement sound environmental management activities and practices that relieve pressure on stressed natural resources.
- 8) Support local governments to delineate and clearly communicate corridors for pastoralists before the beginning of the rainy season.
- 9) Build the capacity of local communes (not just the mayor) to manage service delivery and engage citizens in planning and resource allocation decisions including women and youth.
- 10) Engage local civil society and promote citizen awareness and participation in planning and management of public resources. Pay particular attention to engaging women and youth.
- 11) Integrate youth into all mission portfolio projects, including natural resource management, value chain development, livelihoods diversification, life skills, and governance. Be mindful that special efforts to reach youth, especially girls, may require adaptations or special outreach to facilitate meaningful participation.
- 12) When engaging with traditional, community, and religious structures across mission activities, ensure that women and youth voices are included.
- 13) Support peacebuilding across mission activities in the Casamance and explore opportunities to integrate community peacebuilding efforts and voices into the formal peace agenda.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUPPORTING POLICY REFORM

- 1) Strengthen formal and informal mechanisms that may be adapted to address land conflict.
- 2) Encourage GOS to emphasize transparency and communication around the land tenure processes.
- 3) Promote increased transparency and consultation around GoS negotiations and agreements for extractive industries through existing frameworks and in relation to natural resource exploitation.
- 4) Continue to work with other donors to support GoS implementation of complete fiscal transfers and taxation and clarifying the action plan for Phase II of the Act III on decentralization.
- 5) Look for opportunities to accompany the GoS to advance the formal peace process. Monitor how potential MFDC reunification may impact formal peace negotiations.

ASSESSMENT REPORT

INTRODUCTION

Senegal stands out in West Africa as a beacon of stability and democracy. Since achieving independence from France in 1960, Senegal has never experienced a military coup and has experienced three peaceful transitions of power. Senegal is a valuable partner to the U.S. Government in supporting peace and security in the region and advancing democratic values and inclusive economic growth. The country's security forces, both military and law enforcement, are considered some of the most professional and capable in Africa. A bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement signed in 2016 supports US and Senegalese efforts to respond to regional threats.¹

In light of the recent West Africa Ebola outbreak, international donors praised the Government of Senegal for implementing effective information campaigns using media and text messaging. Senegal was declared free of Ebola on October 17, 2014.²

The Senegalese people have a strong sense of national identity, while maintaining independent religious and ethnic identities. More than 95 percent of the population is Muslim, with the majority associated with one of the major Sufi Brotherhoods. Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, represent a little over 4 percent of the population.³ Muslim and Catholic clerics remain influential opinion leaders and often act as mediators.⁴

The largest ethnic group in Senegal is the Wolof, accounting for almost 40 percent of the population. Other major ethnic groups include the Pular, Serer, Mandinka, Diola, and Soninke.⁵ Senegal's history of political tolerance and inclusion is a source of national pride.⁶

Even with its many assets, Senegal faces challenges in the years ahead. A longstanding low-level conflict in the Casamance region remains unresolved. Long and porous land and sea borders also render the country vulnerable to regional influences, including radical Islam and trafficking.

The country also faces internal challenges. In 2014, Senegal ranked 170 of 188 countries and territories on the Human Development Index (HDI), placing it below average for countries in sub-Saharan Africa.⁷

¹ "Integrated Country Strategy (ICS) Mission Senegal FY 2017-2020." US Embassy-Senegal. 2016. p. I-U.

² "Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report." Bertelsmann Stiftung. 2016. p. 3.

³ "CIA World Factbook: Senegal." Central Intelligence Agency. 2016.

⁴ "Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Assessment of Senegal." p. 43.

⁵ "CIA World Factbook: Senegal."

⁶ "Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (DRG) Assessment of Senegal." USAID and Tetra-Tech ARD. January 2013. p. vi.

⁷ "Human Development Report 2015: Senegal." UNDP. 2015. Page 2.

REFORMS UNDER CURRENT GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

President Macky Sall was inaugurated on April 2, 2012, promising political and economic reforms to combat poverty. In February 2014, he put forth the Plan Sénégal Emergent (PSE), an ambitious economic and social development model designed to propel Senegal to emerging country status by 2035. The Plan is oriented around three pillars focused on transforming the economy; improving the well-being of the Senegalese population; and reinforcing security, stability and governance.

The PSE has been widely praised by development partners for its emphasis on reforms, public works, health and education investments, and reducing the deficit,⁸ Yet, the challenge for the government will be to fulfill promises, such as addressing the conflict in Casamance, and to see through the implementation of ambitious economic growth as articulated in the PSE.

To facilitate inclusive and sustainable development, the government has launched a series of initiatives designed to stimulate economic growth in some of the country's poorest regions. In partnership with the UNDP, the Government of Senegal is implementing the Programme d'Urgence de Développement Communautaire (PUDC). The PUDC works in some of the most disadvantaged regions of the country, including Saint-Louis, Matam, and Tambacounda. PUDC activities target women and youth, working through grassroots community organizations and other partners.⁹

The primary objective of the PUDC is to significantly improve living conditions for vulnerable populations by increasing access to infrastructure and services and building the capacity of local actors to enhance local economic growth. To reach this objective, the PUDC aims to increase access to roads, water, electricity, and other infrastructure; provide access to financial services and equipment to enhance productivity and grow small and medium enterprise; and build the capacity of national and local partners in areas of entrepreneurship, leadership and project management, and community-based management.¹⁰

The GoS has also signed an agreement with the World Bank to implement the Project Pole de Développement de la Casamance (PPDC) which carries the same acronym as its Pilot for the Pole Casamance. The pilot was eventually shifted to focus on the Sine Saloum region instead, without a formal interruption to the Casamance Pole, but no visible progress.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Fishing and agriculture represented the largest areas of economic growth in Senegal in 2016. Industry growth is led by extractives, food, and chemicals. The service sector, which comprises more than half of Senegal's total GDP also expanded in 2016, mainly due to advances in transportation and financial services.¹¹

⁸ "Senegal CDCS – April 2012-April 2017." USAID/Senegal. June 2015. Page 5.

⁹ PUDC. http://www.sn.undp.org/content/senegal/fr/home/operations/projects/poverty_reduction/programme-d-urgence-de-developpement-communautaire.html.

¹⁰ Ibid. (PUDC).

¹¹ World Bank. "Senegal Country Overview." <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/senegal/overview>.

In Senegal, the informal sector creates more jobs than the formal sector. Although there are laws protecting the freedom to set up a business, business is often hampered by poorly functioning public institutions and corruption.¹²

About 70 percent of the country's population is engaged in agriculture.¹³ Although this sector represents the country's largest source of employment, it contributes just 10 percent to the GDP.¹⁴

In some villages, such as in Kédougou, farming has decreased due to an increase in artisanal mining, which is perceived as potentially more lucrative.¹⁵ Mining (mostly phosphate, iron ore, and gold) accounts for 20 percent of Senegal's export earnings.¹⁶ Artisanal and small-scale gold miners often employ techniques that release significant amounts of mercury into the environment, creating economic, health, and environmental hazards.

Artisanal mining has been practiced in Kédougou for many years, but large-scale commercial mining concessions are relatively new. Teranga Gold Corporation, a Canadian-based gold mining company, operates in the Kédougou and Tambacounda regions through its Senegalese subsidiary Sabodala Gold Operations.¹⁷ Many Senegalese living in these regions feel that they are being exploited by the foreign companies operating mining concessions and complain that they are excluded from resulting opportunities.¹⁸

Significant oil and natural gas deposits were recently discovered about 100 kilometers off the coast of Senegal.¹⁹ A large natural gas field is split in half between Senegal and Mauritania. Despite the size of the gas find, analysts warn that it may be prohibitively expensive to commercialize the gas field.²⁰

According to Petrosen, Senegal is unlikely to benefit from the oil reserves until at least 2019 or 2020, when it can start producing at significant capacity. Once a company assesses the capacity of the oil well, it still needs to create the corresponding infrastructure.²¹

In 2013, Senegal joined the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). Tensions between civil society, the government, extraction companies, and communities have emerged around community relations, revenue transfers, and environmental protection. A new mining code passed in November 2016 requires mining companies to participate in EITI reporting.²²

¹² "Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report." Page 18.

¹³ "Casamance: Understanding Conflict 2016, Conflict Management and African Studies Programs Student Field Trip to Senegal." Page 135.

¹⁴ "Senegal CDCS – April 2012-April 2017." Page 6.

¹⁵ Teranga Gold Corporation. "Teranga Development Strategy." 2014. Page 32.

¹⁶ Blackwell, Rebecca. "The Weak Link: The Role of Local Institutions in Accountable Natural Resource Management." Oxfam Research Report. April 2016. Page 9.

¹⁷ Teranga Gold Corporation. "Teranga Development Strategy." 2014. Page 23.

¹⁸ "Senegal Sub-Regional Conflict Assessment (Annex B: Casamance)." Pages 17-20.

¹⁹ Stream Africa. "Senegal: Oil Production in 2019-2020." February 6, 2017. <http://streamafrica.com/news/senegal-oil-production-2019-2020/>.

²⁰ Fick, Maggie. "Oil and Gas Discoveries Fuel Senegalese Fears. Financial Times."

²¹ Stream Africa. "Senegal: Oil Production in 2019-2020."

²² "EITI Senegal." Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. 2014. <https://eiti.org/senegal>.

DECENTRALIZATION AND SERVICE DELIVERY

In December 2013, the GoS passed Act III to further decentralize public administration and strengthen local authorities. Implementation of Phase I of ACT III was rushed, however, and there is general consensus among the respondents to this assessment responsibilities have devolved to the local level without corresponding resources.²³ Local governments generally lack the human capacity and financial resources to implement decentralization and provide services to citizens. Yet, most interviewees support the concept of bringing government closer to the people and anticipate improved implementation. This is particularly true in the regions of Saint Louis and Matam.

In order for subnational level governments to manage their new devolved competencies, they are meant to receive additional human and financial resources. However, local governments can barely afford to pay the salaries of the few staff who have already transferred. The municipalities are unable to support the additional costs.²⁴ Local tax reform is proceeding slowly, and the resource transfer mechanism defined in the Local Government Code has been hampered by inadequate funds and unclear criteria for equitable distribution of the Decentralization Allocations Fund and the Local Government Infrastructure Fund. As the government prepares for the implementation of Phase II, it is taking these findings into account.²⁵ However, many interviewees in the Casamance, Kédougou and Tambacounda regions indicated that they believe resource distribution is inequitable and that they think the majority of funds remain in the North.

Health and education services suffer from neglect, poor administration, and lack of financial resources, despite promises from the GoS that these services would be improved.²⁶ Social services, too, are of poor quality and often difficult to access, especially outside of urban areas.

Since the vast majority of Senegalese work in the informal sector, most people have no health care or pension coverage. In 2013, the government introduced basic health care protection for employees in the informal sector; the Couverture Maladie Universelle (CMU) intends to cover up to 95 percent of the population by 2017. Under the CMU, the Mutuelle de Santé (Mutuelle) is the universal coverage available to Senegalese citizens working in the informal sector. However, few people interviewed in areas such as Ziguinchor and Sedhiou were enrolled in the Mutuelle. Most did not know what it was or how to access coverage, and others indicated that they cannot afford the coverage fees (CFA 3,500 per person per year). As a result, access to quality healthcare remains elusive to these populations.

The Constitution adopted in January 2001 guarantees access to education for all children between the ages of 6 and 16. Yet, many children do not attend school because families lack the resources to purchase books, uniforms, and supplies, or because there are no schools close by. If families can afford to send only some of their children to school, they are far more likely to withdraw girls before boys. Girls also drop out of school due to sexual harassment, early

²³ DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. Page vii.

²⁴ "Senegal Local Development Reform." Pages 11-12.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ "Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report." p. 8.

marriage, and pregnancy.²⁷ In some conservative areas like Sedhiou, interviewees indicated that some parents who have the financial means to send their children to school keep girls at home because they believe that girls should not study or work. In Kédougou, the team heard about families who remove their children from school when they travel to mining sites.

Despite almost universal primary school enrollment, the quality of education is poor, and dropout rates remain high, especially for girls.²⁸ Nearly 50 percent of the population remains illiterate; among women, the illiteracy rate is over 60 percent.²⁹ This situation is a source of major public dissatisfaction.³⁰

LAND

In 1964, the government passed the National Land Act, which allows the state to claim property rights over all land without an existing legal deed.³¹ Under this law, 95 percent of the land in Senegal was designated national land (*domaine national*) to be administered by the state. The law does not recognize customary land rights.³²

Historically, customary land tenure systems were shaped by the belief that land is a resource belonging to everyone and cannot be owned by one person for his or her sole use.³³ In rural areas today, land tenure remains grounded in traditional land allocation or Islamic family law, rather than by the legal code. As a result, maps of legal claims used to allocate national land do not reflect the land tenure patterns on the ground.³⁴

Some aspects of land governance were transferred in 1996 to the local level as part of decentralization policies. However, due to shortages of qualified personnel at the local level, in practice, national and local governments co-manage land titling and allocation. Procedures for registering land titles with the local registry remain slow, cumbersome, and expensive.³⁵

Growing competition for land and natural resources, exacerbated by government allocation of community land to foreigners, is creating conflict. Cattle rustling and conflicts between pastoralists and farmers also are increasing, as agriculturalists increasingly encroach on grazing land or vice versa.³⁶ Many Senegalese perceive that the government expropriates land in the

²⁷ “Senegal 2015 Human Rights Report.” pp. 16–17.

²⁸ “Senegal CDCS – April 2012-April 2017.” p, 5.

²⁹ “Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report.” p, 7.

³⁰ “Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report.” p. 24.

³¹ “Casamance: Understanding Conflict 2016, Conflict Management and African Studies Programs Student Field Trip to Senegal.” p. 138.

³² Mamadou Fall and Moustapha Ngaido. “Land Investments, Accountability, and the Law: Lessons from Senegal.” International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Innovative Environment Development (IED). May 2016. p. 4.

³³ Ibid. (Mamadou Fall, Land) p. 3.

³⁴ DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. p. 13.

³⁵ Mamadou Fall and Moustapha Ngaido. “Land Investments, Accountability, and the Law: Lessons from Senegal.” International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Innovative Environment Development (IED). May 2016. P. 5.

³⁶ “Senegal Sub-Regional Conflict Assessment (Annex B: Casamance).” P. 5.

name of public interest and then allocates it to private companies for commercial production ventures at the expense of Senegalese.³⁷

GENDER INEQUALITY

Gender inequality takes many forms in Senegal. Women have limited access to credit and cannot pass on citizenship to children fathered by a foreign national.³⁸ Laws prohibiting violence against women and children generally are not enforced. Rape is widespread, and the police generally do not intervene in domestic disputes. Several women's groups report a recent rise in violence against women.³⁹

Female circumcision remains widespread in rural areas.⁴⁰ Although Senegalese law prohibits marriage of girls before age 16, the law is rarely enforced, particularly in communities with arranged marriages. Polygyny is still practiced in rural areas. Under the Family Code, men are considered the head of household, and women have no legal responsibility for their children. All child benefits are paid to fathers.⁴¹

In May 2010, the government passed a parity law in an effort to increase the number of women in political leadership roles. The law establishes parity of men and women in all institutions with elected members and requires that candidate lists alternate between men and women. As a result, in 2012, women were elected to more than 40 percent of the positions in Parliament. Many of the female members of Parliament are illiterate or semiliterate, however,⁴² and have limited capacity to fulfill their duties as elected officials.

Customary laws among most ethnic groups do not allow women to directly access land or inherit property. Islamic inheritance laws generally allow women to inherit only a fraction of what men receive. Passed in 2004, the Agriculture-Forest-Livestock Policy law provides equal land rights to men and women. However, this law has not been fully implemented, and the government struggles to enforce it, particularly in rural areas. It remains the male head of household who typically owns land.⁴³

Women struggle to access land and are often overlooked during the distribution of new agriculture technologies. As a result, women obtain lower yields and therefore lower incomes. Women also often have no voice in family business decisions or community agriculture programs.⁴⁴

³⁷ Mamadou Fall and Moustapha Ngaido. "Land Investments, Accountability, and the Law: Lessons from Senegal." P. 6.

³⁸ DRG Assessment in Senegal. 2013. pp. 18-19.

³⁹ "Senegal 2015 Human Rights Report." p. 14.

⁴⁰ "Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index (BTI) 2016: Senegal Country Report." p. 13.

⁴¹ "Senegal 2015 Human Rights Report." pp. 16-17.

⁴² DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. p. 19.

⁴³ "Senegal CDCS – April 2012-April 2017." p. 6.

⁴⁴ "Senegal CDCS – April 2012-April 2017." p. 6.

DISAFFECTED YOUTH

Nearly 42 percent of Senegal's population is under the age of 14, and approximately 62 percent of the population is under 24.⁴⁵ At the end of 2016, the unemployment rate was 16.6 percent, up from 13.4 percent earlier in the year.⁴⁶ With few livelihood options in rural areas, young people move to cities in search of work, which has contributed to Senegal's rapid urbanization. With 41 percent of the population living in cities, Senegal has one of the highest urbanization rates in sub-Saharan Africa.⁴⁷

Traditional systems discourage civic and political participation of youth, considering them too inexperienced to have valuable opinions.⁴⁸ However, in the lead-up to the 2012 elections, many youth mobilized around pro-democracy and good governance campaigns. At the same time, disenchanted youth used social media to mobilize and sometimes turned to violence to express their grievances.⁴⁹

VULNERABLE CHILDREN

Although Senegal is party to the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child, child labor is still common. UNICEF estimates that there are 90,000 children begging as talibes (Quran learners) in the streets of Dakar alone.⁵⁰ From a very young age, talibes are sent by their parents to live and study in Quranic schools (daaras). The majority of talibes are Senegalese, but many are sent to daaras far from their homes. Hundreds are also trafficked by Marabouts. More than 100 Senegalese talibes were found in The Gambia in 2015–2016, and at least 50 from Guinea-Bissau and 60 from Guinea were intercepted traveling to Senegal.⁵¹

Many talibes, who are typically boys between the ages of 5 and 15, are exposed to severe beatings and in extreme cases may be chained, sexually abused, or violently attacked. They also are at risk of traffic accidents while begging in the streets. Many talibes suffer from severe malnutrition, disease, and untreated wounds. Some die as a result of abuse or neglect.⁵²

In June 2016, President Sall warned that anyone forcing children to beg could be fined or imprisoned. He ordered for street children to be placed in transit centers and reunited with their families. However, between June 2016 and May 2017, only 1,620 children were taken off the streets of Dakar.⁵³

Authorities plan to extend policies to eradicate begging nationwide. However, a law drafted in 2013 to regulate daaras by establishing minimum standards, requiring them to submit to state

⁴⁵ "CIA World Factbook: Senegal." Central Intelligence Agency. 2016.

⁴⁶ <https://tradingeconomics.com/senegal/unemployment-rate>

⁴⁷ DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. p. 3.

⁴⁸ DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. p. 18.

⁴⁹ DRG Assessment of Senegal. 2013. Page 6.

⁵⁰ <https://omnia.sas.upenn.edu/story/fighting-child-beggars-senegal>.

⁵¹ "Senegal: New Steps to Protect Talibes, Street Children." Human Rights Watch Report. July 28, 2016.

<https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/07/28/senegal-new-steps-protect-talibes-street-children>.

⁵² *Ibid.* (HRW/Talibes).

⁵³ Enquête, June 13, 2017, p.7.

inspections, and eliminating begging has stalled due to an extended amendment process and has not yet been presented to the National Assembly.⁵⁴

There have been only a handful of prosecutions of persons abusing children under the guise of daaras. There does appear to be greater public awareness and more local residents appear to be willing to report cases of abuse. According to the US Trafficking in Persons Report from 2016, Senegal has been downgraded to a Tier 2 Watch List country (from Tier 2), largely because of this phenomenon.⁵⁵

Child labor is widespread, particularly in the regions of Tambacounda, Louga, and Fatick, where up to 90 percent of children work. Entire families, including children, are often engaged in the artisanal mining sector, which is largely informal and unregulated.⁵⁶

CASAMANCE CONFLICT

Casamance remains West Africa's oldest unresolved conflict. The Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance (MFDC) began as a political movement advocating for independence and was initially widely supported by the population both financially and morally.⁵⁷ After several violent crackdowns by security forces on political protests, the MFDC developed a guerilla force, the *maquis*. The guerillas began attacks on the Senegalese army in 1990.

After three decades, the Casamance conflict has left thousands dead and completely destroyed 78 villages in lower Casamance. More than 150,000 people lost their homes, and today thousands of civilians remain displaced. There are an estimated 6,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Ziguinchor and at least another 10,000 refugees in The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. Ziguinchor lacks the capacity and infrastructure to adequately address the needs of those that have been displaced by the conflict.

IDPs have few opportunities beyond unpredictable poorly paid unskilled work. Most of the displaced lost access to their land, which represents the main form of livelihood. An increasing number of people have returned over the past ten years, but infrastructure and social services are inadequate, and grievances over land threaten effective reintegration of displaced populations.⁵⁸ Scrub and trees have claimed most of the area, and landmines have rendered extensive tracts of land inaccessible.⁵⁹ Some MFDC combatants remain in the "maquis," or camps in the woods; however, violent incidents are declining, and the MFDC appears to have limited appeal.

Land disputes have led to conflicts between villages or among ethnic groups as displaced individuals return to find their land appropriated by others. Villagers are afraid to report these situations because they fear retribution. In some cases, returnees find their land occupied by

⁵⁴ Ibid. (HRW/Talibes).

⁵⁵ Ibid. (HRW/Talibes).

⁵⁶ "Senegal 2015 Human Rights Report." Page 24.

⁵⁷ "Senegal Sub-Regional Conflict Assessment (Annex B: Casamance)." USAID Senegal, CMM, and MSI. 2009. Annex 2, Page 6.

⁵⁸ Ibid (SAIS) Page 121.

⁵⁹ Chris Simpson and Mamadou Alpha Diallo. "Between War and Peace: Forgotten Conflicts – Casamance." IRIN. August 3, 2015. <https://www.irinnews.org/feature/2015/08/03/between-war-and-peace>.

individuals who have resettled there as part of reconstruction programs implemented by NGOs.⁶⁰

The death of prominent MFDC leaders, including Abbé Diamacoune Senghor in 2007, left a vacuum of leadership that has led to deep splits within the MFDC.⁶¹ Today, the movement is divided into four primary factions: military, political, civilian, and external (the Diaspora).⁶²

The Casamance region is effectively cut off from the rest of the country by The Gambia, leaving it physically, economically, and politically isolated from the rest of Senegal. This is exacerbated by the concentration of power in Dakar. Isolation and a lack of infrastructure contribute to economic underdevelopment in the region and leave many Casamançais feeling neglected and resentful of the GoS.

The Casamance was once considered the country's richest agricultural region—the breadbasket of Senegal. Today, the region suffers from the highest level of hunger in the country.⁶³ Hunger is higher in rural than in urban areas, sometimes peaking at 65 percent in Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor. The presence of landmines, long-term displacement and corresponding land-rights issues, and increased levels of salinization and desertification have rendered significant amounts of land unusable.⁶⁴ The Casamance has the greatest agricultural production potential in the country, but soil constraints, poor availability of inputs, climate change, and limited technical capacity currently lead to yields that are only one-sixth the tonnage per hectare of those in the Northern River Valleys.⁶⁵

Women are disproportionately affected by the longstanding insecurity in the area. Many women have been forced to limit their participation in subsistence farming due to landmines in agricultural fields and in areas where women have traditionally harvested cashews and gathered firewood. From 60 to 80 percent of agricultural activities are undertaken by women, placing them at higher risk when working in mined areas.⁶⁶

Many women assumed the role as head of household after their husbands were killed in the conflict. These women often have taken on economic responsibilities for which they were not prepared.⁶⁷ Women fear sexual violence and assault by armed robbers and having crops and produce stolen. Problems for women are compounded by poor infrastructure and unsafe transportation options. Women have lost considerable autonomy since the conflict began.⁶⁸

REGIONAL CONTEXT

Senegal is in a precarious neighborhood, sharing borders with The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Mali, and Mauritania. Many of Senegal's neighbors have problems with conflict,

⁶⁰ Ibid (SAIS) Pages 127-128.

⁶¹ Ibid (SAIS) Page 4.

⁶² "Senegal Sub-Regional Conflict Assessment (Annex B: Casamance)." Annex 2, Page 8.

⁶³ Ibid (SAIS) Pages 15.

⁶⁴ Ibid (SAIS) Pages 147-148.

⁶⁵ Ibid (SAIS) Page 154.

⁶⁶ Ndiaye, Tabara and Joachim Diene. "Impact du Conflict sur le Genre."

⁶⁷ Ibid. (Tabara and Joachim).

⁶⁸ Ibid (SAIS) Page 141.

violent extremism, trafficking in narcotics and natural resources, and other threats to sovereignty and stability. While Senegal has remained a paragon of stability and democracy in the region, the country context cannot be fully understood without consideration of transnational issues.

In Gambian elections held on December 1, 2016, President Jammeh was defeated in the polls by Adama Barrow. Jammeh initially surprised many observers by accepting the outcome of the elections and conceding defeat. However, he reversed course a few days later, when the electoral commission revised the results because ballots in one area had been added incorrectly.⁶⁹

Throughout December and early January, the situation in The Gambia continued to deteriorate. As tensions rose, an estimated 45,000 people anticipating violence fled the country into Senegal.⁷⁰ Most arrived in the Fatick, Kaolack, and Kaffrine regions to the north of The Gambia and in the Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, and Kolda regions to the south. Three-quarters of the refugees were women and children. Some families in Senegal reportedly hosted up to 50 people, stressing limited family resources.⁷¹ An estimated 3,500 people from The Gambia also crossed into Guinea-Bissau.⁷²

Jammeh refused to step down as president, causing ECOWAS forces (with troops from Senegal, Nigeria, and Ghana) to move in to The Gambia.⁷³ On January 20, at the Gambian Embassy in Dakar, Adama Barrow was sworn in as the new Gambian President. Jammeh ceded power under threat of military action and left the country the next day. By January 22, an estimated 8,000 people had already returned to The Gambia from Senegal.⁷⁴ Upon assuming power, President Barrow has vowed to establish a truth and reconciliation commission, professionalize Gambian security forces, and push for electoral reforms.⁷⁵

In Guinea-Bissau, the country to the south of Senegal, recent efforts to reduce drug trafficking by the international community (including the United States, the United Nations, and ECOWAS) appear to be having an impact. In 2013, Guinea-Bissau's former navy chief was arrested by the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) for trafficking cocaine to the United States. Since 2009, the West African Coast Initiative—a joint project between the UN, Interpol, and ECOWAS to fight drug trafficking—also seems to be having an impact.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ “Gambia Crisis: Senegal Troops “on alert” if Jammeh Stays On.” BBC. December 23, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38414790>.

⁷⁰ Senegalese authorities estimate a higher number of refugees than UNHCR, reporting that there have been more than 76,000 people seeking shelter in Senegal (49-UNHCR-Caux).

⁷¹ Baloch, Babar. “Senegal: Around 45,000 Have Fled Political Uncertainty in the Gambia.” Remarks by UNHCR spokesperson given in Geneva. January 20, 2017. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/briefing/2017/1/5881deb74/senegal-around-45000-fled-political-uncertainty-gambia.html>.

⁷² Caux, Helene. “As Gambia Crisis Passes, Displaced Return from Senegal.” UNHCR. January 24, 2017. <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/latest/2017/1/588719bf4/gambia-crisis-passes-displaced-return-senegal.html>.

⁷³ Clotey, Peter. “UN to Help Ensure Smooth Transition in Gambia.” Voice of America. January 25, 2017. <http://www.voanews.com/a/united-nations-help-ensure-smooth-transition-gambia/>

⁷⁴ Caux, Helene. “As Gambia Crisis Passes, Displaced Return from Senegal.”

⁷⁵ Clotey, Peter. “UN to Help Ensure Smooth Transition in Gambia.”

⁷⁶ Loewenstein, Anthony. “Guinea-Bissau Struggles to End Its Role in Global Drugs Trade.” The Guardian. January 7, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jan/07/guinea-bissau-global-drugs-trade>.

Historically, instability in Guinea-Bissau has allowed for flow of weapons to the MFDC Front Sud, and the country has functioned as a safe haven from the Senegalese military.⁷⁷ Refugee communities from Casamance remain in Guinea-Bissau, and some areas along the border with Guinea-Bissau remain heavily mined and under Front Sud control. Cattle-rustling is a problem in areas along the border between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

Senegal has a longstanding border dispute with Mauritania. Over the years, the boundaries have changed dramatically, as the river's banks have shifted some 40 miles north of the original boundary. Senegalese farmers settled in some of these low-lying areas, but Mauritania claimed sovereignty over them in the late 1980s. In April 1989, violent riots erupted after animals owned by a Mauritanian pastoralist trampled gardens cultivated by the Senegalese farmers, leading to conflict between the two countries

Senegal also has disputes with Mauritania over fishing rights. Fishing is one of Senegal's primary economic activities, but stocks off the coast are severely depleted. Subsistence fishing has replaced small-scale operations, resulting in a loss of income as resources disappear. Senegal's fishermen have challenged the government over fishing licenses that it has granted to foreign trawlers to fish in Senegalese waters.⁷⁸

As the assessment team conducted significant data collection in border areas, interviewees were queried about perceptions of threat from violent extremism. While many acknowledged that Senegal may be a target of violent extremist activities, particularly in the area of Dakar, violent extremism did not emerge as a significant concern in regions such as Casamance. However, people in areas bordering Mali and Mauritania, including Saint Louis, Matam, Kédougou and Tambacounda, appear more concerned about the threat of violent extremism.

In relation to other potential conflict dynamics, perception of violent extremist threats was relatively low. People indicated that they generally feel security forces are trained, aware, and taking action to prevent violent extremism. They also believe Senegal is insulated from extremist ideologies by a culture of ethnic and religious tolerance and by the respect accorded to religious leaders. It is important to note the assessment team collected perception data in certain areas of the country and that perceptions of the threat varied from region to region.

Research undertaken by the Timbuktu Institute regarding the factors of radicalization indicates the Matam region may be vulnerable to Islamic radicalism.⁷⁹ Interviewees in Matam acknowledge that violent extremism is a risk, but there appears to be little radicalization thus far. If communities—and in particular youth—continue to be frustrated with policies, implementation of services, and access to economic and social benefits the area could become more susceptible to radicalization.

Senegal has made official public statements against terrorism and sent military personnel to Mali. There appears to be some consensus that Senegal could be an appealing target for violent

⁷⁷ Ibid. (SAIS) Page 10.

⁷⁸ Faye, Souleymane. "Senegal: Dispute Over Fishing Permits for Foreign Fleets Hots Up." Inter press Service news Agency. April 16, 2011. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2011/04/senegal-dispute-over-fishing-permits-for-foreign-fleets-hots-up/>.

⁷⁹ Sambe, Bakary, et al. "Facteurs de Radicalisation Perception du Terrorisme Chez les Jeunes dans la Grande Banlieue de Dakar." Timbuktu Institute. October 2016. p. 19.

extremist attacks, given its status as a regional development and business hub and its strong military relationships with US and French armed forces.

The team heard about joint community and military initiatives to address violent extremist concerns in several regions. The Senegalese military is working to raise awareness and encourage people to report suspicious individuals or radicalized speeches. The army also meets with imams and village chiefs to strengthen relationships.

METHODOLOGY

In 2017, USAID/Senegal requested an assessment of conflict dynamics and mitigating factors to inform their new Country Development Cooperation Strategy (CDCS). From March 22–April 1, 2017, a conflict assessment team conducted field work in seven regions of Senegal.⁸⁰ In addition, the team collected data in Dakar and Banjul, The Gambia to further inform understanding of conflict dynamics in the seven regions.

The assessment team explored contextual trends, shifts, opportunities, and threats to support USAID's efforts to implement a conflict-sensitive portfolio of programs and their ability to achieve intended results.

To inform the upcoming CDCS, the assessment focused on the following key areas of investigation:

- 1) Decentralization and service provision;
- 2) GoS reform agenda (including anticorruption, economic development, land tenure reform, and peace in Casamance);
- 3) Cross-border dynamics (including emigration, trafficking of commodities and persons, violent extremism, and the change of government in The Gambia).

The team also collected data on cross-cutting issues, including how women and youth affect and are affected impacted by conflict dynamics.

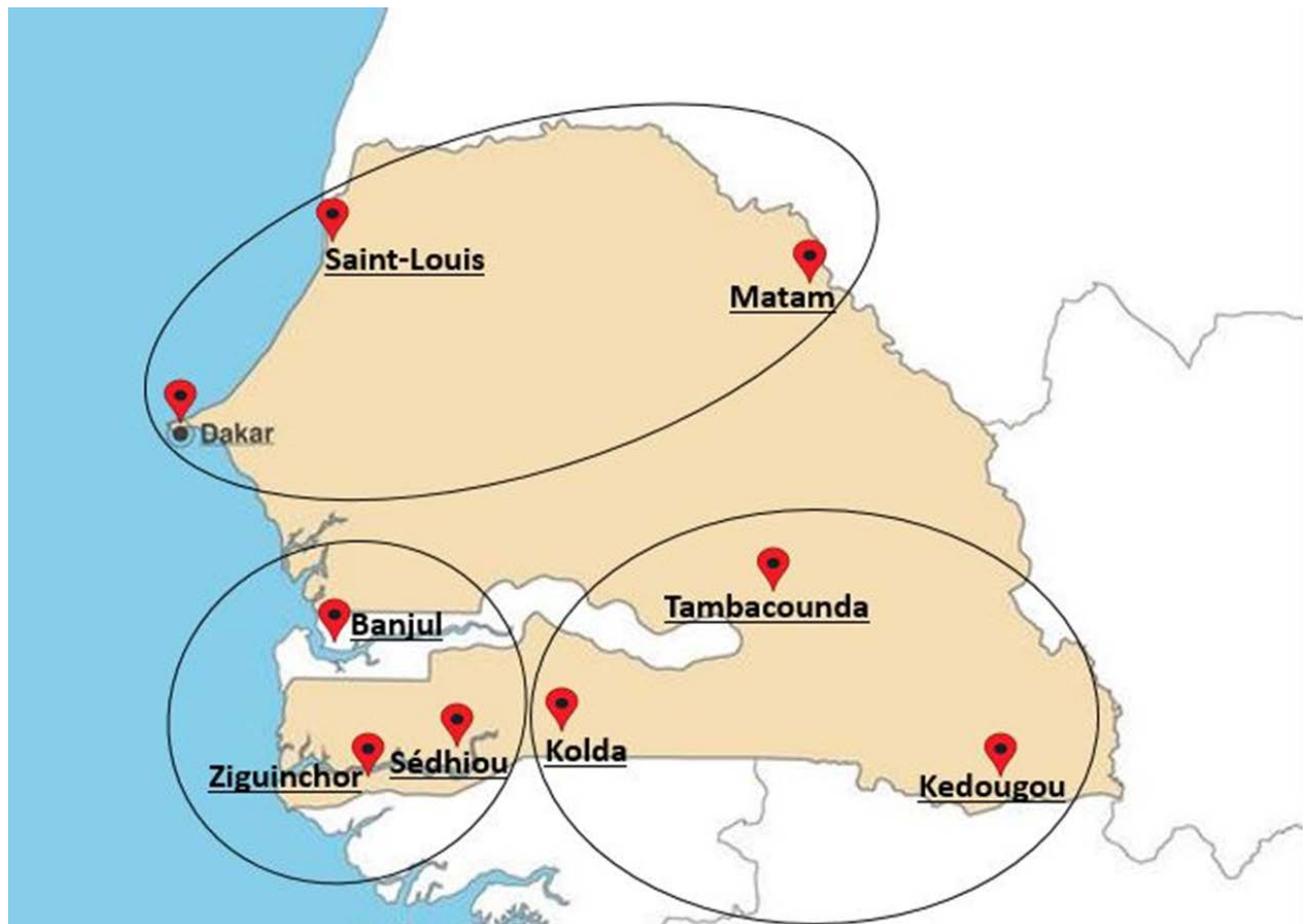
The team focused on collecting perception data because it is largely people's perceptions that drive dynamics related to conflict and peace. The report represents findings, conclusions and recommendations gleaned from this perception data in a subset of border regions. When reviewing the report, it is important to keep in mind the findings, conclusions and recommendations offered by the team relate to how people perceive their reality, which is inherently subjectively linked to their identities and how these identities interact with their environment. Therefore, the assessment represents a snapshot in time, not a comprehensive quantitative study.

Before departing for Senegal to conduct fieldwork, the assessment team completed a desk review. The desk review provided an overview of the political, economic and social context in Senegal today. The review provided a common point of departure for the full assessment team and highlighted gaps in understanding of current conflict issues and trends in Senegal.

⁸⁰ The seven regions visited by the assessment team are Kedougou, Kolda, Matam, Saint Louis, Sedhiou, Tambacounda, and Ziguinchor.

To further develop the desk review, the team lead conducted a series of interviews with U.S. government and non-governmental stakeholders to gain additional perspectives about conflict dynamics in Senegal.

The conflict assessment team used the gaps identified in the desk study and information collected from interviews to design the team interview protocol. (See Annex C.)



Senegal Assessment Team Fieldwork Locations

Fieldwork lasted approximately 11 days (March 22–April 1, 2017). In total, the team met with approximately 400 individuals representing a broad cross-section of Senegalese society. To encourage interviewees to speak candidly, the assessment team agreed to withhold names and other identifying characteristics. Therefore, no quotes or comments in the report are attributed to any one group or individual; instead, they are cited in relation to the region where data collection was conducted.

Given the number of regions and distance the assessment team covered in an 11-day timeframe, it is important to note the team developed the findings, conclusions, and recommendations in this report based on the available data. In each region, the team attempted to interview a cross-section of informants, collecting diverse perspectives and endeavoring to

reach representatives of communities and groups that are often untapped for information gathering. Data for each region was then triangulated, and key findings, conclusions, and recommendations integrated into the report.

To preserve the rich data collected in each region, the report includes regional snapshots (Annex A). Each snapshot consists of narratives compiled from the perception data collected during focus groups and key informant interviews and is organized to mirror the core themes and

mitigating factors components of the main report. Trajectories and recommendations are all included in the main body of this report. While the team believes the findings, conclusions, and recommendations drawn from this data are a valid representation of regional perceptions, it is important to recognize the limitations of the abbreviated data-collection timeframe and scope.

Data collected in seven border regions informed the assessment findings, conclusions, and recommendations. There are 14 regions in Senegal, meaning that the assessment represents dynamics in one-half of the regions nationwide. Therefore, the assessment represents findings in a subset of regions selected based on specific criteria highlighted above and does not necessarily represent conflict dynamics nationwide.

Following fieldwork, the entire team spent three days in Dakar to draw out core themes and mitigating factors (findings); conduct synthesis using a systems mapping approach (conclusions); and project trajectories (potential trends and triggers) that link to recommendations.

To rapidly synthesize significant amounts of perception data collected across three teams, the team applied systems thinking analysis, using feedback loops to identify causal relationships among various factors that contribute to conflict dynamics. The core themes articulated in this report emerged as the most salient and prevalent causal relationships. These themes provide a framework for articulating cross-region and region-specific conflict dynamics.

BOTTOM LINE

Analysis of interview and focus group data clearly indicates that Senegal is not in danger of erupting into widespread violent conflict. However, there are a few conflict dynamics and trajectories that have the potential to erupt in sporadic violence and therefore deserve immediate attention.

- In virtually every region the team visited, land tenure is causing low-level conflict. The tensions may continue as sporadic bursts of violence, but in areas such as Kédougou, where land is linked with livelihoods and perceptions of exclusion, there is the potential for land tenure issues to erupt into a wider conflict.



Who We Heard From

Key Informants/Focus Groups (heard from around 400 ppl):

- NGOs / CSOs
- Media outlets (radio)
- Journalists
- Security forces and police
- Health practitioners
- Parent association
- Youth
- Women
- Religious Leaders
- Traditional and Community Leaders
- Peace Committee
- Mediators
- Local Governments
- National-Level Institutions
- MFDC (Casamance)
- Business/Private Sector
- Implementing Partners
- Farmers
- Pastoralists
- Miners
- Fishermen
- Informal Sector
- Refugees

Sensitive but Unclassified

4

- Youth frustration in Kolda and Kédougou has already led to violence, with youth using SMS and social media as tools for organization. These incidents have the potential to spread to other segments of the population that are dissatisfied with lack of opportunities and the perception that foreign companies and the GoS are benefiting from development while citizens continue to suffer.
- Interviewees in the Saint Louis area warn that the frustrations of fishermen around their inability to make a living in the overfished waters of Senegal and the perceived abandonment have the potential to ignite violence. There are mechanisms in place to resolve disputes among the fishermen (see mitigating factors below), Nonetheless, grievance with the GoS services in charge of the surveillance of the fisheries has the potential to turn violent.
- Ethnic tensions in the border area between The Gambia and Senegal should be monitored.

CROSS-CUTTING SOCIAL PATTERN

Across team interviews, one cross-cutting social pattern emerged in virtually every individual and group discussion: namely the unmet expectations of promised GoS reforms.

Cross-Cutting Social Pattern

Unmet expectations of promised economic, social, and political GoS reforms and limited opportunities for citizen engagement in public-sector decision making have led to growing dissatisfaction and disillusionment of citizens in border regions.

People in the border regions cite some tangible gains from recent government initiatives. Interviewees in Ziguinchor, for instance, mentioned road improvements, new vehicles for public transportation, more boats to Dakar, and improved electricity. In Matam, citizens cited new road construction, universal health coverage, and improved availability of agricultural equipment, solar lighting, and wells. Even within the same region, different segments of the population appear to have different perceptions of improvements. In Matam, for example, pastoralists are harder to access to provide health and education services than farmers are. As a result, these two groups have different perspectives on improvements in these areas.

Although interviewees generally recognized some gains, the majority said they are weary of waiting for evidence of promised reforms, including durable peace in Casamance, economic development benefiting their regions, and decentralization that would bring government closer to the people.

Regional Context: Unmet Expectations

In **Casamance** and **Kédougou**, there is a strong feeling of abandonment and even betrayal by the GoS. This is characterized by perceptions of unequal resource allocation across regions, lack of representation at the national level, and the idea that many of the people in these regions do not feel that they are considered Senegalese by the rest of the country.

Interviewees from **Kédougou** said that when they go to Dakar, they do not feel accepted as Senegalese because they do not speak Wolof. They indicate that it is very difficult to get a passport or other government ID because they are often required to produce documentation going back to their great-grandparents to prove that they are Senegalese. This has a number of downstream effects; for instance, students without identification cannot sit for their exams.

In **Kolda**, many respondents perceive that state resources are allocated unequally and their region is overlooked in favor of others. They point to high youth unemployment, the lack of local government resources, poor health and education services, and a lack of physical infrastructure as evidence of neglect. They also indicated that they believe it is harder to be a young person in Kolda than anywhere else in the country.

Unfulfilled Expectations

“Electoral promises such as the construction of the Kedougou-Salimata road were not respected. There is no road, no hospitals and some schools only have two classes and provisional shelters. Nothing has changed since the previous regime of President Wade.” -- Kedougou.

“Do we even have a government?” --Saint Louis

“The population has grown skeptical that the state will deliver.” --Matam

“It (peace) was a priority for Sall but it didn’t happen.” --Ziguinchor

Women and youth continue to be largely excluded from political and economic spheres.

Gender Perspectives

“Women are dynamic and powerful in communities but their literacy level is low. This is a problem for elected women. If they can build their capacity, then they will be followed and do a lot of good.”—Saint Louis

“The number of women elected is important but they have no power. Men have created a municipal council that benefits only themselves.” --Kolda

“We want to work but we have no options. No training. Society is against women owning a business.” -- Sedhiou.

“Given many men have emigrated and left the region, women bear the workforce and household burden.” --Matam

Because of the Parity Law of 2010, women hold political office, but interviewees say that, with a few exceptions, most women lack the skills and experience to meaningfully participate in governing. Across regions, there is a perception that men choose women they want to be elected and that, once elected, these women vote as the men tell them to. Some interviewees also indicated that women, like other politicians in Senegal, make promises when campaigning but ignore these promises after gaining office.

Laws providing women with access to land remain unenforced in many areas. Married women can work the land belonging to their husband. However, in areas such as Sedhiou and

Tambacounda, women who are widowed or divorced lose access to land, leaving them without a source of livelihood to support their families.

CORE THEMES

Under the umbrella of this social pattern, five distinct but interrelated core themes emerged across the regions that the team visited. It is important to note that how these core themes manifest often differs significantly from region to region. Some of these variances are detailed below. For additional information, refer to the regional snapshots in Annex A. Core themes included perceptions of:

- 1) Limited livelihood opportunities;
- 2) Lack of transparency and politicization of land allocation;
- 3) Local communes have limited capacity to implement decentralization and deliver services;
- 4) Lack of transparency in local commune resource allocation; and
- 5) Political, economic and social exclusion of youth.

In addition to the five core themes that manifested across regions, there were also three themes specific to certain regions. These included perceptions of:

- 6) Security force intimidation of youth (Kolda and Kédougou)
- 7) Neither peace nor war (Casamance – Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, and Kolda)
- 8) Ethnic tensions (border areas between Senegal and the Gambia)

Each of these core themes is explored in further detail below.

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES (ACROSS REGIONS)

Throughout data collection in all regions, interviewees expressed frustration about their inability to make a living. The majority of livelihoods in border regions are inextricably linked to access and availability of natural resources, including arable land, water points, pasture, coastal waters and fish, minerals, and in the future, oil and gas.

Although the GoS launched multiple economic development initiatives to achieve the goals articulated in the PSE, many of these programs are perceived to have limited visibility and impact. The exception to this may be in Matam and Saint Louis, where people were familiar with the PUDC and other programs and could describe some of their benefits.

The women and youth interviewed in several areas mentioned challenges accessing and repaying the small loans that are offered through GoS ministries to support income generation. Women in the informal sector sometimes have small businesses that make enough money to help with food and medical expenses, but little else. In Sedhiou, for example, interviewees indicated that even though government sponsored programs provide access to loans, women have a hard time paying them back. They believe that many of the projects fail because the loans are not accompanied by adequate training, monitoring, or supervision.

Some interviewees described the PUDC and other GoS programs as politicized, jeopardizing the neutrality of the program and selection of beneficiaries. It appears that GoS programs sometimes do not coordinate with the Agence Régionale de Développement (ARDs) or other local authorities and may in fact be working at odds with them. The perceived lack of visibility and impact of the PUDC, PPDC, agriculture programs, and other GoS economic development flagship projects have led people to question the commitment of the GoS to economic development in the border regions.

Some interviewees noted that the newly launched GoS Programme d'Urgence de Modernisation des Axes et Territoires Frontaliers (PUMA) has the potential to improve social infrastructure and security in the border areas. PUMA is designed to enhance border security, reduce isolation of border communities, and improve basic infrastructure for development by improving access to schools, health centers, electricity, and income-generating activities.⁸¹

Many livelihoods in the border regions—such as agriculture, fishing, and mining—are directly linked to natural resources. In the border regions, natural resources are increasingly stressed by climate change, competition, and poor management practices. This can lead to conflicts between pastoralists and farmers in Kolda, Ziguinchor, and Matam, as herds are driven through farmland to reach water points or pastureland. Climate change also is having an impact. In Kolda, people reported that unpredictable temperatures and rains are affecting natural resources.

Many people spoke of impediments to accessing natural resources and suggested that the resources themselves are becoming increasingly scarce. In many regions, access to land for agriculture is limited because of traditional systems of land allocation and political maneuvering. This problem is particularly acute for women.

In all of the regions the team visited, increased pressure on scarce natural resources and land tenure insecurity are reportedly leading people to use strategies that negatively impact sustainable local economic development. Interviewees indicate that, in desperation, some people turn to illicit activities such as trafficking in timber, marijuana cultivation, poaching, banditry, and illegal mining. These activities perpetuate low-level instability, further diminish scarce natural resources, and ultimately inhibit economic development and government reforms.

81 “Le Programme d'Urgence de Modernisation des Axes et Territoires Frontaliers (PUMA) au chevet des déguerpis de Diakha.” http://www.leral.net/Le-Programme-d-Urgence-de-Modernisation-des-Axes-et-Territoires-Frontaliers-PUMA-au-chevet-des-deguerpis-de-Diakha_a196565.html#.

Regional Context: Perspectives on the Lure of Illicit Activities

Collectively, efforts by the Government of The Gambia, the Senegalese Army, and local peacebuilding activities in **Ziguinchor** and **Sedhiou** appear to be reducing illegal timber trafficking activities. However, interviewees raised concerns that people formerly engaged in the timber trade will simply move to marijuana cultivation, banditry, or other illicit activities.

In **Tambacounda**, interviewees indicated that limited livelihood opportunities are leading people, particularly youth, to engage in illicit high-risk activities, such as poaching from the Niokolo Koba National Park, banditry, and trafficking. As mining companies continue to displace populations close to the park, there has been a significant increase in poaching, illegal artisanal mining, and illegal timber harvesting.

Cattle rustlers pose another threat to livelihoods in the border regions. Rustlers come from Mali and Mauritania to **Tambacounda**. In **Kolda**, regular cattle thefts in the area of Sare Bakel often trigger violence as people try to recover their herds. According to interviewees, the nature and magnitude of cattle rustling in **Ziguinchor** and **Sedhiou** are becoming much more dangerous. Cattle rustlers are armed and take a large number of cattle. People have been killed trying to defend their herds.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY AND POLITICIZATION OF LAND ALLOCATION (ACROSS REGIONS)

A common grievance articulated by interviewees is the lack of transparency and consistency in land allocation. They explain that the opaque nature of land allocation leaves room for abuse by those in power and excludes broad segments of the population from the social and economic benefits of development. Land is interwoven with identity and represents the only livelihood opportunity for many people living in rural areas. Without access to land, vulnerable populations are rendered even more vulnerable.

Regional Context: Perspectives on Addressing Land Grievances

Interviewees in **Kédougou** repeatedly raised the issue of populations being displaced by the mining companies without adequate compensation. Some communities, such as Falumu, have already been displaced. Other communities, such as Sabodola, refuse to move and risk being forcibly displaced. Civil society organizations and citizens reportedly are excluded from consultations between the GoS and mining companies, leaving them with force or protests as the only ways to make their voices heard. Communities are particularly aggrieved about exploitation of sacred sites, such as cemeteries, and have not been engaged in dialogue around social and environmental concerns.

As part of GoS reforms, each region will have a mediator who reports to a national mediator in Dakar. The intent is to have all of these positions filled by the end of 2017. Part of the mediators' role is to help resolve community disputes, including those related to land. However, the regional mediators appear to lack the necessary human and financial resources to do their jobs, and the process of engaging a mediator appears to be complex and bureaucratic.

There are some mediation successes at the community level. Banana growers in **Tambacounda** created an association to take their case for continuing cultivation around the Niokolokoba National Park to the local authorities. The effort was successful, and as a result some members are able to cultivate in areas of the park's buffer zone.

Land councils, comprised of elected rural council members and other community leaders such as the Chef du Village, control land allocation decisions at the local level. Council members are appointed by the mayor, and there is a perception that they often vote according to the mayor's wishes. Interviewees indicate that land council members are generally uneducated and do not know land allocation procedures. Too often, they are also corrupt and politicized, making land allocation decisions for political patronage or as gifts to family members. Land councils are also hampered by the vague nature of Senegal's land tenure laws and conflicts between legal and traditional systems of land allocation.

The team repeatedly heard about land being given away as a political favor or to family members. The same land may be sold to two different people or may be sold to an investor even though someone else holds the title. Unclear boundary demarcation leads to conflicts between local communes as they fight over rights to allocate contested land. Interviewees indicated that communes engage in land grabbing to prevent other communes from expanding, leading to conflicts.

Furthermore, interviewees indicated that conflict between formal land laws and traditional systems of land allocation based on cultivating the land for generations or social hierarchy inhibits the effectiveness of formal and informal land dispute resolution mechanisms and leaves the majority of people without recourse. In some communities, the chef du village and possibly Marabouts become involved in negotiations. This can be a conflict of interest since, under the traditional system of land allocation, the family of the chef du village owns most of the land.

In general, interviewees perceive that people have few ways to address land allocation grievances through formal systems or informal mechanisms. There is a lack of clarity around conflicting land allocation and dispute resolution processes. Interviewees explained that there appear to be no discernable objective criteria for land allocation decisions, so it is difficult to clarify how decisions are made or dispute the results.

People in rural areas routinely complain about lack of adequate consultation, despite the requirement that local authorities establish a land commission to inform citizens about land allocations and withdrawals. There are no effective institutional mechanisms for monitoring land allocation processes or accountability at either the national or local levels.⁸²

Interviewees indicated that confusion about land allocation leads to conflicting claims. Most people in rural areas believe that they own their land because it has been passed down for generations. They do not register their land rights, so they do not have deeds. People often do not have money to get a deed. Lack of clarity regarding who holds the deed and how a deed can be acquired seems to perpetuate the confusion. Some interviewees believe the GoS is hesitant to clarify discrepancies between traditional and government allocation processes to avoid upsetting their constituencies and to perpetuate the opacity around land allocation decisions.

⁸² Ibid. (Mamadou Fall) Pages 7-8.

Regional Context: Perspectives on Land Allocation Challenges

In **Matam** many interviewees voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of transparency in land allocation decisions. Some asserted that land is distributed as a political favor or to family members. Others suggested that mayors use deliberate strategies to sell the same land twice or to sell land that belongs to someone else without consultation, due process, or jointly-agreed-upon compensation. Land disputes led to protests last year in the communes of Ogo and Ourosogui after local authorities attempted to seize land.⁸³

Interviewees indicate that the lack of access to land in **Ziguinchor** and **Sedhiou** inhibits livelihood opportunities and participation in development activities by women and youth. The fact that women rarely own land or receive land for cultivation increases their economic vulnerability. Youths also have limited access to land, and their inability to produce proof of land ownership limits their ability to participate in agribusiness support programs.

Interviewees in **Kédougou** cited situations in which more than one person hold title to the same piece of land. In some cases, someone arrives in Kédougou to develop recently purchased land to find it occupied by someone else. The local person living on the land may not have a title may hold a competing title. In many cases, local populations in rural areas do not have the financial resources or connections to fight the sale of their land. They are rendered landless and often are left without other livelihood options.

In **Ziguinchor**, land allocation was identified as a significant potential source of conflict. Residents perceive that the local government allocates land to businesses without the consent of or adequate compensation for people living on the land. Many local communities and vulnerable populations indicated that the government has taken their land to build government service facilities or to reallocate to others.

Interviewees explained that the border between **Kédougou** and Bandafassi is not clearly delimited. This has led to conflict because both communes want to expand their territory.

Sometimes multiple communes claim and distribute the same land. For instance, the lack of clear boundary demarcations in **Saint Louis** has resulted in communes allocating land belonging to another commune. Interviewees expressed frustration at the lack of shared criteria for land allocation, lack of consultations with the affected populations, and inadequate compensation.

Interviewees indicate these dynamics of exclusion are exacerbated when the GoS negotiates land agreements with large international companies. In Kédougou, for example, local populations argue that, although they do not have formal title to the land or mining permits, they have traditional rights to the land by virtue of using it for generations—long before discovering the gold that has drawn international corporations to the area.⁸⁴ These populations have felt completely left out of mining concession negotiations.

⁸⁴ Prause, Louise. "West Africa's Gold Mining Future? Conflicts Around Gold Mining in Senegal." Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. February 2016. http://www.rosalux.sn/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/RLS_WestAfrica_NaturalResources_022016.pdf. pp. 5-7.

LIMITED CAPACITY OF LOCAL COMMUNES TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES (ACROSS REGIONS)

Although interviewees expressed support for the concept of decentralization and bringing government closer to the people, many Senegalese are frustrated with incomplete implementation. Rushed enactment of the latest phase of the GOS' decentralization reform has left local governments without the human capacity and financial resources to properly implement decentralization initiatives or provide services. While interviewees, particularly in Saint Louis and Matam, identified some improvements with decentralization, the majority in Casamance, Kédougou, and Tambacounda indicated decentralization has not changed service delivery. Indeed, some respondents indicated that they feel worse off.

Lack of Skilled Professionals

“Most of the professionals who are assigned to the region refuse to come.” – Tambacounda

“Despite decentralization efforts, we have a top down approach. All experts and big salaries are in Dakar. The jobs are in Dakar and territories like Saint Louis have trouble attracting and retaining qualified staff.” – Saint Louis

Many interviewees recognize that local governments are unable to deliver transferred competencies and hold the central government responsible for failing to transfer adequate resources. According to interviewees, transfers from the central government to the local level are enough to pay salaries but not much else. The team heard repeatedly that schools and health facilities, especially in the border areas, are in very poor condition.

Interviewees in remote areas also explained that it is difficult to attract and retain skilled staff in places like Kédougou and Tambacounda. The challenging living conditions often drive people from other parts of the country away after two or three years.

As a result, citizen expectations of local governments are low. Rather than placing pressure on local governments to improve service delivery, citizens generally turn to NGOs and remittances. The resulting lack of pressure on and scrutiny of local government resource allocation decisions facilitate an environment in which elected officials can use their positions to allocate remaining monies according to their own interests. (See lack of transparency in local commune resource allocation below).

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION (ACROSS REGIONS)

This dynamic is strongly linked to the discussion around lack of local commune capacity and resources to implement decentralization and provide services (above). In many cases, citizens turn to NGOs rather than demanding transparency in resource allocation or improved service provision from elected officials and local governments. This creates space for local commune

officials to act with impunity when allocating resources.

Corruption

“Mayors can be stopped from taking money and held accountable through elections but once elected nothing stops them from seeing how much money they can get.” --Dakar.

“Mayors signed their papers to receive funds to the detriment of communities.” -- Tambacounda

In November 2016, the GoS published a new mining code requiring companies to allocate 0.5 percent of their net sales tax to support local authorities. These funds are to be used for economic and social development of surrounding

communities and must include women's empowerment. Twenty percent (20%) of state revenues from mining operations go to a support and equalization fund for local authorities. However, while it appears some funds are beginning to arrive in Kédougou, interviewees report that very few people (usually only the mayors) know how these funds are being allocated.

Interviewees indicate there is limited communication between local elected officials and citizens. They identify few channels for citizens to engage in planning and budgeting decisions and report that civil society organizations lack the capacity to effectively advocate for transparency and accountability regarding local commune resource allocation. These dynamics perpetuate weak economic and social development, leaving citizens increasingly disenchanting with and disengaged from governance.

Regional Context: Perspectives on Transparent and Accountable Local Government

In regions **Tambacounda, Matam, Kolda, and Saint Louis**, people indicated that elected officials do not work for the entire community but rather selectively distribute resources to promote their own electoral interests and reward their constituents. Citizens feel powerless to affect decisions or hold decision makers accountable. In Kolda, the absence of local officials representing the population is felt most keenly along the border, where the mayor is often not physically present.

Many people interviewed in **Kédougou** raised concerns that mining companies are paying the GoS but people are not seeing the benefits. They hold the GoS responsible for negotiating a bad agreement for Kédougou, and they hold the mayor responsible when resources do come from the central level.

In **Kédougou**, interviewees indicated that only counselors are invited to budget hearings. Access to information by the public is denied. In general, interviewees say that citizens are unaware of their roles and responsibilities in governance. The lack of civic participation means that no one holds accountable mayors or other local government officials.

In **Ziguinchor, Kolda**, and several other areas, CSOs are perceived as competing with each other for donor funds. Interviewees complain that CSOs do not effectively advocate for more transparent and accountable governance. Instead, they put their own financial interests ahead of the interests of the people and organizations they are supposed to represent.

In **Kédougou**, interviewees say that CSOs are often pushed aside by the government and appear to have limited capacity to mobilize. In **Tambacounda** and **Ziguinchor**, interviewees indicated significant overlap and duplication of efforts among CSOs, which hampers their effectiveness.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH (ACROSS REGIONS)

Across all regions visited, youth feel excluded from political, economic, and social participation. Many youths reported they do not understand how to participate or insert their voice into political processes. Youths often leave school early to find jobs, but generally this employment is not sustainable. Interviewees explain limited education, training opportunities and lack of the political connections needed to get a good job, leave youth struggling to advance economically. Like many other segments of the population, youth generally perceive they are not benefiting from GoS development projects like the PUDC and PPDC. With few livelihood opportunities, many youth move to urban areas or emigrate to other countries, even if this means risking their lives.

Interviewees indicated that cultural norms and values limit women’s meaningful participation in social, economic, and political spheres. In more conservative regions, such as Kédougou and Sedhiou, cultural norms may prevent girls from going to school and young women from having jobs. Interviewees in Kédougou indicated that parents of girls often want them to marry and start a family rather than attend school. In Sedhiou, even parents who have financial means may keep girls out of school because of cultural norms against girls studying or working. Interviewees report that girls often drop out of school early because of marriage or pregnancy.

Regional Context: Perspectives on Youth Exclusion

In **Sedhiou**, youth expressed frustration with Le Programme des Domaines Agricoles Communautaires (PRODAC), and other government programs under the Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes (ANPEJ). In general, they highlighted difficulty securing loans even when they met the criteria and cited that they lack experiences, skills, and support necessary to be successful in these projects.

Interviewees report that many young people in **Kédougou** leave school early, attracted by the allure of finding gold. This perpetuates a young workforce that lacks the skills or education to succeed. The mining companies offer local youth only short-term or occasional work. There is a perception that educated youth in Kédougou move to Dakar or to another country for better opportunities.

In **Sedhiou**, the team heard that early pregnancy and marriage—including forced marriage—often leading girls to drop out of school. Sometimes female students also drop out to find work. Violence against women and genital mutilation are common in Sedhiou. Women and girls who are sexually assaulted often are afraid to seek justice and fear being blamed or stigmatized for the attack and being further abused or killed. This can contribute to psychological difficulties, sometimes even leading to suicide.

In **Matam**, even in the few instances where youth are represented in the municipal committees, youth indicate that they believe their opinions are not considered. Youth representatives appear to have no role in local government budget design, execution, or monitoring. Interviewees also indicated that youth are targeted by politicians only around elections.

Youth in **Saint Louis** also lamented weak representation in local government. Although youth councils want to be involved, they do not know how to engage in local governance. They feel excluded from decision-making processes and struggle to have their voices heard. Youth feel used by politicians during elections and are disappointed when political promises are not fulfilled.

Unlike other areas, in **Tambacounda**, interviewees indicate that youth are quite well organized. Although they are not part of political decision-making bodies, youth have tried to hold accountable local elected officials and the GoS by demanding more transparency and citizen participation in public resource management.

SECURITY FORCE INTIMIDATION OF YOUTH (KOLDA AND KEDOUGOU)

Youth in Kolda and Kédougou are increasingly frustrated by harsh treatment at the hands of security forces and have begun to organize. Youth have obtained information about their rights from the Internet and informal youth networks and have

Urban Youth

“Conflict dynamics in large urban centers with significant youth populations are reaching a critical stage.” –Kolda

come to view security force actions not only as unacceptable, but also illegal.

According to interviewees, traditional and community approaches for mediating conflicts have broken down in Kolda and Kédougou. As youth become increasingly aware of their rights, they feel they have no other alternatives than to take action on their own. They are participating in protests, refusing to pay bribes to security forces, and calling for increased local government transparency and accountability. Youth actions are perceived as a threat to the interests of local authorities and security forces, which in turn respond with even harsher responses.

Regional Context

According to interviewees, security forces in **Kédougou** are very unpopular and use disproportionate levels of force against local citizens, especially youth. There is a perception that the security forces are being paid by the mining companies and therefore do not serve as neutral actors.

Interviewees indicated that youth in **Kédougou** are mobilizing, particularly in response to grievances with the GoS and large mining companies. Earlier this year, youth activated networks by phone and the Internet to block roads around Kédougou, forcing five busloads of mine workers to spend the night in the city.

In **Kolda**, interviewees indicate that youth become Jakarta drivers or engage in other hazardous work because they have few alternatives. There are many Jakarta drivers in Kolda. The industry is unregulated, leading to the arrest of youths and subjecting them to harassment at the hands of security forces.

Data from interviews suggest that the credibility of traditional mediation mechanisms with youth has eroded in **Kolda**. The number of altercations between youth and security forces is increasing, as is the severity of security force responses. There appear to be no universally accepted mediators, but a few civil society organizations and individuals are stepping into this role.

NEITHER PEACE NOR WAR (CASAMANCE – KOLDA, SEDHIOU, AND ZIGUINCHOR)

There is a widespread perception, particularly in Ziguinchor and Sedhiou, that there will always be instability without a formal peace agreement. The majority of people who met with the team indicated that economic growth continues to be constrained by landmines, low-level insecurity, lack of investment, limited dividends from the PPDC, and few, if any, improvements in service delivery. Interviewees also indicate that a formal peace agreement is a prerequisite for economic development.

Perceptions of limited economic growth and the absence of a formal peace agreement erode the credibility of reform promises and the legitimacy of the MFDC. Many people question President Sall's commitment to follow through on campaign promises of a negotiated peace agreement and economic development in Casamance. This skepticism fuels perceptions of marginalization and abandonment.

People generally believe that the MFDC is not unified and blame both the combatants and the GoS for the ongoing conflict. People view GoS attempts to address the conflict through promises of economic development as important but not sufficient. There is a perception that the GoS continues to ignore the cultural aspects of the conflict.

Interviewees stated that there are no established channels for community-level participation in the formal peace process. Many people indicated that the high-level facilitators do not represent the population but work for themselves, sometimes even appearing to compete with each other. Similarly, they question the motives of CSOs, indicating that some CSOs do not represent the populations they claim to represent and have turned the conflict into a business. Without community involvement, there is little pressure on the GoS and the MFDC to formalize a peace agreement.

Many people who met with the team asked for direct USAID or U.S. government intervention to support the peace process. Requests varied from technical assistance in support of MFDC reunification to playing a more robust role in moving the peace process forward. Some interviewees said that only a strong external actor, such as the U.S. or European governments, will have leverage to move the process forward.

Interviewees indicated communities are increasingly attempting to negotiate with the MFDC for access to their villages. MFDC factions, however, are sensitive about maintaining their buffer zones and in some areas hamper de-mining activities, which limits potential returns. Many people feel that combatants will not come out of the bush and reintegrate without a formal peace agreement and a process of reconciliation between villagers and combatants.

ETHNIC TENSIONS (BORDER AREAS BETWEEN SENEGAL AND THE GAMBIA)

There is a perception in both Senegal and The Gambia that the Diola ethnic group has played a role in perpetrating violent conflict, both as leaders and members of the MFDC and as perceived allies of former president Jammeh in The Gambia.

Former president Jammeh, a Diola, created the seeds of division among Diolas and other ethnic groups, particularly the Mandinka. He appointed members of his own ethnic group to high-level positions in the government and the military, even though many of them were perceived as unqualified.

The new president, Adama Barrow, is a Mandinka. Many interviewees for this assessment perceive that his government is not appointing Diolas, but rather Mandinkas and representatives of other coalitions. Some cautioned the new government has to proceed carefully as it makes appointments to avoid perceptions of the ethnic favoritism and exclusion perpetrated under President Jammeh.

Secret graves of victims of the Jammeh regime have been discovered, and some interviewees indicated Diolas may be implicated because of their perceived association with the former president. Refugee populations, easily identified as Diola, are particularly vulnerable. The people interviewed by the assessment team had mixed opinions about whether a violent backlash against Diolas was likely.

Many people acknowledge there remain Jammeh supporters in the military capable of fomenting insecurity. Approximately 500 ECOWAS troops are in Banjul under a three-month mandate that began on February 21 that includes protecting the new president and other members of the government. In March, President Barrow requested an additional 1,000 Senegalese troops under a new security treaty signed between the two countries. Barrow indicated Senegalese

support was necessary to help stabilize the situation so that the new government can move forward with military reforms and training.

The Gambian government has recently suspended issuing passports and identity cards. Some interviewees speculated that this action was taken as part of an attempt to sort out who is really a Gambian citizen from those who have obtained documentation illegally. At the same time, some interviewees reported that refugees from the Casamance are having difficulties obtaining refugee ID cards. In response to these dynamics, President Barrow has begun reaching out to Diola communities, emphasizing the importance of moving forward as one country, regardless of ethnic affiliation. These messages reportedly have been well received.

Given the strong relationship between the governments of Senegal and The Gambia, many interviewees expressed hope that The Gambia's change of government will open the door to advance the formal peace process and further economic partnerships. The Gambian government has already demonstrated willingness to shut down cross-border timber trafficking and stop all support for the MFDC.

MITIGATING FACTORS

Mitigating factors are elements that have the potential to dampen violent conflict. They can be thought about as social patterns of resilience. Mitigating factors are not normatively positive or negative. They do, however, play a role in diminishing the likelihood of violence.

The assessment team identified the several mitigating factors that cut across regions. The number of mitigating factors contributes to the team conclusion that widespread violent conflict is unlikely to erupt in Senegal. For additional details of the mitigating factors below, or for mitigating factors specific to only one region, refer to the regional snapshots in Annex A.

EMIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Emigration to urban areas or other countries seems to serve as a release valve for frustrations resulting from the lack of opportunities, particularly for youth. Many young people with whom the team spoke feel everything is centered in Dakar and see no future in the border regions. Interviewees explain that emigration is a last resort for people who have lost hope that the GoS will support employment opportunities at home. The people who emigrate to urban areas or other countries often send remittances back that help to meet community needs.

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES

In the majority of regions visited by the team—including Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Kolda, Kédougou, Matam, and Saint Louis—interviewees indicated that the chef du village continues to play an important role in mediating conflicts. Other traditional structures engaged in conflict mediation vary from region to region.

However, interviewees in all of these regions except for Kédougou also believe traditional mechanisms tend to resonate less with youth. Some young interviewees indicated the older chefs du village are disconnected from the issues that affect youth. At the

Traditional Structures and Youth

“The strength that elders had over the youth no longer exists.” –Tambacounda

same time, youth from more conservative areas indicated that they will comply with a decision even if they disagree because it is important to respect parents and elders.

In several regions—including Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Kédougou and Matam—interviewees outlined a hierarchy of steps traditionally used to address conflicts of varying magnitudes. Many people, particularly in more conservative areas, first approach the chef du village and may also engage village elders or religious authorities. If the conflict cannot be resolved at this level, the next step is to go to a formal authority such as the mayor or counselor. The gendarmerie and the courts are considered an avenue of last resort and are generally only used for serious issues, if someone is killed, for example.

Other traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution remain in place, such as Cousinage a plainsanterie that allows different ethnic and family groups to tease each other in jest serving to remind people that they are all part of the same large family. Interviewees indicated these social structures are still generally respected but need to adapt to remain relevant.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS (IMAMS AND CHRISTIAN CLERGY)

According to interviewees, religious leaders continue to play a strong role in moderating behavior in Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Saint Louis, and Matam. In Kolda, some people believe that religious leaders are losing influence over youth and are not as involved in conflict resolution. The role of religious authorities is reportedly weaker in Kédougou and Tambacounda.

Under President Diouf, religious leaders were engaged in the formal Casamance peace process. Interviewees, explained that religious leaders are informed about the formal process and serve as resources when requested, but they play no formal role. In Sedhiou and Ziguinchor, religious leaders still play an important role in dispute resolution at the community level and work to raise awareness about the importance of reconciliation and forgiveness.

Interviewees indicated that some imams report suspicious activities to the prefect if they feel there are individuals or organizations are engaging in practices that run counter to Islam, such as encouraging violence.

KINSHIP TIES AND ETHNIC INTERMARRIAGE

Extensive kinship ties across regions and international borders, as well as intermarriage among ethnic groups, appear to contribute significantly to conflict prevention and resolution.

Several people in the Casamance and The Gambia highlighted the stabilizing nature of cross-border kinship ties and a natural solidarity that has historically existed. As evidence, they cite the electoral crisis in The Gambia, when many people who fled to Senegal stayed with families rather than going to refugee camps.

In Kolda, interviewees reported that some land disputes are being resolved by bringing elders from Mauritania and Mali to conduct mediation between the parties. They contrast the effectiveness and durability of agreements reached using this approach with the relative helplessness of state authorities to resolve these situations.

Kinship Ties Mitigate Violence

“If the sub-region did not have cultural, historic kinship relations across borders and only state interests, you would most certainly have violent conflict in the region.” – Tambacounda.

In Matam, interviewees indicated that communities have strong, peaceful relationships with Mauritians. There are intermarriages between families on both sides of the border and people regularly move back and forth to see family members and conduct business.

INDICATIONS THAT THE MFDC IS MOVING TOWARD UNIFICATION

There is a widespread belief among the Casamançais interviewed that there is a new window of opportunity to negotiate a formal peace agreement between the GoS and the MFDC. Many people attribute this opening to the change of government in The Gambia, which is no longer offering protection to the MFDC and is closing its border to illicit timber trafficking.

Most interviewees in Sedhiou and Ziguinchor feel the MFDC is moving closer to unification within the military wing and possibly between the political and military wings.

Even if the MFDC is not completely unified, most people feel that a greater level of unification is likely. Many also indicated that it is important for the GoS to take advantage of this window of opportunity and engage The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau in the peace process moving forward.

In Ziguinchor, the team repeatedly heard that both the MFDC and communities are tired. Interviewees say everyone wants formal peace so that they can move forward. Communities are less afraid of the MFDC and tell the MFDC that they want peace and economic development.

LOCAL CONFLICT MITIGATION MECHANISMS

Local conflict mitigation mechanisms contribute to both preventing and resolving conflicts. *Comités de Gestion de la Paix (CGP)* were created under the *Dialogue et Reconciliation Transfrontalière dans le Balantacounda Senegal (DIRECT)* activity, which was implemented by *Afrique Enjeux* from 2012 to 2015 using USAID peacebuilding funds. Comprised of citizens and traditional leaders, CGPs work to strengthen dialogue and reconciliation initiatives around cattle rustling and other issues in communities on the border between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.⁸⁵ Other communities, such as those targeted by USAID-funded SCOPE program, also have peace committees, but these CGPs have been operating for longer, which appears to give them additional legitimacy. Although donor funding has ceased, the CGPs continue to operate today.

The Fisheries Department at the national level has helped to establish fishing management committees—*Conseil Local de Peche Artisanale (CLPA)*—in each fishing area of Senegal. Each CLPA has a conflict resolution commission established to prevent and resolve conflicts among fishermen. USAID's *Collaborative Management for Sustainable Fisheries in Senegal (COMFISH)* works with the councils in Saint Louis support to the GoS initiatives to reform the fishing sector.

⁸⁵ SCOPE and DIRECT Draft Evaluation Report. p. 12.

FAITH IN THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

In some regions, such as Saint Louis and Matam, people express faith in the electoral system and the power of their vote to bring about change. This indicates that, at least from their perspective, the electoral system is working.

In Matam, interviewees professed a strong commitment to elections and described the vote as the best way to effect change. In Saint Louis, virtually all interviewees, including the fishing communities, similarly expressed confidence in the electoral system and the power of their votes.

TRAJECTORIES

This section builds on the prior discussion of conflict dynamics and offers anticipated trajectories based on analysis of the data collected. These trajectories represent the assessment team's best thinking about how the conflict dynamics discussed above will evolve in the coming years.

This section is organized into four sub-sections in order of concern:

- **Immediate concern:** These trajectories have the potential to erupt into sporadic violence in the short term. They should be considered areas for immediate attention.
- **Concern:** These trajectories have the potential to erupt in the short or longer term. The presence of mitigating factors helps to keep the likelihood of sporadic violence in check but the right trigger could lead to violence. These areas should be addressed and integrated into development programming.
- **Latent:** These trajectories do not appear to have the potential to erupt into violence in the short term. There are mitigating factors and windows of opportunity (including legislative reform, service delivery improvements, and so forth) that will likely enable these trajectories to be addressed in the context of donor programming and GoS reform.
- **Mitigating:** These trajectories are serving to dampen the potential for violent conflict. In the event that contextual changes impact the mitigating effect of these trajectories, the mission should reexamine this categorization.

Trajectories include both trends, which are how the team projects conflict dynamics will unfold, and potential triggers, which are events that may ignite grievances and spark violent conflict. The triggers listed below represent possibilities identified by the assessment team. Triggers are often difficult to predict, however, and other triggers may emerge.

IMMEDIATE CONCERN

1) *Trajectory: Continued exploitation of natural resources and lack of economic development in Kédougou and Saint Louis.*

Trend: Perceived lack of access to livelihood opportunities and exclusion from economic and social benefits of natural resource exploitation may lead to violent conflict.

In Kédougou, communities have been removed from their land by force, and some displaced people have vowed to fight with their lives. They do not feel properly compensated for land given to the mining companies and are not realizing economic or social benefits from gold-mining operations. There is a perception that companies get rich, but the local communities continue to suffer.

Villagers in Sabodala feel powerless as they realize their sacred woods and cemeteries, which they thought would be protected, will be destroyed. They complain that they were not consulted, and many blame the GoS for negotiating to give away their land. According to interviewees, the GoS has sent in the military to ensure that the company is able to access the land. Community leaders without money or political connections feel they have no access to recourse.

Kedouvins Pushed to the Brink

Citizens of Kedougou feel marginalized and stigmatized by the rest of the country, abandoned by their government, and mistreated by security forces.

“When Kedouvins actually protest, you know it is really bad.” –Kedougou

There is also significant environmental contamination from both artisanal mining and company operations. Water sources are contaminated by mercury, and the air is thick with dust.

Potential trigger: If a community member is hurt during company operations, people may gather to protest, which could lead to violence. Violence that erupts in Sabodala has the potential to spread to Kédougou.

In Saint Louis, fishermen are frustrated by lack of access to Mauritanian waters. Respondents worry that there may also be increased conflict as a result of competition between artisanal and industrial fishermen or incompatible fishing practices (such as angling versus nets). Conflicts may also arise as fishermen from Saint Louis move further south to fish in waters currently fished by other coastal communities. Some fishermen may turn to illicit fishing due to lack of alternatives.

The Senegalese Navy is constructing a base close to the border with Mauritania, in part to keep Senegalese and Mauritanian fishermen on their respective sides of the border. This may lead to conflicts between the Senegalese Navy and Senegalese fishermen who feel constrained rather than supported by their government. Interviewees in Saint Louis perceive the GoS to have abandoned fishing communities on several issues. They point to the inability of fishermen to access Mauritanian waters, GoS agreements with the EU and Russia to allow industrial fishing, and a lack of support in livelihood diversification. An interministerial council recently announced that a parcel of land and fishing equipment returned by Mauritania will be provided to 500 Senegalese fishermen,⁸⁶ Fishermen may perceive such actions by the GoS as a positive sign, which may help to mitigate the likelihood of conflict.

Potential trigger: If a Senegalese fisherman is shot by the Mauritanian Coast Guard or is otherwise a victim of targeted violence, it could trigger retaliation.

86 “Conseil interministériel : Un besoin de 15 milliards de FCfa pour réhabiliter la brèche de Saint-Louis.” Le Soleil Online. May 3, 2017. <http://www.newsjs.com/url.php?p=http://www.lesoleil.sn/2016-03-22-23-21-32/item/64130-conseil-interministeriel-un-besoin-de-15-milliards-de-fcfa-pour-rehabiliter-la-breche-de-saint-louis.html>.

If the Senegalese Navy detains or redirects fishermen attempting to cross into Mauritanian waters it could spark a violent reaction.

2) *Trajectory: Perceived victimization of youth in Kolda and Kédougou and security force buildup may spark larger-scale violence.*

In Kédougou, frustrations in the gold-mining areas appear to be at a tipping point. Youth and community leaders feel exploited and hopeless. In the village of Sabodala, local leaders say they have not been engaged in consultations about land allocation or community relations with the mining companies. They cannot comprehend why the GoS is giving away their village and their land, cemetery, and fetiches, which comprise a significant part of their identity and their livelihoods. Some claim that they are ready to sacrifice their lives to keep their land.

Jakarta “time bomb”

“The Jakarta conflict is like a little time bomb. The youth need employment.” –Kolda

In March, violent protests in Kolda were triggered by an incident between a Jakarta⁸⁷ driver and a police officer. Protesters, who reportedly organized using SMS, ransacked the police station and other buildings.

Trend: Increasing tensions between communities, mining companies (Kédougou) and security forces in Kolda and Kédougou may spark larger-scale violence.

In Kédougou, community relationships with the mining companies and the police are so tense that even a small-scale confrontation could rapidly degenerate into violent conflict. Porous borders with Mali facilitate easy access to weapons, increasing the possibility that conflicts could turn deadly.

During protests in Kolda, youth chanted the names of people who had been killed by the police. A number of people were arrested. Not all of the arrests were Jakarta drivers, which indicates that the protests had succeeded in mobilizing a broader segment of the population. A few of those arrested received sentences ranging from one to three months, but the majority of protestors were released based on lack of evidence.⁸⁸ Similar events could unleash an underlying wave of frustration over harsh living conditions in Kolda.

Potential trigger: Any confrontation in which community members are injured or killed by mining company workers (Kédougou) or security forces.

Potential trigger: Altercations between Jakarta drivers (Kolda) and security forces.

In Kédougou, if the GoS allows security forces to remove people from their villages in the Sabodala gold-mining zone, it could degenerate into violent conflict. Kinship ties between rural and urban areas may result in the rapid spreading of protests or violent conflict from mining

⁸⁷ A local term for motorbike.

⁸⁸ “Emeutiers de Kolda : trois jeunes condamnés à 3 mois ferme, deux autres à 1 mois.” Dakaractu. March 29, 2017. http://www.dakaractu.com/Emeutiers-de-Kolda-trois-jeunes-condamnes-a-3-mois-ferme-deux-autres-a-1-mois_a129045.html.

areas around Sabodala to the capital city of Kédougou. Violence could also erupt in response to arrest and sentencing of protestors.

3) *Trajectory: Increasing ethnic tensions near The Gambia–Senegal border*

Refugees who fled the Casamance and are living in The Gambia are mostly Diolas, many of whom escaped from the Senegalese Army. They live in host communities in The Gambia, but they are easily identifiable as Diolas and could be targets if ethnic tensions escalate.

There are some indications that President Barrow is making overtures to the Diola community, conveying the message that being Gambian is more important than ethnic identity and emphasizing the need for everyone to move forward together. Other proponents for peace, such as Imam Baba Ly, have likewise spoken out for a united Gambia. Many interviewees indicated that there is still an opportunity to mitigate ethnic tensions before violence erupts.

Trend: Growing ethnic tensions, particularly among the Diolas (the ethnic group of former president Jammeh) and the Mandinka (the ethnic group of President Barrow).

To the extent that President Barrow and other voices for unity are able to mitigate tensions, potential triggers will not lead to violence. If tensions are further inflamed—perhaps by perceptions that Diolas are being replaced by Mandinkas in high-level positions—the tensions may trigger violence that could spill across the border into Senegal.

Potential trigger: Altercation between a Diola and Mandinka in which one party is killed or injured leads to a violent backlash against Diolas.

In this scenario, refugees are particularly vulnerable because they are easily identifiable as Diola and have limited protection. Refugees may flee back across the border into Casamance to escape, or they could call upon their kin in Casamance to protect them. Both scenarios could lead to violence on both sides of the border.

CONCERN

4) *Trajectory: Perception of Casamance marginalization by the GoS may lead to sporadic violence.*

Many interviewees expressed frustration that President Sall's promises for reform in the Casamance have not been realized five years after his election. The lack of visible investment and economic growth, poor service delivery, and no formal resolution to the conflict in Casamance fuel the narrative of marginalization.

Perceptions are mixed about whether conflict could reignite in the Casamance. However, the majority of interviewees indicated that frustration will grow if perceptions of marginalization by the GoS are reinforced by the lack of both economic growth and a formal peace agreement.

Trend: Continued perceptions of Casamançais marginalization by the GoS may heighten frustrations, leading to sporadic violence.

Despite expectations raised by the Sall government at the time of elections, Casamance remains in a state of “neither peace nor war”. Interviews indicate Casamançais have not seen the economic growth that was promised. As timber trafficking and other illicit trade becomes less viable, livelihood options are becoming limited further. People in this region continue to feel that resources are concentrated in the North and that they do not receive a fair share from the GoS. They take this as a sign that the GoS does not really care about Casamance.

Potential triggers: There may be multiple options for triggers if frustrations continue to build. These may overlap with other trajectories such as potential for youth altercations with security forces (Kolda), or disputes over land.

5) *Trajectory: Opaque land allocation to large companies limit livelihood options for affected populations and provide limited social and economic development.*

As indicated above, there are some immediate concerns around allocation of land linked to the exploitation of natural resources and the impact this is having on people’s livelihoods. While fishing and mining are already experiencing high levels of tension (see above), other sectors, including agribusiness and the oil exploitation off the coast of Saint Louis, could become flashpoints.

Trend: Continued GoS land allocation to large companies for agribusiness and oil and gas exploitation without perceived compensation to land holders and benefits to surrounding communities has the potential to lead to violence.

Agribusiness development, which is part of the PSE, is just starting in Matam. The GoS also is encouraging agribusiness investment in the Casamance. Interviewees express concerns about the structure of these agreements and future access to land. Interviewees wonder whether agribusiness companies will invest in local production capacity, which will generate employment and infrastructure, or merely export raw materials, taking the majority of profits elsewhere.

In Saint Louis, communities are already expressing fears of environmental contamination, an influx of foreign labor, and displacement. Discussions among various stakeholders—including students, professors, local government authorities, and experts in extractives—are underway to prepare for dialogue with Kosmos. For now, people interviewed by the team expressed confidence that Kosmos will follow through on promises not to displace local populations, to address environmental issues, and to train and hire local youth. They anticipate establishing a multi-stakeholder monitoring group made up of residents and government authorities.

Potential triggers: Although the situation will continue to evolve, potential triggers could mirror those associated with the mining sector in Kédougou and Tambacounda.

Perspectives on Peace in Casamance

“The flame can always rekindle.”
– Ziguinchor.

“Things have calmed down but we don’t know for how long. People haven’t gotten anything from this peace....It isn’t a peace but a break in the conflict.” – Ziguinchor

“The MFDC can no longer go back to conflict as people are now fed up with the conflict.” – Ziguinchor

“We need a political solution for this. We can’t have peace without an agreement.”
– Ziguinchor

“Peace has become a business.”
– Ziguinchor

Perceptions that Kosmos is not fulfilling its promises, local populations are being excluded from the economic and social benefits accruing from oil revenues, or the allocation of land for agribusiness is leading to forced removal may be triggers.

LATENT

These trajectories represent latent grievances, meaning they will not likely erupt into violence in the immediate future. However, if the trends discussed below continue and people do not perceive there to be any change, grievances may trigger conflict. This may be particularly true in regions like Tambacounda, where frustration with perceived lack of transparency and nepotism by local officials appears to be increasing.

6) *Trajectory: Unmet expectations of decentralization and service delivery.*

The GoS appears to have the opportunity to improve implementation of decentralization and service delivery at the local level. Many citizens and organizations strongly believe in the concept of decentralization and approve of bringing government closer to the people. They also understand local governments do not have the capacity or the resources to provide services, however. Some interviewees in Saint Louis and Matam indicate that they have seen improvements and say that it is too early to determine the success or failure of decentralization.

Trend: Perception that decentralization has brought little in terms of improved service delivery and more responsive local governments.

People are watching closely for incremental movement around implementation of complete fiscal decentralization and clarity around powers of taxation and generation of non-tax revenues. These will provide local governments with additional resources to implement decentralized services and ultimately improve the quality and access to services at the local level.

Potential triggers: If people do not see improvements over time, they are likely to grow more frustrated..

7) *Trajectory: Frustrated youth expectations around perceived exclusion from economic, political, and social benefits.*

Right now, this does not appear to be an immediate threat, except perhaps in Kolda and Kédougou (see above under Immediate). However, it is critical to address these dynamics so they do not erupt. For now, emigration appears to be providing a release valve for dissatisfied youth, who leave places like Tambacounda to escape poverty (see Mitigating below).

Trend: Continued perception by youth of economic, political and social exclusion.

Potential triggers: No immediate trigger for widespread violence but could possibly contribute to youth violence in Kolda and Kédougou.

MITIGATING

8) *Trajectory: Emigration serves as a release valve for people seeking a better life and remittances sent home by emigres help to address pressing community needs.*

Emigration to urban areas in Senegal and to other countries in Africa or Europe appears to serve as a release valve for people who are frustrated with a lack of livelihood options and seek a better life. Remittances sent home by recent emigres help to fill gaps in government service delivery to meet community needs.

In Matam, some interviewees report there are villages where the majority of adults are women because most of the men have left in search of better opportunities. While emigration serves as a safety valve for populations frustrated with limited opportunities, it may also be creating vulnerabilities for the populations left behind.

Trend: Emigration continues to serve as a release valve for frustrations around limited livelihood opportunities. Remittances help mitigate frustration around lack of service delivery by contributing to pressing community needs.

Remittances will continue to mitigate potential frustration with the perceived lack of ability of the government to meet citizen needs and priorities. However, disruptions to the flow of remittances could lead to increased citizen demands of local officials for service improvements.

In Tambacounda, remittances have long been used to support communities. However, many emigrants are beginning to return home due to economic downturns in other host countries make it difficult for them to get work. As populations of local communities increase and remittances decrease, there may be growing dissatisfaction with local service delivery.

While emigration seems to be keeping frustration in check, it has other potentially negative impacts. These include problems that result from rapid urbanization and the increased vulnerability of both emigrants and those who are left behind. Some families sell all their possessions to raise enough money for a family member to emigrate. These emigrants may be killed in Mali or Libya or may spend all of their resources without managing to get to Europe or other intended destinations. In areas like Tambacounda, interviewees expressed concerns that youth may be recruited by violent extremist organizations in other countries and then return to Senegal.

Despite these challenges, people continue to emigrate in search of a better life. Increased obstacles to migration, such as the tighter controls being imposed on the border with Mauritania, could cause conflict.

Potential triggers: An incident with Mauritania involving return of Senegalese fishermen could trigger violence or other incidents that limit emigration and remittances.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the core themes, mitigating factors, and anticipated trajectories discussed above, the assessment team offers the following recommendations. Given funding, timing, and operational constraints, recommendations focus on the implementation of projects planned under the new CDCS.

Operational Framework for Recommendations

Given funding, timing, and operational constraints, recommendations focus on adaptations to planned projects, opportunities for cross-sectoral integration that support good governance, and conflict sensitive programming as pathways for meeting development objectives.

The recommendations section is organized into four subsections. While this is a useful way of categorizing recommendations, it is important to note that one subsection of recommendations will not be effective in preventing conflict in the long-term without the actions in the other subsections.

Each recommendation is preceded by a brief summary of the issue and a proposed theory of change (TOC). The TOC articulates the theory behind why specific actions will reduce the potential for violence and the expected result. The TOC serves as a tangible link between the recommendation and the core themes, mitigating factors, and trajectories that drive the recommendation.

There are some theories of change that combine recommendations across different subsections; for example, recommendations about implementing decentralization are represented in both programming and policy reform recommendations. All of the recommendations are intended to complement each other, but they work at different levels (immediate activities, development programming and policy) and therefore have different timeframes for implementation.

- Recommendations for immediate activities: These recommendations are mostly discrete activities that should be applied in the immediate term to address immediate potential conflict risk. To truly reduce the risk of conflict, they need to be complemented by longer-term activities integrated into development programming and policy reform.
- Recommendations for integration into development programming: These recommendations should be implemented in the near term as part of mission programming under the new CDCS. Some of the recommendations are already underway.
- Recommendations for supporting policy reform: These recommendations target policy reform and are intended to both lay the foundation for development programming and cement programmatic successes.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTIVITIES

Issue: Senegalese fishermen in the Saint Louis area are increasingly frustrated by the perceived lack of GoS's willingness to protect their interests.

Link to Core Theme #1, Limited livelihood opportunities

TOC: IF fishermen understand GoS constraints in relation to accessing Mauritanian waters AND are able to access alternative livelihood options, THEN frustration with the GoS will be reduced and fishermen will be less likely to engage in confrontations with Senegalese security forces.

- 1) Recommendation: Leverage existing work with fishing associations and other stakeholders to help communicate the GoS's constraints regarding access to Mauritanian waters. *(The livelihoods component of this theory of change is addressed by recommendations targeting natural-resource management and diversification of livelihoods below.)*

Leverage existing relationships and activities such as COMFISH to communicate the GoS's role in relation to the GoM and respect for sovereign territory. Build the capacity of conflict mitigation commissions to resolve conflict and to facilitate networking among fishing management committees up and down the coast.

Issue: Security force intimidation of youth (Kolda and Kédougou)

Link to Core Theme #6, Security force intimidation of youth and to Core Theme #1, Limited livelihood opportunities.

The following recommendations specifically address dynamics around the relationship between youth and security forces in the Kolda and Kédougou regions. However, the TOC includes a livelihoods component as critical for reducing the potential for violence. Recommendations related to inclusive economic development, access to services, and participation in governance (addressed below) are also important for reducing the likelihood of violent conflict in these regions.

TOC: IF opportunities for licit employment increase AND security forces and community members accept mediation mechanisms AND security forces are held accountable, THEN tensions between youth and security forces will be reduced and there will be less likelihood of violent confrontation.

- 2) Recommendation: Engage local civil society organizations in efforts to restore or create mediation mechanisms that include women and youth in Kolda and Kédougou to reduce tension between communities and security forces.
- 3) Recommendation: Encourage dialogue between local civil society and security forces. Explore opportunities to establish joint monitoring mechanisms to ensure that both citizens and security forces respect the law.

These two recommendations are intended to address harsh treatment of youth by security forces in Kolda and Kédougou. In these regions, formal systems are perceived as being dominated by state interests and security forces and trust in informal systems, such as traditional and community mediation, is eroding. Mediation mechanisms and enforcement options that are acceptable to all stakeholders need to be identified and developed. This may mean revitalizing existing mechanisms, adapting acceptable mechanisms to this purpose, or creating something new.

Issue: Ethnic tensions around The Gambia / Senegal border

Link to Core Theme #8

Programming limitations render dynamics in The Gambia out of the sphere of control of USAID/Senegal. However, the following recommendations can be implemented by USAID/Senegal and have implications for conflict dynamics in the Casamance.

- 4) **Recommendation:** continue to monitor ethnic tensions that may make refugee populations more vulnerable. As feasible, look for opportunities to incorporate trauma healing and reconciliation into activities with border populations and refugees.

As feasible, work with partners in the Fogni⁸⁹ to track the status of refugees. Although there do not appear to be any indication that large numbers of refugees plan to return to Senegal at this time, the refugee situation should be monitored. In addition, refugees may not have IDs for The Gambia or Senegal, leaving them stateless.

United Purpose is already doing some reconciliation work as part of its cross-border People-to-People peacebuilding work in the Fogni.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR INTEGRATION INTO DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING

Issue: Continued pressure on natural resources is placing additional stresses on the environment and productive livelihoods, leading some people to engage in illicit activities.

Link to Core Theme #1, Limited livelihood opportunities

Interviewees pointed out that, as arable land, pasture, water points, fish, and other natural resources become increasingly scarce, people may be more likely to turn to illicit activities. Perpetuation of illicit activities contributes to low-level instability in many regions, inhibiting economic growth and development.

There is evidence that USAID peacebuilding projects in the Casamance and more stringent border control are reducing illegal timber harvesting and trafficking. If there are no legal livelihood alternatives for people who can no longer earn a living from trafficking timber, however, they will likely resort to other illicit activities, such as marijuana cultivation or banditry.

TOC: IF viable alternative livelihood options are available, THEN people will have economic options and will be less likely to resort to illicit activities that perpetuate low-level insecurity.

Education and Research in Agriculture (ERA)

ERA is a partnership under the Feed the Future Initiative between USAID/Senegal and a consortium of U.S. Universities led by Virginia Tech and Senegalese experts in agriculture and food security. The project combats food insecurity by connecting agriculture, education, and business to revitalize agriculture in Senegal.

- 1) **Recommendation:** When working to curtail illicit economic activities, provide opportunities for licit livelihoods (diversification options) to affected populations.

Seek out potential partnerships with USAID Economic Growth programs to create diversification pathways for populations impacted when illicit livelihoods activities are shut down. One possibility is linking peacebuilding projects implemented in the Casamance with

⁸⁹ A traditional Diolla province that overlaps Senegal and The Gambia.

activities under USAID/Senegal’s Education and Research in Agriculture (ERA) project to foster pathways for people into agricultural livelihoods.

Similar patterns are visible in other regions as people, especially youth, seek livelihood opportunities in illegal mining, poaching fish and wildlife, trafficking, and banditry. In Saint Louis, supporting alternative livelihood opportunities for fishermen will provide alternatives to illicit fishing in Mauritanian waters and reduce overfishing along the coast.

- 2) Recommendation: Ensure that livelihood activities are inclusive, accessible, and relevant to women and youth.

Women and youth frequently work in the informal sector and are often overlooked for engagement in sustainable livelihood opportunities. They also face exclusion from more sustainable and lucrative livelihood options due to social and cultural norms and to their inability to access land. In many areas of the country, engaging women and youth in livelihood activities will require additional outreach to community, traditional, and religious leaders. Special accommodations also may need to be made in order to ensure that women and youth can participate while still fulfilling family and educational responsibilities.

- 3) Recommendation: Work with local governments to create environments conducive to private-sector investment and economic development.

Governance for Local Development (GOLD)

GOLD is USAID/Senegal’s cross-sectoral initiative designed to foster a good governance mindset that will ultimately improve government legitimacy, citizen trust in government and willingness to pay taxes.

Health System Strengthening Plus (HSS+)

The USAID/Senegal HSS+ project focuses on strengthening health system governance and financing and increasing community involvement in health systems management. The project also supports roll out of GoS Mutuelles de Santé (community-based health insurance), which is intended to provide universal healthcare coverage for all citizens.

Local governments are critical stakeholders in economic development. As part of the Governance for Local Development (USAID/GOLD) program, work with local governments to create environments that are attractive to investors and support local economic growth.

- 4) Recommendation: Explore opportunities to facilitate partnerships between local governments and the private sector for improved serviced delivery.

USAID/Senegal programs working in health and water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) sectors include elements of private-sector engagement that can be leveraged to facilitate partnerships. This aligns with one of USAID/Senegal WASH’s objectives to increase market-based provision of WASH products and services to improve coverage and quality.

Strengthening Outcomes through the Private Sector (SHOPS)

The USAID/Senegal SHOPS project supports engaging private-sector entities and NGOs to increase access to and the quality of essential health products and services. This includes increasing access to health services for the poor.

Seek out opportunities to engage the private sector and NGOs to improve quality and accessibility of healthcare through projects like Strengthening Outcomes, Private Sector (SHOPS), and Health Systems Strengthening Plus (HSS+). This includes supporting enrollment in

the Mutuelle of vulnerable populations that cannot afford the cost of coverage and may otherwise be denied services. It is important when undertaking these initiatives to be mindful of perceptions in some areas of the country that it is the role of NGOs to fill gaps in government service delivery. As partnerships evolve, clearly communicate the role and responsibility of local government in service provision.

- 5) **Recommendation:** Look for opportunities to support local companies in economic growth initiatives, as feasible.

In some areas such as Sedhiou, local entrepreneurs have neither the capacity nor the experience to compete for procurements. Even small businesses that are able to access GoS micro-loans have a hard time succeeding because loans are generally not accompanied by mentoring, training, or other support.

Issue: The lack of sustainable resource management policies and practices leads to increased competition over scarce resources critical to viable livelihoods.

Link to Core Theme #1, Limited livelihood opportunities

TOC: IF natural resources are sustainably managed, THEN there will be less scarcity and less competition over resources.

Food Security and Agriculture Revitalization

USAID/Senegal's Yaajeende project uses an integrated approach to agriculture and nutrition to enhance food security. The project works to expand participation of poor populations in rural economic growth and sustainable development.

Naatal Mbay, a USAID/Senegal Feed the Future project, supports cereal value chains, creating business opportunities for inclusive growth and sustainable agricultural growth.

Examples of natural-resource management activities and practices that can reduce stress on the environment and increase productivity include land preparation techniques, increased crop productivity, and reducing the size of pastoralist herds.

- 6) **Recommendation:** Look for opportunities to expand on Yaajeende, Naatal Mbay, and other projects to introduce and support more productive natural-resource management practices.

Continue providing support to farmers and pastoralists to expand collaboration on natural-resource shared-use. Collaboration can help ensure that crops are protected even as pastoralists graze and water their animals. Efforts to help farmers and pastoralists use less resource-intensive methods will also reduce the strain on already stressed natural resources. Pastoralists in Matam, for example, requested assistance to learn how to support smaller, yet more productive herds.

Encourage schools and community groups to undertake advocacy to raise awareness of the importance of citizen engagement in natural-resource management.

- 7) **Recommendation:** Support local government competencies to implement sound environmental management activities and practices that relieve pressure on stressed natural resources.

Under GOLD, work with local governments to advocate for and implement sound natural-resource management practices. These may include periods where fish are allowed to be

replenished in Saint Louis or reforestation activities in the Casamance, which might potentially link with peace-building projects implemented by United Purpose (Concern Universal) in the Fogni.

Issue: Competition over diminishing water points and pastureland leads to conflict between farmers and pastoralists.

Link to Core Theme #1, Limited livelihood opportunities

TOC: IF local communes work with each village to define and communicate pastoral corridors before the rainy season, THEN pastoralists will know where to drive their herds, reducing the potential for conflict.

In several parts of the country—including Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Saint Louis, and Matam—interviewees mentioned conflicts that arise when pastoralists drive their herds through farms looking for water or pasture. Because crop rotation is practiced in some areas, corridors change from year to year. Pastoralists sometimes inadvertently drive herds through farms, causing damage to crops; farmers sometimes retaliate by wounding the animals or taking other actions. These conflicts often are due to the fact that villages fail to delineate and communicate pastoral corridors in time (that is, before the start of the rainy season).

8) Recommendation: Support local governments to delineate and clearly communicate corridors for pastoralists before the rainy season.

In Matam and Saint Louis, commissions with diverse stakeholders clearly identify and mark water points, pastoral areas, agricultural zones, and corridors to facilitate movement of herds from place to place without trampling crops. Conflicts between farmers and pastoralists are usually resolved by the chef du village, in consultation with the imam and village elders.

Issue: Lack of awareness, financial resources, and human capacity inhibit local communes and citizens from effectively operationalizing the principles of transparent and accountable decentralized local governance.

Link to Core Theme #3, Local communes have limited capacity to implement decentralization and deliver services, AND Core Theme #4, Lack of transparency in local commune resource allocation.

The majority of people who met with the assessment team continue to support the concept of decentralization but acknowledge that local communes struggle with implementation. There is general recognition that, although the GoS has decentralized competencies to the local level, the central government has not transferred the resources necessary to facilitate service delivery. As a result, rather than pressuring local communes for improvement, many people turn to donors, NGOs, and remittances to fill gaps in service delivery. Limited citizen engagement in local-level planning and budgeting creates space for local authorities to use limited resources as political favors or as gifts to family and friends.

TOC: IF central funds are transferred according to clearly defined consistent criteria in a timely fashion AND the roles and responsibilities of local government authorities are clear to citizens AND local governments have fiscal autonomy, technical skills, and inclusive and transparent resource planning and allocation, THEN citizen satisfaction with service delivery and local government will improve. (Note the balance of this TOC is addressed by recommendations in the section below in support of policy reform.)

- 9) Recommendation: Build the capacity of local communes (not just the mayor) to manage service delivery and engage citizens, including women and youth, in planning and resource allocation decisions.

As part of capacity building, emphasize transparent and accountable management of public funds, including funds devolved from mining company revenues under the new mining code. Work with local governments and other partners to generate tax and other revenues to improve service delivery and strengthen relationships with citizens. Support improved local commune communications with citizens and encourage local authorities to create opportunities for citizen participation. Improving relationships between citizens and government at the local level and increasing transparency will minimize misunderstanding and distrust that could lead to conflict.

Support governors and ARDs to undertake the department-level harmonization conferences required under the law. These conferences aim to harmonize diverse development partners and activities to avoid duplication and rationalize resource allocation.

- 10) Recommendation: Engage local civil society, promote citizen awareness, and support the ability of citizens, particularly women and youth, to participate in planning and management of public resources.

Increased awareness of the roles and responsibilities of local government officials and of citizens (including oversight and accountability functions) is a critical component of citizen engagement. Look for opportunities to build the capacity of CSOs to conduct citizen outreach and advocacy.

The two recommendations above can both be addressed through existing USAID/Senegal projects and those planned as part of the new CDCS. Work with the GOLD project and HSS+ to engage citizens, including women and youth, in developing local government Annual Work Plans (AWPs) for the health sector as part the local commune operational plan (POCL) process. GOLD and HSS+ are also working with local health committees to encourage inclusive representation, fiscal stewardship, and transparent governance. Both projects will provide targeted training and make specific efforts to engage women and youth in local health committees.

Similar initiatives to strengthen local commune and citizen capacity can also be addressed in the context of upcoming education projects. Strengthen local education committee members at the commune and school levels to improve the quality and accessibility of services. Involve women and youth in local education committees and service delivery.

Use the web platform and local language materials developed as part of the SUNU Budget project under the current CDCS, especially when working at local government levels. These resources can encourage fiscal transparency by helping citizens understand the complexities of government budgets and encourage public scrutiny and oversight.

Issue: Youth represent a significant demographic that has the potential to be mobilized for conflict or for peace.

Link to Core Theme #5, Political, economic and social exclusion of youth

Youth comprise a large sector of the population in Senegal. While a large youth cohort is a risk factor for conflict, it is not a cause of conflict.

TOC: IF youth have the skills and channels to develop livelihoods and productively engage in political decision making, THEN they will see a chance for a better future and appreciate the benefits of civic engagement versus resorting to violence.

- I 1) **Recommendation:** Integrate youth into all mission portfolio projects, including natural-resource management, value-chain development, livelihood diversification, life skills, and governance. Be mindful that special efforts to reach youth, especially girls, may require adaptations or special outreach to facilitate meaningful participation.

Prioritize linking youth livelihoods to life skills and informal education in areas such as the Casamance and Kédougou, where opportunities are very limited and there is a strong perception of GoS neglect.

- I 2) **Recommendation:** When engaging with traditional, community, and religious structures across mission activities, ensure that women and youth voices are included.

Many regions in Senegal continue to rely on traditional community and religious hierarchies and structures to guide decision making, allocate resources, and resolve disputes. Engaging the chef du village is often a first step to introducing a new project. Working within these structures is sometimes the best approach to strengthening local capacities. However, these structures may also inadvertently perpetuate exclusion. When engaging with traditional community and religious leaders and mechanisms, it is important to ensure that the entire population is included.

Ensure Inclusive Approaches when Working with Traditional Actors

“Youth are not involved in peace. It is not their problem. It is the elders who engage in peace.” -- Ziguinchor.

Issue: Many Casamançais interviewed perceive little movement on the formal peace negotiations. They indicate that grassroots peacebuilding initiatives and citizen voices are not integrated into the formal peace process.

Link to Core Theme #7, Neither peace nor war (Casamance)

Several Casamançais who met with the team expressed frustration with perceived lack of progress on formal peace negotiations. Despite the reported successes of community level peacebuilding activities, many remarked that there are no channels for citizen input and that grassroots peacebuilding work is separate from the formal negotiations.

TOC: IF community peacebuilding activities continue to expand AND there are opportunities to bring citizen voices into the formal peace negotiations, THEN peace dividends will be magnified at the community level and formal negotiations will be perceived as more inclusive and representative.

- I 3) **Recommendation:** Support peacebuilding across mission activities in the Casamance and explore opportunities to integrate community peacebuilding efforts and voices into the formal peace agenda.

Explore opportunities to integrate peacebuilding components into mission activities in the Casamance by including aspects of reconciliation, dialogue, or conflict resolution skills in health, education, and livelihood projects as appropriate.

Encourage integration of community peacebuilding efforts and voices into the formal peace agenda by engaging local mobilizers for peace such as the king of Oussouye and other traditional structures.

Involve a wide variety of community actors, keeping in mind that many people, particularly in Ziguinchor, question the credibility of formal peace actors and local NGOs working on peace programs. When working with community and traditional structures, ensure that women and youth are actively engaged.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUPPORTING POLICY REFORM

Issue: Lack of transparency and conflicting systems create flashpoints around land allocation decisions.

Link to Core Theme #2, Lack of transparency and politicization of land allocation

Conflicting approaches between formal land tenure law and traditional systems lead to confusion and increase opportunities for people in power to allocate land with impunity. The lack of clear land allocation criteria also hampers the formal and informal dispute resolution mechanisms, leaving individuals with land grievances without access to redress. The team repeatedly heard about instances in which the same piece of land was sold twice or was sold to someone even though it belonged to someone else.

To add to the confusion, unclear boundary demarcations between local communes engender competition for land as communes seek to expand their territory or for the right to allocate land by selling it or awarding it as a political favor.

At the national level, the GoS is allocating land to large companies for development. These include agreements for gold in Kédougou and Tambacounda, agribusiness in Matam and Casamance, and oil and gas exploration off the coast of Saint Louis.

TOC: IF there is clarity and alignment between land tenure laws and traditional systems AND there are functioning processes (formal and informal) for addressing land grievances AND laws are enforced, THEN people will have confidence in land allocation decisions and an opportunity for redress through the justice system rather than resorting to violence.

- 1) **Recommendation:** Continue to support inclusive dialogue and communication to deconflict formal and informal approaches in land tenure law revisions.

Support GoS efforts to deconflict formal laws with traditional systems of inheritance. Encourage reforms that reflect inclusive citizen input and ensure that reforms are widely communicated to discourage individual discretion in land allocation.

Given conflicting land tenure allocation approaches, it is difficult to transparently and fairly resolve disputes. According to interviewees, in many regions, such as Ziguinchor and Sedhiou, people turn to community and traditional dispute resolution mechanisms as a first recourse. Formal systems are often considered as a last resort, when disputes cannot be resolved at the

community level. However, in the face of conflicting land allocation approaches, traditional systems often cannot resolve land disputes in a manner that is acceptable to all stakeholders.

- 2) **Recommendation:** Strengthen formal and informal mechanisms that may be adapted to address land conflict. *(Note that this recommendation may also be addressed in the context of development programming. It is in the policy section because of its link to the above recommendation focused on land tenure laws).*

Support dispute resolution mechanisms for addressing land conflict. Ensure these mechanisms are inclusive and represent the interests of women, youth, and other vulnerable groups so they do not perpetuate a perception of exclusion. Explore the feasibility of building the capacity of local land councils to make transparent decisions in accordance with land allocation procedures and laws, including community consultation.

Many affected populations feel that their land has been taken without adequate compensation. This relates not only to financial compensation for the current value of the land and its productive potential, but also taking into account people's values.

TOC: IF people feel adequately financially compensated when their land is reallocated AND communities feel that their values are respected, THEN they will be less likely to resort to violence.

- 3) **Recommendation:** Encourage GoS standardization and transparency around government land compensation calculations.

In Kédougou and Tambacounda, many interviewees feel betrayed by the GoS. Communities in these areas do not feel they were meaningfully consulted when agreements with the mining companies were developed; many lament they still do not know what is in these agreements. People feel their land, and therefore their livelihood, is being taken by the mining companies with minimal if any compensation. In some cases, tensions have increased due to violations of cemeteries and other sites central to tradition and identity. In some cases, people have been forcibly removed from their land, and affected populations struggle to find alternative livelihoods. As the GoS negotiates agreements for agribusiness development and exploitation of oil and gas, people are watching what is happening in the mining areas with increasing concern.

TOC: IF communities feel they are consulted AND their interests are represented in GoS agreements with large companies AND they see economic and social development in their communities, THEN they will be less likely to resort to violence.

- 4) **Recommendation:** Promote increased transparency and consultation around GoS negotiations and agreements for extractive industries through existing frameworks and in relation to natural-resource exploitation.

Using existing frameworks like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), continue to encourage increased transparency and community consultation around GoS negotiations and agreements with mining, oil, and gas industries. Encourage the participation of national and local civil society organizations in negotiations to support transparency and help to represent the interests of local communities. Explore opportunities to educate and engage communities about

frameworks for productive collaboration with the private sector and GoS around the extraction of natural resources, as well as the management and allocation of resulting revenues.

As the GoS continues efforts to encourage investment for natural-resource exploitation, agribusiness, and industrial fishing, encourage transparency and communication around negotiations, agreements, and anticipated benefits to affected populations.

Issue: Central funds necessary to implement decentralization are not transferred to the local level in a consistent and timely manner.

Link to Core Theme #4, Local communes have limited capacity to implement decentralization and deliver services

TOC: IF central funds are transferred according to clearly defined consistent criteria in a timely fashion AND roles and responsibilities of local government authorities are clear to citizens AND local governments have fiscal autonomy, technical skills, and inclusive and transparent resource planning and allocation, THEN citizen satisfaction with service delivery and local government will improve. (Note the balance of this TOC is addressed by recommendations in the section above to be integrated into development programming.)

- 5) Recommendation: Continue to work with other donors to support GoS implementation of complete fiscal transfers and taxation and clarifying the action plan for Act III Phase II.

Issue: Casamançais view a formal peace agreement as a critical indicator that Casamance is important to the GoS. They also view a formal peace agreement between the GoS and the MFDC as a prerequisite for reintegrating combatants, removing land mines, and fostering economic growth.

Link to Core Theme #7, Neither peace nor war (Casamance)

Many interviewees expressed frustration with the fact that each president takes a new approach to peace in the Casamance. When one president leaves power, they say, the next president throws away what has been accomplished and starts over from the beginning.

Although President Sall made peace in the Casamance a cornerstone of his campaign platform, many people who met with the team question his commitment to signing a formal peace agreement and ending the Casamance conflict. Virtually everyone the team met with in Sedhiou and Ziguinchor felt strongly about the importance of a formal peace agreement, both as a political message that the Casamance is important to the GoS and to advance sustainable economic growth. From their perspective, a formal peace agreement is necessary to reintegrate combatants, remove remaining mines, and foster economic development.

TOC: IF the GoS can sign a peace agreement with the MFDC that engages The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau and addresses reintegration of combatants, THEN the people of Casamance will view this as a sign of the GoS's commitment to economic and social development, increasing GoS legitimacy and reducing the likelihood of violent incidents.

- 6) Recommendation: Look for opportunities to support the GoS to advance formal peace negotiations with the engagement of The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. Consider how potential MFDC reunification may impact formal peace negotiations.

There is a widespread perception, particularly in Ziguinchor, that the peace process is not a priority for the GoS. Many interviewees indicated that only an outsider prominent development partner will be able to convince the GoS to seriously engage in negotiations leading to a formal peace agreement.

Many interviewees indicated the change of government in the Gambia has significantly weakened some factions and create enabling conditions for unification of the MFDC. People in Ziguinchor and Sedhiou believe there is a new window for unification within the MFDC. Even if the MFDC is not completely unified, there is a general sentiment that they could become sufficiently unified for negotiations with the GoS.

ANNEX A: REGIONAL SNAPSHOTS

KÉDOUGOU

INTRODUCTION

The region of Kédougou is located in the southeast part of Senegal. This geographically isolated region with poor roads has a culture and languages that are different from those of the rest of the country. The discovery of gold in the region ten years ago has resulted in the presence of foreign mining companies. This has changed life in many communities. Especially in rural areas, people feel they do not benefit from the natural resources in the region or programs of the GoS. The artisanal exploitation of gold has resulted in a rush of miners from other African countries. There are at least 12 nationalities in the gold zone, and the influx of people has put stress on public health, the environment, and safety.

USAID's Yaajeende program is highly regarded in the region, and was praised by interviewees for integrating several areas and including stakeholder capacity building. Interviewees lauded especially its emphasis on local expertise and its visible results.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

According to interviewees, Kédougou livelihood opportunities are very limited in Kédougou. The limited access to technical training schools, higher education, and large national enterprises leave most job seekers without the skills required for jobs at the mining companies. This situation plunges young people into poverty and increases the social pressures they face. In order to cope, youth may turn to precarious activities, such as illegal mining, which provide little professional development and do nothing to improve their chances of seizing the limited opportunities offered by state-sponsored programs.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY AND POLITICIZATION OF LAND ALLOCATION

People interviewed in Kédougou feel that the GoS has failed to defend their interests and has instead deferred to the mining companies, forcing residents off their ancestors' land without proper compensation or, more importantly, consultation. As a result, their trust in the GoS has diminished significantly.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

The discovery of gold in Kédougou should have presented a promising opportunity to develop the region in a way that benefits its inhabitants, especially young people. However, the people of Kédougou feel uninformed about the content of agreements between the GoS and the mining companies. They perceive that they have been asked

to leave their land simply to make room for the companies' heavy-duty mining equipment. Some young people have begun demanding more information on the allocation of local resources. Funds have begun to be paid to the municipalities where mining companies operate. However, interviewees believe only a handful of people—typically mayors—are aware of how these funds are used.

Interviewees indicated mining companies, in consultation with mayors, often decide how the mining funds are used without taking into account the priorities of local populations. These perceptions increase the distance between politicians and citizens and augment the frustration and anger of young people. The municipalities hosting the mining companies have no running water or electricity, and young people do not feel they benefit from the jobs offered. To make matters worse, interviewees expressed concern about irreversible degradation of their environment and their feelings of powerlessness to stop it.

The team heard that CSOs remain active but see themselves as natural mediators that the state and security forces push aside. Some CSOs feel vulnerable, generally speaking, civil society seems to mobilize only on occasion, usually in reaction to a specific event.

At this point, the frustration of populations in Kédougou's gold regions are so high and their relationship with police and mining companies so tense that even a small-scale confrontation between mining workers and local residents could degenerate quickly into violent conflict. Family and kinship ties between urban and rural areas have the potential for spreading protests and confrontation into the capital of Kédougou.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

In a region that has some of the worst development indicators in the country, there are few legal economic opportunities apart from agriculture, which depends on the cultivatable land that is now under pressure due to mining. In this context, the lure of artisanal mines, which promise of over 20 million CFA to the kilogram of gold, is strong. Many young people in Kédougou leave school early to work in the mines. This aggravates the lack of skills and education among the populace, and young people struggle to find work. Mining companies tend to offer these local residents only occasional daily or short-term employment. Interviewees expressed disappointment that they have not benefitted from their resource-rich land due to perceived lack of attention and consideration from the GoS.

Interviewees stressed extremely high levels youth dissatisfaction. They perceive that resources are exploited without any compensation, and their future is uncertain. During interviews, community leaders in the village of Sabodala expressed no hope and blame the GoS for wanting to take away their village, cemetery, and other valuable land-based possessions. They say that they cannot defend their claims against the security forces or the mining company and that they rely totally on God.

SECURITY FORCE INTIMIDATION OF YOUTH

Interviewees describe security forces as very unpopular and believe they are using disproportionate force against local residents, especially those who are involved in

artisanal mining or found to illegally in possession of gold. Residents allege that security forces receive kickbacks from gold-mining companies and the state and do not view them as neutral actors.

MITIGATING FACTORS

In Kédougou, interviewees indicated traditional leaders are still respected mediators. During events in the past few years that pitted young people against the security forces, they have frequently played an important role in quelling youth protests.

The populations of Kédougou (the Soninkés) call themselves peaceful people, and non-Soninkés recognize them as such. Though some members of the community, such as Kedavins, portray this as a negative trait, it appears to play a role in mitigating violent conflict in the region.

KOLDA

INTRODUCTION

The Kolda region in the southeast of Casamance is marked by an active associative and political life. The violence that does occur primarily affects youth, and communities regularly challenge and protest against local security forces and politicians.

Communities have positive perceptions of USAID programming, and respondents made numerous complimentary references to the construction of the RN6 and DGL/FELO, PGP, Naatal Mbay and Yaajeende. Nonetheless, informants also commented on the need for USAID to be more transparent in selecting implementing partners and to provide equal opportunity for all local civil society organizations to benefit from its work.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Many respondents in Kolda expressed distrust of government, and others indicated that government barely exists, especially at the borders. They assert that in many towns, the mayor is not even physically present most of the time, and the resources invested by local government are slim. These issues have dire consequences in the border regions, where illicit groups exploit the vacuums of authority to increase their influence and appeal. In this environment, people are perceived to take up activities based on availability of natural resources even if those activities run afoul of local administrative rules. If there is more water to cultivate rice in The Gambia, for instance, that is where a farmer will cultivate. This applies to wood and bamboo cutting, cattle rustling, banditry, and other resource-based livelihoods in this region.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

Interviewees in Kolda are critical of the implementation of decentralization, as municipalities have very limited human, financial and technical resources. This reduces the quality of education, health, sanitation, and other public services provided to communities. As a result, citizens do not count on local authorities to provide these services. Local officials told the assessment team that the GoS transferred the problems to local governments without the resources to solve them. Indeed, the central funds provided by the state are barely enough to cover local governments' operating costs.

In Kolda, young people, elected officials, and even state officials have the impression that the GoS gives their region worse treatment than other regions in Senegal. They point to the high youth unemployment, the scarcity of resources allocated to local governments, the poor health and education infrastructure, the poor quality of roads, and other grievances to support this claim.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Citizens of Kolda complain that they have insufficient resources and, worse still, that local officials misuse the few resources that do exist. Multiple informants suggested to our assessment team that officials use their positions to exploit available funds to support their families and political allies.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

In the Kolda region, as in many other regions of Senegal, young people lack vocational qualifications and are not represented in decision-making bodies, leaving them excluded from the few political and economic opportunities that exist. To meet the needs of themselves and their families, youth often take precarious jobs. Interviewees perceive that GoS programs in the region do not benefit youth because they lack the required technical expertise. Today, hundreds of young people are motorcycle drivers in Kolda, an activity dangerous both for their health and the environment.

Interviewees, particularly young people in Kolda, expressed frustration with living conditions in the region. This has created a volatile situation that could erupt at any moment, especially if nothing is done to restore dialogue and trust between the security forces and the community. Though traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are still more or less active throughout Senegal and could serve a vital function, interviewees say these institutions have lost credibility among Kolda's young people. Few new civil society entities or responsible individuals have displayed a willingness to play this role. As a result, there are no universally recognized mediators,

SECURITY FORCE INTIMIDATION OF YOUTH

The high number of motorcycle drivers in the town of Kolda and the lack of regulations of this activity have led to numerous arrests of motorcycle drivers. According to interviewees, security forces frequently perpetrate violence against motorcycle drivers during arrests and demand bribes in return for their release. In response, young motorcycle drivers have organized themselves and begun to refuse to pay bribes, leading to palpable tension in Kolda during the time of data collection. As the mechanisms of conflict resolution erode, reported altercations between the security forces and young people are increasing. Interviewees believe security force reactions toward youth are also becoming more severe.

Feelings of isolation and exclusion coupled with an increase in hostile interactions threatened to boil over in March 2017, when an altercation between a motorcycle driver and a policeman ended in a popular uprising in which the police station and other public buildings were ransacked. This event portends activity of similar or worse scale and scope in the near future, unless action is taken to alleviate tensions.

NEITHER PEACE, NOR WAR

Occasional violence continues to affect residents of the Casamance. Respondents in Kolda indicated that during spikes in violence, many teachers and other professionals

moved to Kolda to live in relative safety, and many remain there today. Interviewees in Kolda feel that a peace agreement should be sought but believe that the GoS is capable only of electoral promises and political maneuvering. The assessment team also heard from informants who feel that it would be difficult to imagine all the MFDC factions sitting at the same table with the GoS for negotiations. Respondents indicated that even if this were to happen, it would not be as effective as back-channel mediation focused on cultural and ethnic relations.

There is a sense there is a window of opportunity to advance the peace process, but interviewees say that the GoS must take the initiative to start the talks rather than wait for the MFDC to engage. Respondents worry that President Sall's administration has shown an inability or unwillingness to do this.

MITIGATING FACTORS

Although the Casamance conflict affects the Kolda region less than other parts of the region, numerous actors from the region, including women and youth organizations, are involved in peacebuilding and mediation activities between the MFDC and the government of Senegal.

Emigration from Kolda to urban areas and other countries serves as a release valve for youth grievances about the lack of livelihood opportunities. According to interviewees, moving to urban areas or across the border often provides access to health and education services that are lacking in Kolda.

Finally, interviewees indicate relations between the region's various ethnic groups remain strong and respected by all. This has helped to alleviate conflicts between ethnic communities on numerous occasions.

MATAM

INTRODUCTION

The Matam region shares a border with Mauritania and is located along the Senegal River. The major ethnic groups in the region speak Fulani, and the vast majority of residents are conservative Muslims. Farming and pastoralism are the two major livelihoods in the region. Populations in Matam and Mauritania share close ethnic, familial, and economic ties, and porous borders make it easy for groups to move back and forth.

Organizations in Matam have a positive view of USAID and its partners. Many praised the Yaageende approach, which focuses on building technical and organizational capacity rather than simply distributing subsidies and grants. People were pleased with market gardening and other approaches that have allowed populations to generate revenue and feed their families. Some interviewees identified challenges with USAID programming, such as limited duration and perceived lack of sustainability, particularly in relation to nutrition and food security activities. Some expressed concern that USAID creates separate structures rather than strengthening preexisting ones. Respondents also cautioned that using too many intermediaries limits the impact of activities for the intended beneficiaries.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

According to interviewees, access to land-based livelihood options differs among various segments of the populations. For example, men traditionally control the majority of land, perpetuating the exclusion of women. The same is true for some ethnic groups. Some ethnic groups have not owned land in the past and, since land ownership is largely hereditary, still lack equal access to it. This has serious consequences, as opportunities to develop income-generating activities are minimal for those who do not have land.

Land-use struggles between farmers and pastoralists put pressure on natural resources and can lead to overuse. Interviewees reported that sometimes the pastoralists are to blame for not adequately managing their herds. Yet others reported that farmers' unwillingness to fence in their tracts is equally problematic. Conflicts between farmers and pastoralists may continue or could escalate if the two groups do not change their practices or better collaborate. Additionally, while agribusinesses utilizing large land tracts are promising benefits and profits to surrounding communities, some interviewees are skeptical that they will ever reap reward from this activity.

There is a perception that the construction of the Manantaly Dam on the Senegal River is disrupting the livelihoods of fishermen from Senegal, Mauritania, and Mali. There is a perceived lack of programs offering technical support or adequate infrastructure to help fishermen cope with reduced access to fishing or diversify their livelihood opportunities.

The perceived lack of options economic opportunity leads many youth and others to emigrate to other areas of Senegal and abroad.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY AND POLITICIZATION OF LAND ALLOCATION

Many of the people the team met voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of transparency regarding land allocation decisions. Some assert land is distributed based on political and/or family interest. In some cases, interviewees suggested that those in power use deliberate strategies to sell land twice and/or to sell others' land without consultation, due process, or jointly-agreed-upon compensation. This creates conflicts that have led to violence. Discrepancies between traditional and state-based allocation criteria make matters even more confusing. Interviewees reported the government is hesitant to clarify these processes because it does not want to upset constituencies.

In addition, interviewees report that there are limited options available to citizens seeking to challenge decisions or get clarity on how land allocation decisions were made. In Matam, a mediator is supposed to help bridge the gap between citizens and the formal justice system. The majority of cases focus on land disputes, but the mediator appears to lack the necessary human and financial resources to do his job. Some people raised concerns that the complex nature of bureaucratic processes, which may require writing an official letter to state a claim, may inhibit people from seeking help. These factors combine to allow land allocation to be manipulated for personal, financial, or political reasons.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

Interviewees in the Matam region expressed support for the concept of decentralization but stress the many challenges associated with its implementation. Local communes do not have the financial or administrative capacities to carry out the actions for which they are now responsible. For example, at the ARD of Matam there are 5 managers responsible for 29 local communes. In many cases, communities live off the endowment fund. They do not have their own resources and, as result, they report that they are unable to take initiative on development projects.

Some interviewees said elected officials are unaware of their roles and responsibilities in the decentralization process and simply act as if they were elected to support the mayor. This leads some communities to believe their leaders do not represent their interests. Interviewees noted that the PUDC is of great utility for the populations, yet many local actors are unsure of how to access PUDC resources. They also reported the central government chooses PUDC projects without consulting local governments or populations. If the PUDC drills a well in a village, for example, the local government and populations do not understand why the PUDC chose to provide a well instead of the dispensary that the community actually wanted. Similar confusion ensues when the PUDC chooses to launch projects in one village rather than another. This top-down management results in a mismatch between needs and services at the community level. Not surprisingly, though decentralization has produced several positive outcomes, many interviewees remain frustrated by the overall lack of progress.

Some interviewees indicated that finance and tax literacy courses have improved their personal financial management capacities and increased the likelihood they will pay taxes moving forward.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Many respondents reported that elected officials do not work for the entire community they represent. Instead, once elected, they promote their electoral interests and deliver favors to select constituents. Many believe budgets are not set up to be participatory because it is in mayors' interests to prevent active public participation in budgetary processes. Others report that while some communities may receive support and services, they are often not targeted at the communities' actual or demonstrated needs.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

There is a widespread perception among those interviewed that local governments and policies do not work to help youth. In general, youth feel excluded from decision-making processes. In the few communes where youth have representation on municipal committees, there is a feeling that their opinions are not actually considered. They appear to have no practical role in local government or budget design, execution, or monitoring. Youth also raised concerns about lack of access to GoS funding for their projects even when they met the established selection criteria.

Interviewees indicated politicians care only about youth votes and not about youth needs, leading many young people to view all politicians as corrupt. Some local politicians have stopped efforts to build youth awareness or engagement in elections for fear that increased knowledge about unethical practices would lead to unrest. Some characterize political parties as being run by “dinosaurs,” a term used to describe elderly party leaders who are completely disconnected from the younger members of their organizations.

MITIGATING FACTORS

In Matam, the team found many factors that may serve to mitigate conflict and reduce the potential for violence. For example, in Fouta, most of the population is Fulani and conservative, and many practice the same type of traditional conflict resolution techniques. Interviewees explain that when disagreements arise, they go first to the village chief, who consults with the imam and village wise men to decide on a settlement agreeable to both parties. If that does not work, parties may present their cases to the mayor. In Fouta, tradition dominates in families and communities, and young people accept and abide by this process.

In Matam, interviewees report strong and peaceful relationships with Mauritians. They view themselves as one people separated only by a border. There are intermarriages between people on both sides of the border fostering familial and kinship ties. People move back and forth to see family members and conduct business, which facilitates peaceful cohabitation.

To resolve the recurring conflicts between farmers and pastorals, a commission of the mayor, farmers, breeders, and technical experts identifies and cordons off livestock corridors during the rainy season and creates pastoral units consisting of an enclosed area and water point.

Emigration from Matam is high. Due to perceived lack of livelihood opportunities and lack of services, people leave Matam for other areas in Senegal and for other countries. Interviewees report that some villages consist of mostly women because most of the men have left in search of better opportunities. Although officials would prefer that residents stay in Matam, many emigrants send back remittances to supplement incomes.

Finally, respondents in Matam expressed a strong commitment to elections and described voting as the best way to effect change. Many of those interviewed support decentralization and the PUDC, although they expressed dissatisfaction with the implementation thus far. Residents also noted a willingness to give agribusiness a chance in hopes that communities will realize economic and social gains.

SAINT LOUIS

INTRODUCTION

Saint Louis is located on the northern coast of Senegal along the Atlantic Ocean and the Senegal River. It shares both a land and water border with Mauritania. The population is majority Muslim and the largest ethnic group is Wolof. Saint Louis's population has close ethnic, familial, and business ties to Mauritania and is largely dependent on the fishing industry. The impending extraction of deep-sea oil and gas is creating both expectations and fears among the local communities about how the GoS will manage these newly discovered resources and whether communities will share in the benefits.

In addition, the changing dynamics of relationships between Senegal and Mauritania in light of oil discoveries and tighter border restrictions are affecting relationships and livelihoods at the local level. These changes also are impacting how populations of Saint Louis view their relationship with their government. Recent episodes of violence, including an incident in which a Senegalese fisherman was killed by a Mauritanian coast guard officer, have created an environment of suspicion and increased fear among Senegalese fishermen. The resulting tensions were palpable during data collection.

In Saint Louis, there is a common perception that USAID, its partners, and associated development activities are effective and provide benefits to local populations. While not all people and organizations had similar knowledge about or understanding of USAID, the majority of those interviewed expressed positive impressions. However, some expressed frustrations around the process for soliciting and selecting partners. Others emphasized the importance of working through local actors and ensuring program sustainability.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Scarce natural resources, opaque land allocation, and limited economic opportunities lead to increased competition for remaining natural resources and limit livelihood opportunities across Senegal. According to interviewees, in Saint Louis, these problems manifest themselves in several ways and are exacerbated by the heavy reliance on natural resource-based livelihoods, such as fishing, and conflicting modes of fishing practices (artisanal vs. industrial). Disputes over access to maritime resources and competition over the distribution of land are also problematic.

Livelihoods in Saint Louis are heavily focused on the fishing industry, which encompasses both fishing itself and the processing of fish. The seas off Senegal's coast are overfished, and communities are unable to catch enough to support their families. The lack of alternative livelihood options perpetuates persistent overfishing, placing further pressure on already stressed natural resources. In the past, Senegalese fishermen dealt with these problems by traveling to Mauritania to fish and occasionally relocating to Mauritanian

coastal towns. Because Mauritians are not traditionally fishermen, Mauritanian waters are not as overfished as Senegalese waters.

Mauritians and Senegalese fishermen used to collaborate. Indeed, Mauritians would even register Senegalese boats and fishing equipment to enable Senegalese fishermen to fish in Mauritania. Recently, however, Mauritania has stopped allowing these practices and started denying access to their waters. The Mauritanian National Coast Guard is enforcing these rules. Interviewees explain that, as a result of these changes, fewer Mauritians are registering Senegalese boats and equipment, and some Mauritians are even confiscating Senegalese property registered in their country. The Mauritanian Coast Guard reportedly even chases Senegalese fishermen in Senegalese waters. There have been recent instances of violence due to these dynamics, including the aforementioned Senegalese fisherman killed by the Mauritanian Coast Guard. The GoS supports the GoM efforts to police their borders and tells the Senegalese fishermen not to go into Mauritanian water. Yet, the GoS reportedly provides no viable alternatives to fishermen to help them cope with their loss of livelihood.

Fishing is not one of the decentralized capacities in Senegal. As a result, many decisions around management of fish are made at the national level, and people often perceive the decisions that are made as out of alignment with local priorities. For example, the GoS signed fishing agreements with the European Union and Russia for industrial fishing rights, thereby increasing the already high pressure on the fish resources. The absence of fish may force some fishermen to stop fishing altogether. This is especially problematic in Guet Ndar, where fishing is one of the only revenue-generating activities. Poverty is on the rise in this area, due largely to problems related to fishing.

Interviewees report that people have turned to illicit activities, including illegal fishing, to survive. Without alternative livelihood options, Senegalese fishermen feel abandoned by their government, which they perceive as hindering their ability to make a living.

Farmers in Saint Louis also face many livelihood challenges. According to interviewees, access to land is limited. Even farmers who possess modest amounts of land often cannot produce food at a subsistence level. Interviewees highlighted significant barriers to land access, including local officials who allocate land without consulting affected populations (see below) and conflicting claims arising about whether land is “productive” and therefore eligible for reallocation by local authorities.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY AND POLITICIZATION OF LAND ALLOCATION

The Saint Louis geographic area is small in relation to the size of its population, requiring coordination with the other departments in the region to avoid land conflicts with neighboring communes. Respondents explained coordination is challenging because there is no formal demarcation of boundaries between communes. Sometimes multiple communes claim and distribute the same land. These double-allocations may result from misunderstandings, but people also assert that decision makers capitalize on the lack of clarity for political or economic gains. Interviewees expressed their frustration about the lack of transparency in land allocation, conflicts between traditional systems and government allocation, and inadequate compensation for affected populations.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

Various stakeholders commented that the biggest problem of decentralization is that elected officials lack both the technical capacity and the financial resources required to do their jobs. They characterize decentralization as transferring problems to local government but not the means to address them. Many reported local governments lack awareness of their populations' needs and do not know how to implement or monitor programs. They often do not have qualified personnel involved in budget design, implementation, and accountability.

Many interviewees expressed frustration with the lack of service provision and failure of decentralization, while others expressed patience and acknowledged incremental changes, such as improved water sanitation and access to electricity, at the community level.

Several people interviewed said female elected leaders have less capacity than men and are usually not well educated. They speculated that most women are elected because people trust them or because they are part of a coalition, not because of their qualifications, which puts them at a disadvantage when they are in office. Some people indicated also that female elected leaders with the capacity to do their jobs are beholden to adopt the coalition party line in exchange for being placed on the list.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

Interviewees repeatedly indicated they are not involved in the design of local government programs and therefore are unaware of the outcomes. They did not mention ways in which they were working to hold decision makers accountable, and they feel unable to affect official decisions or policies. Youth in particular reported they did not understand how to participate in formal political processes. Fishing communities felt especially powerless and abandoned by the government.

Local government officials did report some efforts to include communities in budget planning by holding public meetings and making the finalized budget publicly available. Some interviewees expressed specific concerns about equitable distribution of subsidies provided to the municipal governments for allocation to holy places.

Interviewees report that communication between local government and citizens is very weak. They expressed frustration and anger about the fact that elected officials often exploit their positions for personal gain. Respondents raised concerns about how resources derived from oil and gas extraction will be distributed, even as they acknowledged the potential benefit to the public that could result from effective and transparent management.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

Youth reported that they feel excluded from decision-making processes and struggle to have their voices heard. They told the assessment team that politicians appeal to them

during election time but consistently fail to follow through on their promises after assuming office. Youth councils want to be involved in local governance issues and decentralization, but they do not know how to engage, whom to engage, or at what level to engage. Youth also struggle to make a living. For example, the community of Guet Ndar used to have relatively high youth employment rate thanks to a once-robust fishing industry. Now, however, youth unemployment is increasing due to the diminished availability of fish and waters in which fishermen can operate.

MITIGATING FACTORS

Local conflict resolution mechanisms existed in all areas visited. In the department of Podor (Fanaye) interviewees report that the chiefs of villages and a group of wise men play a mitigating role and manage conflict effectively. Saint Louis is a cosmopolitan city that lacks a village chief and common origin for the various peoples living there. Thus, in the city, imams play a prominent role in resolving conflict.

Another mitigating factor is the strong ethnic and familial ties between the people in the Saint Louis region, which enable people to manage conflicts internally.

The Fisheries Department at the national level of government has assisted with establishing fishing management committees (CLPAs) in each fishing area of Senegal. Each CLPA has a conflict resolution commission that investigates and mediates disagreements at the community level. The CLPA has the power to levy sanctions against offenders. While fishermen generally abide by the rulings of the commissions, youth appear to be less willing to engage. Youth generally lack representation on the boards of local fishing councils, in part because they sail for long periods of time and are thus unavailable. This creates problems, particularly when members of the conflict resolution commission and the youth are from different communities. According to interviewees, youth are more likely to ignore sanctions imposed by the commission, instead changing locations and fishing elsewhere. Some support the Department of Fisheries idea to address this problem by creating a network that links fishing management committees along the coast.

The Senegalese military noted a north-south terrorist movement exists and the borders must be secured using a variety of measures. They are working with communities to raise awareness and encouraging people to report suspicious persons and radicalized speech. The army leads tours to meet imams and village chiefs in order to strengthen relations with these important community and religious leaders.

Many respondents expressed concern about oil and gas exploitation. Various stakeholders—including students, professors, local government officials, and experts in extractives—have met to discuss their concerns and are drafting a request to Kosmos, the Texas-based energy organization contracted to drill the offshore reserves, to secure assurances of responsible and transparent management. Kosmos has confirmed that it will not remove citizens from their land and has promised to contribute to the community in positive ways. For example, Kosmos told communities it will remove the garbage currently littering the shoreline, will recruit and train local youth to participate in the extraction, and will take necessary steps to mitigate environmental hazards. For

now, people are giving Kosmos the benefit of the doubt, but they also are establishing a monitoring group of citizens and government at the local and district levels.

To prevent conflicts between farmers and pastoralists, local government creates a commission that includes the mayor, farmers, breeders, and technical experts. They develop the “plan d’occupation et d’affectation des sols” which delineates distribution of land in between the two groups. The plan allocates areas for farmers to cultivate and pasture areas including water points. They also define passage corridors for animals. Pastoralists are required to accompany their herds during the rainy season to ensure that they do not venture into designated farmlands. When conflicts arise, people turn to the chef du village, who is assisted by the local imam and the village elders to resolve conflicts.

Finally, although respondents in Saint Louis raised various concerns, all of the people interviewed expressed confidence in the electoral system, which they view as the best way to engage in and effect change. Additionally, many acknowledged that decentralization has achieved preliminary successes despite a lack of sufficient resources and were reluctant to pass judgment on it in its early stages.

SEDHIOU

INTRODUCTION

Sedhiou is located east of Ziguinchor in the interior of the Casamance. It shares a border with The Gambia to the north and Guinea-Bissau to the south. Until 2008, Sedhiou was part of the department of Kolda. The culture is very conservative, and the region suffers from high levels of unemployment and poverty.

The team met with many people in Sedhiou who are familiar with USAID's work in peacebuilding, health, and education. Most people were supportive of USAID's work and its willingness to work in partnership with government institutions to improve basic service provision. Some also indicated that USAID is known for paying high per diems and salaries and driving nice cars. In general, women and girls knew less about USAID but were familiar with some implementing partners.

People generally respect USAID as a strong partner and acknowledge the impact of USAID's work in conflict zones including the border regions. Yet some people felt USAID and other donors only worked in the secure areas and failed to serve the most vulnerable populations during the conflict. Several people also indicated there is too much donor focus on Ziguinchor to the detriment of people living in Sedhiou. Many expressed a hope that USAID will establish a presence in Sedhiou rather than programming from Ziguinchor or Kolda.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

The majority of people who met with the team perceive lack of livelihood opportunities as one of the biggest challenges facing Sedhiou. When people cannot get jobs, they leave for urban areas or other countries.

Now that GoS security forces are addressing timber trafficking along the border with The Gambia, access to forest resources is increasingly constrained. Some people have turned to illicit alternatives, including marijuana cultivation and banditry, to generate income.

Interviewees indicate cattle rustling is also a significant problem along the border with Guinea-Bissau. Even when stolen cattle can be identified and attempts are made at restitution, there is little cooperation from Guinea-Bissau, and cattle are rarely returned. As a result, people along the border have generally stopped investing in cattle, which further limits livelihoods.

Although interviewees had heard of the PPDC, most have not seen evidence of economic development linked to projects. Several expressed the perception that the largest part of the money allocated for the PPDC and other government programs goes to implementing agencies to fund administration and big cars, never reaching the intended population. Others voiced concern that PPDC resources all went to

Ziguinchor, leaving little for Sedhiou. There is a feeling that the PPDC is not being implemented in collaboration with the local authorities and communities.

The team frequently heard that livelihood opportunities are especially limited for women, who often work in the informal sector. Some women have small businesses that make enough money to help with food and medical expenses but little else. Interviewees indicated that Ministries provide small loans to women, but the women have difficulty paying back the loans. Other projects provide small grants to women for income-earning activities, but they are not accompanied by adequate training, monitoring, and supervision, contributing to the failure of many of these projects.

According to interviewees, women and youth may also encounter difficulties accessing land. Married women have access to the family land, but they lose access to land if they divorce and have to lease or simply go without it. Respondents explained that women struggle to make enough money because they do not have agricultural inputs. Although women are often the ones who work the farms, it is the men who receive the agricultural inputs. In addition, soil erosion and saltwater intrusion are negatively impacting agricultural productivity.

Despite GoS intentions to stimulate local economic development, interviewees explain that local companies cannot meet the criteria necessary to compete for tenders, such as those under the PPDC. They cannot meet the years of experience or line-of-credit requirements of most procurements. As a result, these procurements are awarded instead to large Senegalese or international companies. Interviewees indicate these companies bring in external personnel with technical expertise and hire local residents only as day laborers. Overall, there is a perception that people are afraid to invest in Sedhiou and would rather work in the North.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY AND POLITICIZATION OF LAND ALLOCATION

Several people told the team that while women technically have access to land under law, this is not the reality in Sedhiou due to cultural norms.

People also indicated that land grabbing to prevent other communes from expanding is causing conflicts between communes.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

According to interviewees, ACT III came very quickly, and district councils, which were created under ACT III, were not prepared or trained to implement it. Transfers from the central government cover only basic operating costs and nothing else. This means that local communes have to be very creative in raising resources, but they lack the capacity to support economic development and provide services. The communes are now asking USAID and other donors to support their action plan implementation. The diaspora is also contributing to their efforts.

Respondents indicate that access to health services is very limited. Few of the people who met with the team were covered under the Mutuelle plan, either because they were unfamiliar with it or because the cost is prohibitive, particularly for larger families. People indicated that if they have no coverage, they need to find money if they are sick. Those without coverage of money to pay for treatment simply do not receive treatment. The only options left are either go to a traditional healer or accept permanent illness, injury, or death. Community members occasionally come together to raise funds. When someone gets sick at school, for instance, teachers and students often collect the money needed for treatment.

Interviewees describe schools and health facilities, especially in the border areas, as being in very poor condition. People who cannot pay for health services often use traditional healers who will treat people for whatever they can pay. Some combatants also use traditional leaders for health treatments and protection against gunfire.

There appear to be challenges with some of the local health committees managed by elders or retired people who are not interested in transparency and inclusiveness. In some cases, members do not want to organize elections, so prefects and health authorities have begun pushing for new local health committee elections to encourage more diverse participation, including the participation of youth.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

The team heard that some communes have begun implementing local taxation plans, but they struggle to demonstrate the link between tax collection and improved service provision. Some perceive that communities are to blame if they do not push the mayor to raise revenues by finding partners.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

Youth expressed frustration with Le Programme des Domaines Agricoles Communautaires (PRODAC), a government program under the Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes (ANPEJ) that is designed to employ youth and revitalize agriculture in rural areas. They did not feel they were benefiting from the program. Some participants left the program after they had low crop yields during their first year. In general, there is a perception that young men and women do not have adequate experience, education, or skills to successfully implement these projects without support. PRODAC housing is limited, so it is harder for youth who do not live in the immediate location to participate. Despite their frustration with PRODAC, youth defended the recently dismissed director. This was not because he was a good director, however, but because he was from Sedhiou and they wanted representation in the government.

There are other ANPEJ programs that provide training and access to micro-loans through local banks. Youth who participated in these programs claimed that even though they had completed the training, they were unable to secure the loans.

Youth also expressed concerns about lack of employment after graduation and little access to professional training. The lack of livelihood options leads many youth to emigrate, even if it means risking their lives. Several interviewees lamented the high number of idle young people in Sedhiou.

To earn money, many youth turn to driving Jakartas, but this is not considered an option for females. Interviewees explained during school holidays, some girls help on family farms. If something happens to the crops, the family is left without resources and girls do not return to school.

Girls expressed a perception that women are left behind in Sedhiou. Early pregnancy, early marriage, and forced marriage are common. Sometimes girls drop out of school when they get pregnant, marry or to find work. Interviewees indicated that, because of cultural constraints, family planning services are generally unavailable to youth in Sedhiou.

Many girls do not attend school because their families lack the financial resources to pay for their education. Even if they have the financial resources, some families feel that girls should not study or work.

According to interviewees, some girls leave school before finishing their final exams so they can get a job as a maid in Dakar to pay for the following year's school fees. Conditions in Dakar are very difficult, and youth may find themselves renting a single room with as many as ten other people. Youth indicated that if they could find employment in Sedhiou, they would leave. When the girls return, they can either sit for their exams from the prior year or repeat the prior school year. Some youths expressed their hope to go to university but were concerned they would not have the good marks and connections needed to make it happen.

Violence against women and genital mutilation are common in Sedhiou. Women and girls who are sexually assaulted often are afraid to seek justice and fear being blamed or stigmatized for the attack and being further abused or killed. This can contribute to psychological difficulties, sometimes even leading to suicide.

There is a perceived growth of Daaras and talibés in Sedhiou linked to child trafficking. There are also growing concerns that lack of GoS oversight of Daaras and their teachings may increase the risk of religious extremism.

NEITHER PEACE, NOR WAR

The majority of the people who met with the team indicated there is a need to negotiate and cited a formal peace agreement as a prerequisite for moving forward. They acknowledged that lack of MFDC unity remains an issue because GoS and negotiators need one point of contact. People highlighted the need for engaging The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau in negotiations. They indicate that there needs to be a formal agreement that everyone respects, as many past agreements have not been enforced.

People also highlighted the need for reconciliation and reintegration. They explained that combatants are concerned about judicial process and livelihood prospects if they come out of the bush. Frustrations remain concerning excessive use of GoS force and use of torture against the population. People also highlighted the importance of forgiving the combatants so they can reintegrate into communities.

Others viewed the peace process with more skepticism and reflected that it is time to rethink the process in order to successfully reach a peace agreement. They expressed concerns about the amount of money spent on peace, indicating that the only beneficiaries of the peace process are the few politicians or individuals who profit from the conflict. Many people believe that other members of communities need to be engaged in the formal peace process, including religious leaders, chefs du village, and youth.

As in other parts of the Casamance, Sedhiou suffers from sporadic episodes of banditry by armed groups. Sedhiou continues to experience disruptions to road construction and other development activities. When the team was in Sedhiou, local authorities had just negotiated the release of a road construction team, and negotiations to release their materials and equipment were still going on. This incident was attributed to a lack of communication between the local government and the MFDC.

Many people in Sedhiou feel abandoned and unfairly treated by the GoS. There is a perception that resources are concentrated in the North and that Sedhiou and Kédougou are the most neglected regions in Senegal. Several people noted that Sedhiou has no minister at the national level, which to them means no representation.

Despite these frustrations, people do not believe there will be a return to violence to seek independence. People in Sedhiou identify themselves as Senegalese, although some, particularly youth, feel that the GoS does not consider them as Senegalese.

MITIGATING FACTORS

Interviewees indicated that traditional structures continue to play a strong mediation role, and people generally try to resolve conflicts internally before going to the authorities. However, there is a perception that younger generations are moving away from traditional structures, which may create tensions between youth and elders. Younger traditional leaders try to serve as a bridge between the older generation and youth. Traditional ceremonies also provide a forum for bringing diverse groups together, including the Army, combatants, and government employees. However, because these ceremonies are considered sacred, women are generally excluded. The roles of women are generally limited to preparing meals, fetching water, and making the ceremonial clothes.

Imams, Christian clergy, and other religious leaders also work to raise awareness about the importance of reconciliation and forgiveness.

The team heard about some communes creating development partnerships with European cities in hopes of improving social services and economic development. Some also receive resources from the diaspora.

TAMBACOUNDA

INTRODUCTION

Tambacounda is one of the largest regions of Senegal. Bordering Mali, Mauritania, Guinea and The Gambia, it is a landlocked region with a weak health and educational infrastructure. Its geographical location exposes the region to insecurity and trafficking, and the security services are underequipped. Tambacounda is a transit zone for the illegal emigration of populations from elsewhere in Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia, and Guinea, who are passing through Mali and Niger to Libya and then to Europe. The Kidira Department is a very important transit zone to and from the subregion, and security forces pay special attention to preventing the cross-border movement of would-be terrorists.

Tambacounda residents view positively the USAID programs in the region, including GOLD, Yaajeende, ACCES, and NEEMA.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Despite its great mining, agro-industrial, and tourism potential, the region of Tambacounda remains economically poor. The region does not have large enterprises capable of providing jobs to young people, and the unemployment rate among youth is high. The population views GoS programs, such as PUDC and AGEROUTE, as uncoordinated and therefore of limited usefulness .

The Diyabougou gold zone on the porous border with Mali is home to populations of different nationalities who practice artisanal gold mining using mercury, which has significantly damaged the environment. There is a high prevalence of diseases (such as HIV/AIDS) in this region, due largely to a high rate of human trafficking and prostitution. Interviewees report that intercommunity conflicts have become more frequent.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

The government presented decentralization as a means of bringing the administration closer to the citizens to better meet their needs. However, interviewees highlighted many shortcomings in implementation, especially in the provision of basic social services. People want more services and do not understand the inability of elected officials to provide these services.

According to interviewees in the Tambacounda region, decentralization has not fulfilled its promises and has failed to satisfy the needs of local populations. Skills are transferred, but very few financial and technical resources are allocated to local authorities. Interviewees cite as problems the limited local human resources, an inability to mobilize local taxes, and elected officials who do not inform citizens about the use of public

resources (cropland, public procurement, etc.). To make matters worse, the region is isolated, and the poor quality of roads inhibits access to the rest of the country. Attracting qualified staff capable of filling and executing key government roles is difficult.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

In general, interviewees, particularly youth, do not feel local elected officials serve them. There is a perception that once in office, elected officials stop consulting their constituents and that the rare economic opportunities in the region are given to friends and family members. Dissatisfaction is on the rise and, if not addressed, has the potential to ignite youth-led protests.

According to respondents, civil society is active in the region and has made efforts to increase government accountability, but lack of coordination between organizations leads to a duplication of efforts and an overall lack of effectiveness.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

Interviewees say that the lack of licit economic opportunities inspires youth to turn to illicit activities, such as poaching in nearby Niokolo Koba Park, banditry, and trafficking of all kinds. The prevalence of illicit activities has made the region more insecure. In addition, young people appear to be less likely to pursue the few existing job prospects.

Interviewees stressed that, although youth are not represented in decision-making bodies, they are well organized. They try to hold elected officials and the state accountable by demanding increased transparency and citizen participation in the management of public resources.

MITIGATING FACTORS

In Tambacounda, as in other parts of Senegal, there are traditional mechanisms for mediation and conflict resolution. These include the kinship-based cousinage. Interviewees emphasize that these structures must continue to adapt to modern society to remain meaningful and relevant. There are also multiple ethnic groups from the rest of Senegal and neighboring countries in Tambacounda, resulting in numerous cultural and trade exchanges that help to minimize conflicts.

Many young people from Tambacounda have migrated to other cities and to locations outside Senegal and frequently send remittances to meet the food, health, and schooling needs in their communities. This helps to alleviate the harshness of life, which in turn reduces grievances against local elected representatives and the government. However, the economic situation in some host countries is deteriorating, and many emigrants are returning home. The resulting disruption the flow of remittances may put pressure on local resources.

ZIGUINCHOR

INTRODUCTION

Located at the mouth of the Casamance River, Ziguinchor is the second-largest city in Senegal and the primary urban center of the Casamance. In 1982, the MFDC clashed with government security forces following an independence demonstration in Ziguinchor, beginning a conflict that has lasted for more than 30 years. Today, there are still sporadic acts of violence, but many people living in the region are looking toward the future. Many believe a peace agreement between the GoS and the MFDC will pave the way for long awaited economic growth.

People interviewed in Ziguinchor were generally aware of USAID peacebuilding initiatives. There is a perception that grassroots efforts that combine negotiation and mediation skills with economic development activities work well. People were generally very positive about USAID's work in Ziguinchor and referred to USAID as a partner for peace and development. In the health sector, most people recognized the names of implementing partners as service providers rather than associating them with USAID.

Today, USAID works in some zones that are prone to conflict, including border regions with The Gambia to the north and with Guinea-Bissau to the south. However, several individuals and organizations interviewed voiced a perception that USAID and other donors provide support only to communities in secure areas. The assessment team frequently heard that, during the conflict, less secure areas such as Sindian and Zone des Palmiers received little or no donor support, leaving the most vulnerable populations even more exposed.

Several people interviewed expressed concerns that only large organizations seem to receive support from USAID. There appears to be a gap between larger NGOs and the populations and organizations they claim to represent. Some interviewees perceive that peace has become a business for many NGOs and that smaller organizations are left behind. They express concern that most USAID money does not reach the intended beneficiaries because the majority of the budget is used for administrative costs. Some interviewees also indicated there is overlap in USAID funded activities.

Many people asked for direct USAID and/or U.S. Government intervention in the formal peace process. Requests varied from technical assistance in support of MFDC reunification to playing a more robust role in moving the peace process forward. They expressed the feeling that only a strong external actor, such as the U.S. government or possibly European governments, will have the leverage with the MFDC and GoS to move the process forward.

CORE THEMES

LIMITED LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Interviewees in Ziguinchor highlighted some improvements over the last few years that have the potential to contribute to economic development. These included improved roads, new vehicles for public transportation, more boats to Dakar, and more electricity. At the time of interviews, some people mentioned that water and electricity are subsidized but quickly added that they think Sall is doing this to win votes. They anticipate subsidies will cease after elections.

Virtually everyone who met with the assessment team indicated that the PPDC has not demonstrated expected benefits and lacks credibility and visibility. The ARD appears to have limited involvement in the implementation of this and other ongoing economic and social development projects.

According to interviewees, the presence of landmines continues to limit economic opportunities linked to agriculture. In response, more people, particularly youth, are turning to other sources of income such as fishing. The increasing number of local fishermen is causing conflicts between the local population and fishermen from other areas, as well as among local fishermen competing over increasingly scarce natural resources.

Women's livelihoods are linked to the forests, as most women harvest fruits, cashews, and other wild crops. This exposes them to risks related to landmines and rape. Interviewees indicated that many widows and mine victims are desperate to survive. In addition, increased salinity of the soil and irregular rainfall present challenges to agricultural productivity.

Interviewees explained that limited livelihood options are causing people, especially youth, to turn to illicit activities, such as growing marijuana and banditry. There are some indications that growing marijuana may be increasingly difficult in the North, however. Salif Sadio has banned cultivation in and destroyed the fields in his areas. As a result, some people have begun to add fruit trees.

Under the new Gambian president, people are already seeing changes in border controls. Illicit cross-border trafficking is being curtailed. At the same time, the Senegalese Army is working to limit timber trafficking. Some peacebuilding programs work with communities to support forest protection. Collectively, these efforts are demonstrating advances in protecting the forests from illegal timber trafficking.

In the past, there was seasonal migration at harvest time. Diolas from Casamance would travel to former President Jammeh's village, Kanilai, in The Gambia for harvesting and celebrations. Interviewees indicated that with the change of government in The Gambia and tighter border controls, this migration has largely stopped, further limiting livelihood opportunities for populations along the border.

According to interviewees, conflicts also arise between farmers and pastoralists when villages do not delineate pastoral corridors before the start of the rainy season. Because farmers use crop rotation, these corridors change from year to year. Because crop rotation is practiced in some areas, corridors change from year to year. Without clear delineation and communication of the corridors, pastoralists sometimes drive cattle through the farms, causing damage to crops. This may lead farmers to wound the animals or take other retaliatory actions.

Interviewees also highlighted that cattle rustling along the border between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau also has the potential to escalate conflict. There is a culture of cattle rustling among some of the ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau. In the past, cattle rustlers would cross the border and steal two or three cows, and the authorities in Guinea-Bissau would help to return the cattle. Today, cattle rustlers are armed and are sometimes mistaken by local villagers for combatants. The cattle rustlers take a large number of cattle, and interviewees say that the authorities across the border do nothing. Villagers that try to defend themselves run the risk of being hurt or killed.

Local businesses complain of a general lack of access to bank credit and prohibitively high taxation by the government of Ziguinchor. These businesses, particularly those that rely on tourism, are struggling to attract customers and have difficulties complying with the high tax rates.

LOCAL COMMUNES HAVE LIMITED CAPACITY TO IMPLEMENT DECENTRALIZATION AND DELIVER SERVICES

The majority of people interviewed said that they see no difference with decentralization and do not understand what ACT III means. People generally recognize that fiscal transfers from the central level to local governments are insufficient to provide decentralized services such as health and education, especially the “Fond de dotation” and “Fond de concours”.

The team heard that in Ziguinchor, the MFDC tells people not to pay local taxes, arguing that Casamance is not part of Senegal. Even if they wanted to, many people living in rural areas do not have money to pay taxes. Some speculate that the local government is taxing business heavily to make up for shortfalls. Small businesses already suffer from losses in tourism and investment because of perceptions of the conflict, and the taxes makes them at even greater risk of failure.

Given local governments’ lack of resources, communities rely increasingly on NGOs, donors, and diaspora communities to provide public goods and services. Local communes are now asking USAID and other donors to support implementation of their action plans.

Access to health services was a significant concern for interviewees in Ziguinchor. Elected health committees can play a supportive role in linking communities and health service delivery priorities, but residents generally characterize these committees as corrupt and view them as only working for themselves. The team repeatedly heard that the Badienou Gokh can play a key role in facilitating communication between health

officials and community members, including discussing sensitive topics such as family planning.

Very few people that the team met with had universal coverage under the Mutuelle. Many people did not know what it was or how to enroll. Others could not afford the annual fee (CFA 3500 per person). Although coverage for children under five is free, there are significant delays in clinic reimbursements by the government, which disrupts care. Accumulated debt sustained by these health posts due to delayed reimbursements impacts their ability to stock lifesaving drugs, pay community workers, and pay for operating costs such as water and electricity.

Vulnerable populations also are entitled to free coverage, but interviewees said it is unclear how eligibility is determined. The team repeatedly heard that people who are not covered by insurance and cannot pay do not receive treatment, even at the regional hospital. Their options are to go to a traditional healer or die.

Each health facility has a social case fund to help cover people in need, but there is a perception that those who have no connections cannot access this funding. People complained about corruption in the system, saying that even if those with money for treatment may have to pay someone to speed it up.

Interviewees indicated education infrastructure is improving, but quality of education and student retention remain challenges.

LACK OF TRANSPARENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNE RESOURCE ALLOCATION

According to interviewees, land allocation is a significant potential source of conflict in the Ziguinchor area. The local government is perceived as allocating land to businesses without consent or adequate compensation of people living on the land. Many local communities and vulnerable populations believe the government has taken their land to build government service facilities or allocate it to others. Some have moved from land owners to land renters. As a result, they do not have the money to access health services or education for themselves or their families.

Respondents indicated that there is no quota for women when land is allocated by the local government. There is a perception that women generally do not own land or receive land for cultivation, increasing their economic vulnerability. Youth also have limited access to land. The fact that they have no proof of land ownership limits their ability to access agribusiness support funds.

Developing agribusiness in Casamance is part of the PSE but some people fear that agribusiness will create more problems than it solves. People raised concerns that agribusinesses will simply remove raw materials for processing in other locations, limiting economic growth and infrastructure development in the region. They also fear that, if the GoS allocates significant amounts of land to agribusiness, there will be no land left for the children of Casamance.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF YOUTH

Many youths leave school early to find employment or due to pregnancy. Because many families were displaced during the conflict, some youth and women do not have birth certificates, which are required to enter school. Lack of documentation is also a problem for Casamançais refugees living in Guinea-Bissau and The Gambia.

Several interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with access to university education. They do not understand why some local youths are sent to university in Dakar and Saint Louis, far from community resources, rather than being allowed to study at the university in Ziguinchor. At the same time, youths from other areas come to study in Ziguinchor.

NEITHER PEACE NOR WAR

Many people expressed frustration with the fact that each president takes a new approach to peace in the Casamance. When one president leaves power, they say, the next president throws away what has been accomplished and starts over from the beginning. Virtually everyone the team met with felt strongly about the importance of a formal peace agreement, both as a political message and to advance sustainable economic growth. From their perspective, a formal peace agreement is necessary to reintegrate combatants, remove remaining mines, and foster economic development.

In some areas, the MFDC is obstructing removal of landmines until a formal peace agreement is in place. In 2013, twelve de-miners were kidnapped when they returned to work after being warned not to remove mines close to the MFDC. Presence of landmines also impedes the return of refugees living in Guinea-Bissau. Some who would like to return fear bandits and general insecurity; instead they may go to collect mangos or cashews during the day and return to Guinea-Bissau at night.

Interviewees blame both the combatants and the GoS for the conflict. There is broad recognition the MFDC is not unified. There is also a perception that the GoS is not really serious about a formal peace agreement, which continues to fuel feelings of government marginalization of the Casamance. GoS attempts to address the conflict through promises of economic development are considered important but not sufficient. There is a perception that the GoS continues to ignore cultural aspects of the conflict and that the formal peace process with Sant'Egídio does not include local voices.

Some people say the formal process is uncoordinated and lacks coherence. Several interviewees question the credibility of some of the conflict leadership in Casamance, referring to them as the “executives of Casamance” and saying they are working for themselves. There is a lack of clarity around the role of the GRPC and the relationship with Admiral Sarr, who has been appointed by the government to lead the peace process. Some perceive that the two are in competition and fail to support each other. There is also a perception that NGOs engaged in peacebuilding compete with each other for funding and have created a business from the conflict.

While a lot is being done to raise awareness about the importance of peace, there appears to be little happening in terms of reconciliation. Several interviewees talked

about the importance of letting combatants reintegrate, highlighting that people cannot treat the conflict in Casamance like it never happened and that there needs to be healing. Some fear Diolas may be at risk of ethnic violence due to perceptions of their alignment with MFDC combatants and the former Jammeh regime in The Gambia.

Perceptions are mixed about whether conflict could reignite in the Casamance. However, the majority of people interviewed indicate that a lack of economic growth opportunities and a formal peace agreement contribute to perceptions of marginalization. If these continue, people will be increasingly frustrated.

MITIGATING FACTORS

According to interviewees, traditional actors and structures continue to play a strong mediation and conflict mitigation role in Ziguinchor. Today, these structures are primarily used to address disputes at the community level. In the past however, the king of Oussouye played a key role in resolving conflicts between the MFDC and the GoS. When the de-miners were kidnapped in 2013, the king helped to broker their release. Today, he continues to play a role in peacebuilding at the community level, including organizing multiday wrestling matches to bring people together. As a result, many people interviewed identified the king as an important mobilizer for peace.

The Femmes du Bois Sacree also play a role in supporting peace in Ziguinchor. Although they continue to work and pray for peace, they feel forgotten and left behind by the NGO-dominated peacebuilding community.

According to interviewees, people continue to use traditional authorities and systems, such as the chef du village and the congres du village, to resolve conflicts. They will only turn to formal systems such as the gendarmerie and the courts as a last resort. Some people explained that if people who get a verdict from the courts against someone else are shunned by the community. Going through the formal channels is interpreted as a rejection of the mediators and their skills.

Under President Diouf, religious leaders were engaged in the formal peace process. Today, interviewees explain religious leaders remain informed about the formal process and serve as resources when requested but they play no formal role. They do, however, continue to play an important role in dispute resolution at the community level. Interviewees indicated that some imams report suspicious activities to the prefet if they feel there are individuals or organizations are engaging in practices that run counter to Islam, such as encouraging violence.

Committees de Gestion de la Paix (CGPs) were formed with USAID support under the DIRECT activity⁹⁰, to help manage conflicts in the border areas of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. They continued to operate after donor funding ceased by generating small amounts of revenue to cover costs of transportation and other necessities. However, in

⁹⁰ Similar groups were also developed by with USAID funding by Catholic Relief Services.

some areas, the 2014 local elections brought new municipal actors who are less interested in working with the CGP or do not understand how to do so. This has limited their effectiveness.

Several interviewees indicated that there is currently a window of opportunity to move the formal peace process forward. With the change in government in The Gambia, the MFDC appears to be moving closer to unification, both within the military wing and possibly between the political and military wings. Now that President Jammeh is no longer in power, Salif Sadio has lost his support base in neighboring Gambia and can no longer find refuge across the border. Respondents explained that Sadio has been significantly weakened and is making overtures to other military wings, including César Badiaté who reportedly has control over most camps in the North. Some greater level of unification is likely, even if the MFDC is not completely unified. Many also indicated the importance of the GoS engaging The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau in the peace process, now that they have strong relationships with both countries.

Emigration to urban areas and other countries, particularly for youth, seems to serve as a release valve for the lack of livelihood opportunities. Many young people indicated that they leave home because everything is centered in Dakar. Many emigrate as a last resort, having lost hope that the GoS will support employment opportunities at home.

In the border areas, access to schools and health facilities in The Gambia seems to provide an outlet for lack of quality services provided in Senegal. Remittances also contribute to meet community needs filling gaps in service delivery.

BANJUL, THE GAMBIA

INTRODUCTION

While in Banjul, the team frequently heard that people want USAID to come back to The Gambia. USAID closed their mission in The Gambia in 1996 following the election of President Jammeh in 1994. Today, there remain a handful of NGOs, such as United Purpose, that are registered in Senegal and receive funds from USAID to work in border villages.

Since coming to power, the Barrow government has stopped issuing Gambian passports and ID cards. Interviewees speculated the government wants to figure out who is really a Gambian citizen. Several people indicated that many refugees had obtained Gambian identification cards through back channels, but the refugee populations who met with the team denied this.

Many interviewees in Senegal and The Gambia suggested Jammeh provided ID cards to members of the MFDC, refugees, and Casamançais living in the border regions so that Diolas could vote for his party, Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC), in presidential elections.

Some interviewees reported that refugees from the Casamance are having difficulties obtaining refugee ID cards. Funding for education and health services appears to have also ceased. Refugees from Casamance are hosted by relatives or communities in The Gambia. Many of the host communities are Diola, but others are Mandinka, Pular, or other ethnic groups. It is unclear to what extent these communities receive support to host refugees, which may have caused tensions. Some interviewees indicated there were refugees who registered and then crossed back and forth to pick up food distributions and receive other refugee benefits.

According to most interviewees, the situation of refugees from the Casamance is precarious. Many live in fear and work hard not to attract attention by not assembling in large numbers or speaking Diola. While many Gambians do not trust the military because they fear the presence of Jammeh supporters, the refugees fear Senegalese military presence. A few interviewees also raised concerns that if the Senegalese troops remain in The Gambia for too long, they will be perceived as an occupying force.

Interviewees indicated it is very difficult for the refugees to find work, and most do not have access to land. Men try to get work as watchmen, but many fear going out after dark and being arrested. They worry about the Senegalese forces in The Gambia. Some of them may be wanted by the Army. As a result, it appears that many refugee women have become primary income earners. Their revenue goes to cover food, school fees, health expenses, and other costs. Many of the refugees that the team met with consider their children Gambian because they were born here and are enrolled in Gambian schools. Although they have Gambian birth certificates, law prohibits them from having Gambian IDs.

Interviews indicate that some of the refugees are highly traumatized by their experiences in Casamance and vow never to return. They do not feel safe in Senegal or The Gambia. The Fogni area, along the border with Casamance, is mainly Diola. People in the Fogni are divided: some still support Jammeh, while others support the new Barrow government. There may be a perception that some of the refugees have blood on their hands from perpetrating violent acts during the conflict.

According to interviewees, the curtailing of the timber trade is having an impact on livelihoods on both sides of the border. Gambian youth who would come into Senegal to illegally harvest timber are now left without livelihood options, which could potentially cause problems for the new government. Some interviewees expressed concerns that Gambian youth will engage in marijuana cultivation or other illicit activities to generate income.

CORE THEMES

ETHNIC TENSIONS

There is a perception in The Gambia and Senegal that the Diola ethnic group has played a role in perpetrating violent conflict, both as leaders and as members of the MFDC and as perceived allies of former president Jammeh in The Gambia.

Former president Jammeh, a Diola, sowed the seeds of division between Diolas and other ethnic groups, particularly the Mandinka. He appointed members of his own ethnic group to high-level positions in the government and the military, even though many of them were unqualified. Interviewees frequently mentioned the example of General Ousman Badji, who served as the chief of defense staff (CDS) and is from the Fogni. Badji is young and inexperienced. He was also Diola. During the presidential elections, the CDS supported Jammeh until the end of his mandate. Badji then recognized the new administration and declared support for the new president. Perceptions of the CDS are mixed: some consider Badji a hero for helping to diffuse tensions and avoid conflict between the Gambian military and ECOWAS troops, but others characterize his behavior during this time as proof that he is mentally unsound. The new administration has replaced Badji, who now holds a post with the foreign affairs ministry.

President Barrow is a Mandinka and came to office as the head of an opposition political coalition. Many interviewees say that he is removing Diolas from high-level military and government positions. Diolas were not represented in the coalition that brought Barrow to power because they did not engage in opposition politics and were represented by the APRC. As a result, some postulate that Barrow is appointing new people not to remove Diolas but rather to satisfy the various members of the coalition. The head of the Central Bank—a Diola—and remains in place. Some interviewees cautioned that the new government has to proceed carefully as it makes appointments to avoid perceptions of the ethnic favoritism and exclusion perpetrated under President Jammeh. Many people emphasized the importance of establishing a truth-and-reconciliation commission.

When the team was in Banjul, people were preparing for the National Assembly elections that took place on April 6, 2017. Barrow's party, the UDP, won a majority of seats in parliament, giving it firm control over both the legislature and the executive office. Jammeh's APRC won only five seats, down from the 43 seats it had held prior to the election.⁹¹

Finally, the majority of refugees are Diola, and there is concern that they are considered Jammeh sympathizers and that there could be a violent backlash against them. Secret graves of victims of the Jammeh regime have been discovered, and some interviewees indicated Diolas may be implicated because of their perceived association with the former president.

On March 30, 2017, a landmine exploded in The Gambia, about 300 meters from its border with Senegal. The explosion killed a man and his two sons, who were returning from collecting firewood. The mine was placed on a well-traveled feeder road leading to the Casamance, suggesting it had been planted recently.⁹² Motivations for placing the landmine are unclear.

MITIGATING FACTORS

Despite the potential for ethnically-driven animosities, interviewees indicate that strong kinship ties and ethnic intermarriage between the Diola and other ethnic groups such as the Mandinka may help to mitigate tensions.

Recently, President Barrow reached out to the Diola community, emphasizing the importance of coming together as Gambians, regardless of ethnicity. This message was reportedly well received.

Lastly, respondents mentioned Imam Baba Ly as someone who could provide a positive voice for peace. The imam, who was imprisoned and tortured under Jammeh, recently returned to The Gambia after four years of living in exile in the United States. He has spoken out publicly for peace and reconciliation among all ethnicities.

⁹¹ Longtime Opposition Party Wins Gambia's Parliamentary Elections. VOA News. April 7, 2017

⁹² Gambia: Landmine Kills Father, Two Sons in Wassadou. Lamin B. Darboe. The Daily Observer (Banjul) April 3, 2017.

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ANNEX C: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY IN FRENCH

Sommaire exécutif

En 2017, l'USAID /Sénégal ont demandé une évaluation de la dynamique des conflits et des facteurs atténuants pour informer leur nouvelle Stratégie de Coopération au Développement du Pays (CDCS). L'équipe d'évaluation a exploré les tendances contextuelles, les changements, les opportunités et les menaces pour soutenir les efforts de l'USAID visant à mettre en œuvre un portefeuille de programmes sensibles aux conflits et leur capacité à atteindre les résultats escomptés.

Pour informer le CDCS à venir, l'évaluation s'est concentrée sur les principaux domaines d'investigation ci-dessous:

- 4) Décentralisation et prestation de services;
- 5) Le programme de réforme du Gouvernement (y compris la lutte contre la corruption, le développement économique, la réforme du régime foncier et la paix en Casamance);
- 6) La dynamique transfrontalière (y compris l'émigration, le trafic de marchandises et de personnes, l'extrémisme violent et le changement de gouvernement en Gambie).

L'équipe a également recueilli des données sur des questions transversales, notamment sur la façon dont les femmes et les jeunes affectent et sont affectés par la dynamique des conflits.

L'équipe s'est concentrée sur la collecte de données sur la perception, car ce sont surtout les perceptions des gens qui déterminent la dynamique liée aux conflits et à la paix. L'évaluation représente les résultats obtenus à partir de ces données de perception dans un sous-ensemble de régions frontalières. Ces résultats ne représentent pas nécessairement la dynamique des conflits à l'échelle nationale.

MODELE SOCIAL ET THEMES PRINCIPAUX

Les données de perception recueillies auprès d'environ 400 personnes dans sept régions et à Dakar reflètent un modèle social transversal d'attentes non satisfaites et leurs effets sur les citoyens sénégalais.

Modèle social transversal

Les attentes non satisfaites concernant les réformes économiques, sociales et politiques promises par le Gouvernement et les possibilités limitées de participation des citoyens à la prise de décisions dans le secteur public ont entraîné une insatisfaction et une désillusion croissantes des citoyens dans les régions frontalières.

Sous l'égide de ce modèle social, cinq thèmes principaux distincts mais interdépendants ont émergé dans toutes les régions. Ils comprennent les perceptions sur:

- 9) Les opportunités limitées de moyens de subsistance;
- 10) Le manque de transparence et la politisation de l'attribution des terres;
- 11) La capacité limitée des communes locales à mettre en œuvre la décentralisation et à fournir les services;
- 12) Le manque de transparence dans l'allocation des ressources des communes locales;
- 13) L'exclusion politique, économique et sociale des jeunes.

En outre, il y avait aussi trois thèmes spécifiques à certaines régions reflétant les perceptions sur:

- 14) L'intimidation des forces de sécurité à l'encontre des jeunes (Kolda et Kédougou);
- 15) Ni la paix ni la guerre (Casamance-Ziguinchor, Sedhiou et Kolda);
- 16) Les tensions ethniques (zones frontalières entre le Sénégal et la Gambie).

FACTEURS ATTÉNUANTS

Les facteurs atténuants sont des éléments susceptibles d'atténuer les tensions et d'éviter les conflits violents. Les facteurs atténuants ne sont pas normativement positifs ou négatifs, mais jouent un rôle dans la réduction des risques de violence. Le nombre de facteurs atténuants contribue à la conclusion de l'équipe selon laquelle il est peu probable qu'un conflit violent généralisé éclate au Sénégal.

ÉMIGRATION ET RENVOI DE FONDS

L'émigration vers les zones urbaines et à l'étranger sert de soupape de décharge en raison du manque d'opportunités économiques, en particulier pour les jeunes qui cherchent une vie meilleure. Les envois de fonds de ces émigrés contribuent à répondre aux besoins de la communauté, combler les manques dans la prestation de services et stimuler le développement économique.

STRUCTURES TRADITIONNELLES JOUANT UN RÔLE DE MEDIATION

Les leaders et les structures traditionnelles continuent à jouer un rôle important de médiation des conflits à Ziguinchor, Sedhiou, Kolda, Kédougou, Matam et Saint Louis. Cependant, dans toutes ces régions à l'exception de Kédougou, les mécanismes traditionnels semblent avoir moins de résonance avec les jeunes qu'avec les segments plus âgés de la population.

LEADERS RELIGIEUX (IMAMS ET CLERGE CHRETIEN)

Les leaders religieux continuent de jouer un rôle important dans la modération des comportements à Sedhiou, Ziguinchor, Saint Louis et Matam.

LIENS DE PARENTE ET MARIAGES INTER-ETHNIQUES

Les liens de parenté étendus entre les régions et les frontières internationales, ainsi que les mariages inter-ethniques, semblent contribuer de manière significative à la prévention et à la résolution des conflits.

INDICATIONS QUE LE MFDC SE DIRIGE VERS L'UNIFICATION

Il y a une croyance répandue parmi les Casamançais interrogés qu'il y ait une nouvelle fenêtre d'opportunité pour négocier un accord de paix formel entre le Gouvernement et le Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques en Casamance (MFDC). Beaucoup de gens attribuent cette ouverture au changement de gouvernement en Gambie, qui n'offre plus de protection au MFDC et ferme sa frontière au trafic illicite du bois.

MECANISMES LOCAUX D'ATTENUATION DES CONFLITS

Il y a des mécanismes locaux d'atténuation des conflits contribuant à la fois à la prévention et à la résolution des conflits. Les exemples comprennent les Comités de Gestion de la Paix en Casamance et les Commissions de résolution des conflits du Conseil Local de Pêche Artisanale (CLPA) dans chaque zone de pêche de Saint Louis.

LA FOI DANS LE SYSTEME ELECTORAL

Dans certaines régions, telles que Saint Louis et Matam, les gens expriment leur foi dans le système électoral et la puissance de leur vote pour provoquer le changement. Cela indique que, du point de vue des citoyens, le système électoral fonctionne, ce qui peut servir de débouché au désenchantement avec la performance de leurs élus.

TRAJECTOIRES

Les entretiens indiquent clairement que le Sénégal n'est pas en danger d'éclater dans un conflit violent généralisé. Cependant, il y a quelques dynamiques et trajectoires de conflit qui ont le potentiel d'éclater dans la violence sporadique et qui méritent donc une attention immédiate:

- Le régime foncier est à l'origine de conflits de bas niveau. Les tensions peuvent continuer comme des explosions sporadiques de violence, mais dans des régions comme Kédougou, où la terre est liée aux moyens de subsistance et aux perceptions de l'exclusion, il y a un risque que les problèmes fonciers débouchent sur un conflit plus large.
- La frustration des jeunes à Kolda et Kédougou a déjà conduit à la violence, les jeunes utilisant les SMS et les médias sociaux comme outils d'organisation. Ces incidents ont le potentiel de se propager à d'autres segments de la population qui sont mécontents du manque d'opportunités et de la perception que les

entreprises étrangères et le Gouvernement bénéficient du développement alors que les citoyens continuent de souffrir.

- Les personnes interrogées dans la région de Saint-Louis préviennent que les frustrations des pêcheurs quant à leur incapacité à gagner leur vie dans les eaux surexploitées du Sénégal et l'abandon présumé de leur gouvernement ont aussi le potentiel d'enflammer la violence. Des mécanismes sont en place pour résoudre les différends entre les pêcheurs (voir les facteurs atténuants ci-dessous). Néanmoins, les plaintes avec les services gouvernementaux responsables de la surveillance des pêcheries risquent de devenir violents.
- Les tensions ethniques dans la zone frontalière entre la Gambie et le Sénégal devraient être surveillées.

RECOMMANDATIONS

Basé sur les thèmes principaux, les facteurs atténuants et les trajectoires anticipées discutées ci-dessus, l'équipe d'évaluation propose les recommandations suivantes qui mettent l'accent sur la mise en œuvre des projets prévus dans le nouveau CDCS.

La section des recommandations est organisée en trois sous-sections.

- 1) Recommandations pour les activités immédiates
- 2) Recommandations pour l'intégration dans la programmation de développement; et
- 3) Recommandations pour soutenir la réforme des politiques

Bien qu'il s'agisse d'un moyen utile de catégoriser les recommandations, il est important de noter qu'une sous-section des recommandations ne sera pas efficace pour prévenir les conflits à long terme sans les actions dans les autres sous-sections.

Cadre opérationnel pour les recommandations

Compte tenu du financement, du calendrier et des contraintes opérationnelles, les recommandations portent sur les adaptations aux projets prévus, les possibilités d'intégration intersectorielle qui soutiennent la bonne gouvernance et les programmes sensibles aux conflits comme moyens d'atteindre les objectifs de développement.

A. RECOMMANDATIONS POUR LES ACTIVITES IMMEDIATES

- 1) Engager la société civile locale dans les efforts visant à créer ou restaurer des mécanismes de médiation qui incluent les femmes et les jeunes à Kolda et Kédougou afin de réduire les tensions entre les communautés et les forces de sécurité.
- 2) Encourager le dialogue entre la société civile locale et les forces de sécurité à Kolda et Kédougou. Explorer les possibilités de mise en place des mécanismes joints de suivi pour s'assurer que les citoyens et les forces de sécurité respectent la loi.

Ces deux recommandations visent à lutter contre le traitement brutal des jeunes par les forces de sécurité à Kolda et à Kédougou. Dans ces régions, les systèmes formels sont

perçus comme étant dominés par les intérêts de l'État et les forces de sécurité et la confiance dans les systèmes informels, tels que la médiation traditionnelle et communautaire, s'érode. Les mécanismes de médiation et les options d'exécution acceptables pour toutes les parties prenantes doivent être identifiés et développés. Cela peut signifier la revitalisation des mécanismes existants, l'adaptation des mécanismes acceptables à cette fin ou la création de quelque chose de nouveau.

3) Continuer de surveiller en Gambie la possibilité d'une escalade des tensions ethniques susceptibles de rendre les populations réfugiées plus vulnérables. Dans la mesure du possible, chercher des occasions d'intégrer la guérison posttraumatique et la réconciliation dans les activités avec les populations frontalières et les réfugiés.

B. RECOMMANDATIONS POUR L'INTEGRATION DANS LA PROGRAMMATION DE DEVELOPPEMENT

- 1) En travaillant pour limiter les activités économiques illicites, fournir simultanément des opportunités de moyens de subsistance licites (options de diversification) aux populations affectées.
- 2) Veiller à ce que toutes les activités de subsistance soient inclusives, accessibles et pertinentes pour les femmes et les jeunes.
- 3) Travailler avec les gouvernements locaux pour créer des environnements propices aux investissements du secteur privé et au développement économique.
- 4) Explorer les possibilités de facilitation des partenariats entre les gouvernements locaux et le secteur privé pour une meilleure prestation de services.
- 5) Dans la mesure du possible, chercher des occasions de soutien des entreprises locales dans les initiatives de croissance économique.
- 6) Développer Yaajeende, Naatal Mbay et d'autres projets pour introduire et soutenir des pratiques de gestion des ressources naturelles plus productives.
- 7) Soutenir les compétences du gouvernement local pour mettre en œuvre des activités et des pratiques de gestion environnementale saines qui soulagent la pression sur les ressources naturelles sous contrainte.
- 8) Aider les gouvernements locaux à délimiter et à communiquer clairement les corridors pour les bergers avant le début de la saison des pluies.
- 9) Renforcer les capacités des communes locales (pas seulement le maire) pour gérer la prestation de services et engager les citoyens dans les décisions de planification et d'allocation des ressources, y compris les femmes et les jeunes.
- 10) Engager la société civile locale et promouvoir la sensibilisation et la participation des citoyens à la planification et à la gestion des ressources publiques. Porter une attention particulière à l'engagement des femmes et des jeunes.
- 11) Intégrer les jeunes dans tous les projets de portefeuille de la mission, y compris la gestion des ressources naturelles, le développement de la chaîne de valeurs, la

diversification des moyens de subsistance, les compétences de vie et la gouvernance. Garder à l'esprit que des efforts spéciaux pour atteindre les jeunes, en particulier les filles, peuvent nécessiter des adaptations ou une sensibilisation spéciale pour faciliter une participation significative.

12) En s'engageant avec des structures traditionnelles, communautaires et religieuses à travers les activités de la mission, s'assurer que les voix des femmes et des jeunes sont incluses.

13) Soutenir la consolidation de la paix à travers les activités de la mission en Casamance et explorer les opportunités d'intégrer les efforts et les voix de la consolidation de la paix dans le programme de paix formel.

C. RECOMMANDATIONS POUR SOUTENIR LA REFORME DES POLITIQUES

1) Renforcer les mécanismes formels et informels qui peuvent être adaptés pour résoudre les conflits fonciers.

2) Encourager le gouvernement à mettre l'accent sur la transparence et la communication autour des processus fonciers.

3) Promouvoir une transparence et une consultation accrues autour des négociations du Gouvernement et des accords pour les industries extractives à travers les cadres existants et en relation avec l'exploitation des ressources naturelles.

4) Continuer de travailler avec d'autres donateurs pour soutenir la mise en œuvre par le Gouvernement des transferts fiscaux complets et de la fiscalité et clarifier le plan d'action pour la phase II de la loi III sur la décentralisation.

5) Rechercher des opportunités pour accompagner le Gouvernement pour faire avancer le processus de paix formel. Tenir compte de comment la réunification potentielle du MFDC peut avoir un impact sur les négociations de paix formelles.