# Equal Partnerships

*African Intermediary Cities as Actors and Partners in Urban Migration Governance*

FAU Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

UCLG AFRICA United Cities and Local Governments of Africa Cités et Gouvernements Locaux Unis d'Afrique CGLU AFRIQUE

IDOS German Institute of Development and Sustainability

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# Table of Contents

Glossary . . . 4
Definition of key French terminologies . . . 5
List of acronyms . . . 6
List of figures . . . 7
List of tables . . . 7
Key findings and recommendations . . . 8
1 Introduction . . . 10

1.1 Urban migration governance in African intermediary cities . . . 10
1.2 The Equal Partnerships project . . . 11

2 Methodology . . . 12

2.1 Case study selection . . . 12
2.2 Fieldwork and data collection . . . 13

3 Regional and city-level migration dynamics . . . 15

3.1 Regional/National migration dynamics . . . 15
3.2 Migration patterns and dynamics in the city of Saint Louis . . . 20

4 Partnerships approaches in Saint-Louis town . . . 29

4.1 Stakeholder mapping . . . 29
4.2 Key cooperation frameworks . . . 31
4.3 Cooperation actions in Saint Louis . . . 32
4.4 Challenges of cooperation and cooperation failures . . . 40

5 Conclusion and recommendations . . . 48

5.1 Conclusions . . . 48
5.2 Recommendations . . . 50

Annexes . . . 53

1. Description of administrative structures in Senegal and Saint-Louis . . . 53
2. Actor mapping Saint Louis . . . 53
3. Bibliography . . . 57

**Authors**

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## Equal Partnerships

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and practice has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance in African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.

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# Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| **Migration** | The Equal Partnerships project works with a broad definition of migration, understanding a migrant as any person "who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons."[1] This broad definition proved helpful for working in partnership with African intermediary cities that experience a wide range of migration movements at times classified under umbrella terms such as "mixed migration"[2] or "transnational mobility."[3] |
| **Intermediary Cities** | Building on research conducted by the Cities Alliance,[4] the Equal Partnerships project moves beyond a definition of secondary/intermediary cities based predominantly on city size often considered to range between 50,000 and 1 million inhabitants.[5] Instead, we combine demographic aspects with a city's connectivity and status. We, therefore, use the terms "secondary" and "intermediary" interchangeably, as they refer to different city aspects: The cities on which we focus our research are intermediary in the sense that they link capital cities with smaller towns and rural areas through flows of goods, ideas, funds, and people. At the same time, these cities are secondary regarding economic status, municipal capacities and resources, as national development strategies for urban planning have for a long time prioritized capital cities. |
| **Multi-stakeholder Partnerships** | Multi-stakeholder partnerships can be defined as "voluntary initiatives involving governments, intergovernmental bodies, civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders in pursuit of a common goal or commitment."[6] Equal Partnerships research shows that approaches striving towards equal participation of stakeholders need to include a broad range of partners in the initial development stage, remain open for new actors as the cooperation evolves and continuously review roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder within the partnership. |
| **(Urban) Migration Governance** | Migration governance entails an "interdependent set of legal norms, policies, institutions, and practices to administer, regulate, and mediate activities and relations within defined socio-political entities, whether states, administrative regions, cities, or corporate bodies."[7] Urban migration governance takes an urban setting – such as a town or city – as the defined socio-political entity. |

1 IOM. "About Migration" (2023). Available at: https://www.iom.int/about-migration. Accessed: 21 May 2023

2 IOM Migration Data Portal 2023. Mixed migration (2023). Available at: https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/mixed-migration#:~:text=Definition,seeking%20better%20lives%20and%20opportunities. Accessed: 21 May 2023

3 Nicholas Van Hear, "Policy Primer: Mixed Migration Policy Challenges" (2011). Available at: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PolicyPrimer-Mixed_Migration.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

4 Cities Alliance. Taking a Closer Look at Secondary Cities (2019). Available at: https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/taking-closer-look-secondary-cities. Accessed: 21 May 2023. Connecting Systems of Secondary Cities: How Soft and Hard Infrastructure can foster Equitable Economic Growth among Secondary Cities. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/2019-07/Secondary-Cities-Book-Brief_v2.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023.

5 UCLG, "Intermediary cities", available at: https://www.uclg.org/en/agenda/intermediary-cities. Accessed: 21 May 2023

6 Bester, A., and Hermans, L. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships: Implications for Evaluation Practice, Methods and Capacities (2017). Available at: https://nec.undp.org/sites/default/files/2021-07/Multi-Stakeholder%20Partnerships%202017.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

7 Global Migration Policy Associates (GMPA), "Governance of Migration: a context note for reference in current national and international processes and discussions", updated in 2017. Available at: http://globalmigrationpolicy.org/articles/governance/Governance%20of%20migration%20Context%20Note%20rev%20GMPA%20jun2017.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

# *Definition of key French terminologies*

| Concept | Definition | Specificities in Senegalese context |
|---|---|---|
| **Cadre de Concertation** | It essentially translates to "consultation framework", and thus refers to a template, entity, group or structure shaping and facilitating consultation on any number of issues. | In Senegal, the cadre de concertation may refer to the investigation frameworks, consultation processes or working groups set up in a specific context (e.g. dealing with climate driven mobility) - or to more embedded governance entities / structures such as neighbourhood or village councils. |
| **Collectivité territoriale** | A geographically bound local administrative entity, distinct from the State, and corresponding to a territory run through by a local government/authority. | This term is usually used to refer to an entire department within a region (and run by a departmental council). |
| **Collectivité locale** | A geographically bound local administrative entity, distinct from the State, and corresponding to a territory run through a local government/authority. | This term is usually used to refer to a commune, such as a municipality (e.g. the city of Saint Louis) or rural administrative area, which may contain several villages (e.g. the commune of Gandon). |
| **Commune** | The smallest of administrative territorial entities (e.g. cities, rural areas within a department) | It is important to note that, as geographically bounded administrative entities with elected officials, communes are also necessarily collectivités locales. |
| **Intercommunalité** | Refers to cooperation among various communes in a given administrative region | Particularly relevant to understanding cooperation actions surrounding climate-driven displacement in Saint Louis. |

# List of acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| **ADM** | Agence de Développement Municipal |
| **AEMO** | Action Éducative en Milieu Ouver |
| **ANPEJ** | Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes |
| **ARD** | Agence Régionale de Développement |
| **BAOS** | Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation et de Suivie de Migrants |
| **CDPE** | Conseil Départemental de Protection de l'Enfance |
| **ECOWAS** | Economic Community of West African States |
| **EIES** | Évaluation d'Impact Environnemental et Social |
| **FAO** | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| **GERM** | Laboratoire de recherche sur le Genre, l'Environnement, la Religion et les Migrations |
| **ICMPD** | International Center for Migration Policy Development |
| **IDP** | Internally Displaced Person |
| **IOM** | International Organization for Migration |
| **KII** | Key Informant Interview |
| **PDU** | Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme |
| **PRDI** | Plan Régional de Développement Intégré |
| **PROGEP** | Projet de Gestion des Eaux Pluviales et d'Adaptation au Changement climatique |
| **SERRP** | Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis |
| **UCLG** | United Cities and Local Governments Africa |
| **UN Habitat** | United Nations Human Settlement Programme |
| **UNICEF** | United Nations' Children's Fund |
| **WMR** | Western Mediterranean Route |

# List of figures

*Figure 1.* Intermediary cities dominate African cityscape . . . . . 10
*Figure 1.* Local workshop discussions in Saint Louis, March 2023 . . . . . 14
*Figure 2.* Top 10 destination countries of migrants in West Africa . . . . . 19
*Figure 3.* Illustration of migration patterns and dynamics in Saint Louis . . . . . 21
*Figure 4:* Specification of migration stakeholders in Saint Louis . . . . . 30
*Figure 5:* Specification of roles and mandates of migration stakeholder. . . . . .

# List of tables

*Table 1.* Laws, policies, and instruments on migration governance in Senegal and the region . . . . . 16
*Table 2:* Policy frameworks and planning documents for Saint Louis . . . . . 28
*Table 3.* Actor mapping Saint Louis . . . . . 54

# Key findings and recommendations

Key findings on (partnerships in) urban migration governance in the city of Saint Louis can be grouped into five broad themes, summarized below.

Firstly, the geographical location and topography of Saint Louis justifies key drivers of migration both into, and out of the city. On the one hand, the fact that Saint Louis is situated directly on the Atlantic Ocean allows for the emergence of tourism and, most importantly, fishing industries. These industries, in turn, attract migrants from rural areas of Senegal in search of work. On the other hand, the proximity of certain areas of the city - notably the Langue de Barbarie spit - to the ocean, exposes certain neighbourhoods to the effects of climate change in the form of rising sea levels, leading to destruction of infrastructure and threatening the sustainability of livelihoods, thus driving displacement towards neighbouring communes such as Gandon.

Secondly, the presence of the fishing industry in Saint Louis, as well as the general insufficiency of employment opportunities, combine to make the city a hotspot for "irregular" migration by boat towards Europe (via Spain / the Canary Islands). However, the city is also a destination for migrants returning, either voluntarily or involuntarily, from countries throughout West Africa, the Maghreb and Europe. Accordingly, Saint Louis is home to a variety of migrant (-led) associations, the majority of which provide assistance to returning and 'potential' migrants in terms of socioeconomic integration, while also raising awareness of the risks of "irregular" migration.

Thirdly, the perception of "migration" held by a vast majority of stakeholders in Saint Louis is limited to potential and return international migration, with a particular focus on "irregular" migration by boat, as well as on the generation of employment opportunities for youth. Accordingly, other forms of human mobility prevalent in Saint Louis - e.g. internal migration, and notably that of unaccompanied Talibé children, as well as mobility spurred by climate change - are largely absent from policymaking discussions in the realm of urban migration governance.

Fourthly, and somewhat counterintuitively, the mobility of unaccompanied minors, as well as climate-driven displacement, are the two areas presenting the most successful and widespread examples of multi-stakeholder cooperation in urban migration governance in Saint Louis. The format of multi- stakeholder cooperation on climate change, however, is quite different from that surrounding Talibé child mobility. Indeed, while the latter is largely informal, involving ad hoc collaboration among NGOs, CSOs and CBOs within and beyond Saint Louis, the former takes place through institutionalized, long-term partnership frameworks such as the Saint Louis Emergency Recovery and Resilience Plan (SERRP). Accordingly, those

forms of mobility not falling within the perceptual scope of migration are those most likely to spawn successful cooperation in urban migration governance.

Conversely, international ("irregular") migration presents few local partnerships in urban migration governance. Indeed, there is little in terms of cooperation among the multiple migrant associations operating in Saint Louis, and targeting potential "irregular" migrants, return migrants and their families. This is largely due to the fact that the financing system in which these associations operate is structurally adverse to sustained cooperation, notably in terms of data collection and sharing. Moreover, the BAOS, a national migration agency operationalized at local level, exists in a political environment unsuited to the successful implementation of its mandate, as there is no focal point or department dealing either explicitly or exclusively with migration issues in the region, department or city of Saint Louis.

These findings inform the following five recommendations, aimed at strengthening partnerships and cooperation frameworks for urban migration governance in Saint Louis:

- **Strengthen cooperation between local (including municipal) authorities and the BAOS**, and extend the BAOS mandate in such a way that this agency takes on the role of a coordinating entity for migrant associations operating in Saint Louis.

- **Involve local CSOs, religious leaders, and community members from source regions** in efforts to stem the flow of, and abuses suffered by, unaccompanied Talibé children forced to beg on the streets of Saint Louis.

- **Adopt a whole-of-migration and whole-of-government approach** to urban migration governance in order to address issues holistically, tackling elements driving mobility towards the city all the while ensuring adequate livelihood opportunities and access to services for those migrants already present in Saint Louis. Key here is engagement with stakeholders in rural settings, as well as individuals and associations with ties to the fishing industry. By taking these steps, a more inclusive and effective governance framework for urban migration in Saint Louis can be established.

- **Bring changes to the financing structure underlying the formation and operation of migrant associations in Saint Louis**, thus fostering an environment conducive to cooperation rather than competition. This, in turn, will encourage the sharing of data, thus facilitating effective and inclusive policy making in the realm of urban migration governance.

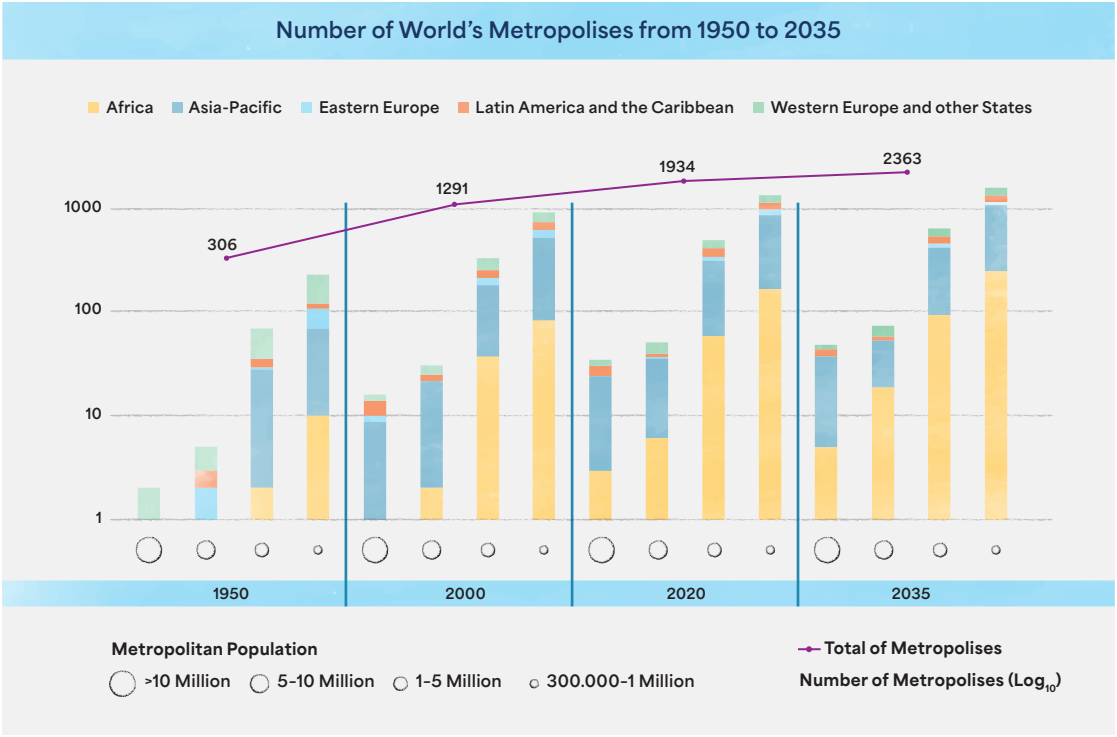
- **Set up focal points at regional, departmental and municipal level dealing explicitly with issues of human mobility / migration**, and ensure migration and mobility become themes transversally considered throughout all policy making, planning and implementation processes.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Urban migration governance in African intermediary cities

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and policymakers has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. Addressing this gap becomes increasingly important,[8] as African cities with 1 million or less inhabitants already account for the highest relative share among African cities – a trend forecast to continue in the future (figure 1). [9]

*Figure 1. Intermediary cities dominate African cityscape (Source: UN Habitat 2020)*




8 Stürner-Siovitz, J. and Morthorst Juhl, L. 2023. Migration in African intermediary cities: why multi-stakeholder partnerships are key to inclusive action. https://oecd-development-matters.org/2023/03/30/migration-in-african-intermediary-cities-why-multi-stakeholder-partnerships-are-key-to-inclusive-action/.

9 UN Habitat 2020. Global State of Metropolis. Population Data Booklet. https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/09/gsm-population-data-booklet-2020_3.pdf.

Both natural population increase and human mobility contribute to the growth of African intermediary cities. These cities constitute central spaces for mixed movements driven by processes of urbanization, socioeconomic transformation, and environmental stressors, as well as conflict and persecution. Though not always intended as final destinations, persons on the move may consider intermediary cities more accessible – financially, geographically, and socially – than capital cities.

As intermediary cities, thus, gain in importance as places of origin, transit, destination, and return, African local authorities are increasingly confronted with key issues of mixed migration and are further directly impacted by (inter)national policies. Due to their proximity to local communities, local authorities have the potential to shape inclusive approaches for migrants, refugees, and local populations. However, developing local strategies often proves challenging to local authorities, since national or international actors holding official mandates for migration and displacement rarely consider them (equal) partners, and they are often not equipped with sufficient resources and capacities to play an active role. This creates knowledge and cooperation gaps between local, national, and international actors addressing urban migration and displacement on the ground, and in policy dialogues. To address such challenges, some local authorities have started seizing opportunities for engaging in multi-stakeholder partnerships, bringing together local, national, and international actors working on questions of migration in African cities.

## *1.2 The Equal Partnerships project*

The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance with African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa: Garissa in Kenya, Gulu in Uganda, Kumasi in Ghana, Oujda in Morocco, Saint Louis in Senegal, and Sfax in Tunisia. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.

This case study report is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the research methodology with a specific focus on case study selection, data collection and research limitations. Section 3 presents the migration dynamics in Saint Louis and the region and explores impacts of migration on the ground. Section 4 discusses partnerships approaches in Saint Louis via a stakeholder mapping and zooms in on cooperative actions, challenges and prospects. Section 5 summarizes key findings and provides policy recommendations to strengthen multi-stakeholder partnerships on urban migration governance in Saint Louis.

# 2 Methodology

## 2.1 Case study selection

The Equal Partnerships project works with African intermediary cities that are central hubs for diverse forms of human mobility. At the outset, the project held discussions with a broad range of cities in order to identify urban areas where the local administration and/or local government showed an interest in addressing questions of migration. Throughout the project, this approach served to explore opportunities for multi-stakeholder partnerships in contexts where political will to proactively engage on urban migration governance is present at the local level.

Saint Louis is included in this study owing to national and regional relevance for mixed/regional migration. Very few up-to-date population estimates are available for the city of Saint Louis. However, data drawn from the European Commission's Joint Research Center points to a rapid growth of the urban population, estimated to have increased from about 106 000 to just under 140 000 inhabitants between 1990 and 2015.[10] Open Cities Africa, a collaborative urban mapping initative funded by the World Bank Group, estimated in 2023 that Saint Louis was home to a population of just under 300 000.[11] Founded in 1659, Saint Louis was serving as the capital of Senegal and French West Africa between 1885 and 1957 and is currently being recognised as a UNESCO world heritage site. The city borders the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Republic of Mauritania and the Senegal River to the north. Saint Louis is made up of three main sections, namely the Langue de Barbarie spit, Ndar Island and the Sor district along the east-west axis. The city covers 3,700 hectares and is divided into about 20 districts.

With its proximity to the ocean, Saint Louis is considered by the UN as the city most threatened by sea-level rising compared to any other city in Africa.[12] Over the past two decades, historical fishing villages have been covered by sea-level rising, leading to local displacement, and exacerbated 'irregular' migration to Europe. The city, therefore, presents an interesting case to highlight the complex interconnectedness between forced mobility, voluntary mobility, rural-urban migration, and 'irregular' migration.

10 City-facts, "Saint Louis: city and regional capital in Senegal" Available: https://www.city-facts.com/saint-louis-senegal/population. Accessed: 21 May 2023

11 Open Cities Africa, "Saint Louis, Senegal" Available: https://opencitiesproject.org/saint-louis/. Accessed: 21 May 2023

12 Joost Bastmeijer, "Senegal: Historic city and livelihoods lost to rising sea", DW (2021). Available a: https://www.dw.com/en/senegal-historic-city-and-livelihoods-lost-to-rising-sea/g-59712098. Accessed: 21 May 2023

The city is also a destination for forced and voluntary return migrants from Europe. Partnering with the city of Saint Louis, therefore, enabled the Equal Partnerships project to explore existing and potential multi-stakeholder engagements within urban migration governance.

## 2.2 Fieldwork and data collection

The Equal Partnerships project draws on three forms of data collection: (i) desk review of literature on urban migration governance, (ii) key informant interviews (KIIs), and (iii) a half day workshop.

**Literature review:** A review of policies, strategy documents, reports, and academic articles on partnership in (urban) migration governance in Saint Louis and the region were conducted. The identified literature was organised and coded in a matrix, in the form of an Excel spreadsheet, which was used to assess the relevance of each item, isolate key findings, and facilitate cross-reference throughout the duration of the study. The extensive list of literature references in this study are presented in the Annex section.

**Key informant interviews (KIIs):** Sixteen interviews with key informants were conducted mainly in person between February and March 2023 in Saint Louis. The selection of the KII respondents was done with the assistance of a migration researcher who has previously worked for the municipality of Saint Louis. An anonymised list of KII respondents is presented in the Annex section.

Before each interview was conducted, the interview respondents were informed about the Equal Partnerships research project and why the person was selected for the interview. The interview respondents were also informed about the data protection compliance, handling of their personal data and requested for their verbal and written consent to be interviewed. The declaration of consent for the implementation and use of the interview is attached in the Annex section of this report.

**Local workshop:** Samuel Hall delivered a half-day local workshop in Saint Louis in February 2023 on the subject of multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance. The workshop was attended by 12 participants. Selection of participants was carried out by Samuel Hall researchers in collaboration with a Saint Louis city deputy mayor. The selection of participants was conducted in such a way that a spectrum of stakeholders and actors were represented – including the local and national government, NGOs, CBOs, and academics. An anonymised list of workshop participants is presented in the Annex section.

A general workshop agenda was developed in the context of the Equal Partnerships project - designed for workshops in six cities but adjustable to the specific context of Saint Louis.

*Figure 1. Local workshop discussions in Saint Louis, March 2023 (Source: Samuel Hall 2023)*

# 3 Regional and city-level migration dynamics

## 3.1 Regional/National migration dynamics

Senegal is considered a country of origin, transit, and destination for regional and international migration.[13] The perception towards migration among the general population is largely positive, with a general acknowledgement that migration is undertaken as a pathway towards economic sufficiency for households and communities, as well as an acceptance of, and willingness to assist certain migrant populations (in particular return and potential migrants, and youth in search of employment opportunities).[14] There are diverse factors driving mobility within, towards and out of Senegal. We discuss the factors, many of which are intertwined and mutually reinforcing, in this section - including the implications of mobility to the social, economic, and political conditions of the country.

The majority of Senegalese migrants move for economic reasons and due to a lack of viable livelihoods in their localities. Senegal has been ranked 162 (out of 189) in the last UNDP development index and a 2020 study found that at least one out of two people within the employment age bracket are unemployed or underemployed.[15] However, it is difficult to provide accurate estimates of unemployment in a context where 97% of all enterprises operate in the informal sector.[16] Rural to urban migration, migration out of urban areas, and international migration play an important role for the country.

### 3.1.1 Policies and strategies relevant to migration governance in Senegal and the region

The following table summarises the laws, policies, and instruments on migration governance in Senegal and the region.

13 Jegen, Leonie. "The political economy of migration governance in Senegal." Freiburg: Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (2020)

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 ILO, "The ILO in Senegal: Senegal and Decent Work", (2018). Available: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---exrel/documents/publication/wcms_631716.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

*Table 1. Laws, policies, and instruments on migration governance in Senegal and the region*

| | Internal Orientation | External Orientation | International/Regional Instruments and Conventions |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1970s | **Law No. 71-10 of Jan. 25, 1971 / Decree No. 71-860 of July 28, 1971:** conditions for entry, residence and establishment of foreign nationals - provisions include deportation, expulsion, fines and imprisonment of irregular stays and employment. | | **Agreement with Mauritania, 1972:** Serves to facilitate movement of workers between both countries.<br><br>**Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 1975:** Allows for free movement of citizens of member states, including right to residence and establishment. |
| 1990s | **Labour Code, 1997:** Outline the modalities of access to the Senegalese labour market for foreign nationals, in addition to their rights within the field of employment. | | **Agreements with Saudi Arabia (1988) and Kuwait (1992):** Both outline employment of migrant workers from Senegal in the construction industry.<br><br>**1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families:** outlines international legal protection framework applicable to migrant workers. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2000s | | **Law No. 2005-06 of 10 May 2005 on Trafficking in Persons and Assimilated Practices and Victims' Protection:** outlines various criminal offences and penalties relating to smuggling and related activities such as the falsification of travel or identification documents.<br><br>**Law No. 2008-47 of Sept. 3, 2008:** Includes various fiscal incentives, meant to spur foreign investment (including from nationals living abroad) – focus on channelling remittances for development.<br><br>**Decree No. 2008-635 of June 11, 2008:** Sets up Support Fund for Investments of Senegalese Abroad (FAISE). | **2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons**<br><br>**2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air**<br><br>These two protocols were soon followed by Senegalese participation in various partnerships aimed at stemming "irregular" migration towards Europe (mostly by boat), including: 1) **FRONTEX MoU** with Spain for joint border patrols; 2) **partnerships allowing for presence of Interpol Immigration Liaison Officers in Senegal**; 3) **SEA HORSE**, a regional border management project with Cape Verde, Mauritania, Morocco, Portugal and Spain. |

### *3.1.2*
### *Rural to urban migration*

Rural to urban migration is the main pattern of mobility observed in Senegal. A 2018 study by FAO found that at least 60% of migrants from the two Senegalese regions most prone to migration (Kaolack and Matam) move towards urban areas, either in Senegal or abroad. Moreover, nearly 56% of all internal migrants from Kaolack and Matam head towards Dakar, while the majority of remaining displacements occur within the region of origin (mostly towards cities therein).[17] Migration is generally viewed as a means of escaping the acute poverty experienced in rural areas. This reality, whereby socio-economic deprivations in rural areas drive internal and international mobility, was identified by a key informant as occurring in the département of Podor, a largely rural area in the hinterlands of the region of Saint Louis.[18]

60% of Senegal's rural population derives its livelihood from agriculture, characterised by smallholder producers who cultivate rainfed crops and practice animal husbandry. The sector has suffered from limited access to knowledge, inputs, and working capital; soil fertility degradation; decreasing quality of seed stock; limited diversification and intensification; and gender inequalities.[19] The aforementioned 2018 FAO case study found that agriculture still

17 FAO, "Characteristics, Dynamics and Drivers of Rural Migration in Senegal: Case study of Kaolack and Matam" (2018). Available at: https://www.fao.org/3/CA0277EN/ca0277en.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

18 KII9

19 World Bank. "Rural Development in Senegal: Building Producer Organizations and Extending Agricultural Services" (2013). Available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2013/03/18/rural-development-in-senegal-building-producer-organizations-and-extending-agricultural-services. Accessed: 21 May 2023

accounted for the major part (67%) of gross annual income throughout Senegal.[20] Challenges faced in the agricultural sector are linked to the economic crisis brought by the monetarist policies of the structural adjustment plans, neo-liberal reforms, increasing disengagement of the state, growing privatization, and failure of social movements, which have resulted in rising social inequality.[21] More frequent and prolonged drought periods have also exacerbated deagrarianization, with increasing numbers of people leaving their rural homes to settle permanently in urban centres.[22]

Deagrarianization - among other rural challenges such as lack of alternative livelihood options, education, gender-based violence, and healthcare opportunities - have resulted in increased rural to urban migration particularly among the youth. The FAO study found that most migrants are between the ages of 15 - 34 and the main reason for moving is the search for better work opportunities at 60% - 70% of the interviewed respondents.[23] As indicated, while a majority move to the capital city, Dakar, secondary cities also receive significant numbers of immigrants - particularly those who arrive to search for seasonal jobs in fishing and other agricultural activities.

The immigration of *talibés* into intermediary cities is another youth migration dynamic linked to rural poverty.

### *3.1.3 Migration out of urban areas*

Migration out of urban settings, particularly among the youth, is a phenomenon that is linked to socio-economic drivers of mobility. Work opportunities in Senegalese urban areas cannot adequately cater for the 300 000 new job seekers entering the labour market each year. A study conducted for West African cities, found that the individuals who opted to leave the urban centres often had higher levels of education compared to those leaving rural areas.[24] This is an indication that economic opportunities are limited even for the educated part of the population in urban areas. Mobility out of Senegalese cities to other countries like Mauritania, the Gambia, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, and Spain is also considered a 'self-reinforcing cycle,' where people who previously migrated from rural to the urban areas gain confidence and are inspired to move to another country for further opportunities. ICMPD reported that, although Senegal was traditionally a destination country for West and Central African migrants, it has gradually lost its attractiveness - and is thus becoming more and more a transit country.[25]



20 FAO, "Characteristics, Dynamics and Drivers of Rural Migration in Senegal: Case study of Kaolack and Matam" (2018), available at: https://www.fao.org/documents/card/en/c/CA0277EN/. Accessed: 21 May 2023

21 Guido Nicolas Zingari, Bruno Riccio, Papa Sakho, and Dramane Cissokho. "It's Only a Matter of Hope: Rethinking Migration Decision-Making in Contemporary Senegal; Among Lived Immobilities, Development Interventions, and Social Inequalities." Africa Today 69, no. 3 (2023): 27-51. Available at: https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/3/article/884141. Accessed: 21 May 2023

22 Lalou, R., and V. Delaunay. "Seasonal migration and climate change in rural Senegal. A form of adaptation or failure to adapt." Rural societies in the face of climate and environmental changes in West Africa. IRD Editions, Paris (2017): 269-293. Available at: https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/divers19-05/010074981.pdf

23 FAO, "Characteristics, Dynamics and Drivers of Rural Migration in Senegal: Case study of Kaolack and Matam" (2018)

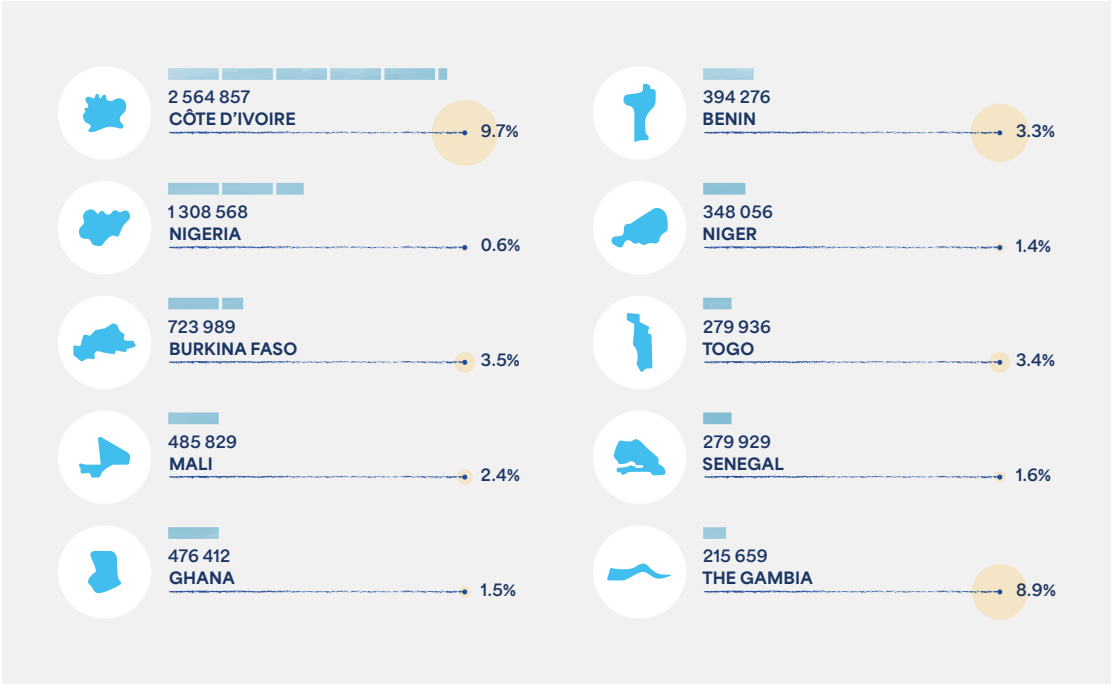
24 Mixed Migration Centre. "Urban mixed migration: Experiences of migrants moving to, through and from cities in West and North Africa" (2021). Available at: https://reliefweb.int/report/world/urban-mixed-migration-experiences-migrants-moving-through-and-cities-west-and-north. Accessed: 21 May 2023

25 ICMPD, "A Survey on Migration Policies in West Africa" (2015), available at: https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/survey_west_africa_en.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

### *3.1.4*
### *Inter-regional migration*

Intra-regional mobility is the dominant type of movement in West Africa, with more than 70% of migrants from West African countries moving to destinations within the sub-region.[26] West Africans are considered to be the most mobile people in the world, a trend that far predates the current configuration of borders established during the colonial era.[27] The inter-regional movements within West Africa have been facilitated by regional policies of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), notably the free movement of persons regime that has been put in place since the late 1970s. The figure below provides an overview of the top 10 destination countries of migrants in West Africa and the share of migrants in their population.

***Figure 2.** Top 10 destination countries of migrants in West Africa and the share of migrants in their populations (Source: Migration Data Portal 2023)*




The Migration Data Portal reported that the highest levels of intra-regional migration are from lower-income or landlocked countries within West Africa, with migrants from more prosperous coastal areas – including Senegal, Nigeria, and Ghana – increasingly emigrating outside the region.[28] Data on population mobility and its development impacts in the region is limited - making it difficult to integrate migration into development planning processes in the region.[29]

26 Teye, Joseph Kofi. "Migration in West Africa: An Introduction." In Migration in West Africa: IMISCOE Regional Reader, pp. 3-17. Cham: Springer International Publishing, (2022).

27 Migration Data Portal. "Migration Data in Western Africa". (2021). Available at: https://www.migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/western-africa. Accessed: 21 May 2023

28 Migration Data Portal. Migration Data in Western Africa. (2021).

29 Teye, Joseph Kofi. "Migration in West Africa: An Introduction." In Migration in West Africa: IMISCOE Regional Reader, pp. 3-17. Cham: Springer International Publishing, (2022).

### 3.1.5
### Emigration to Europe

Owing to its geographical position, Senegal is a key transit country for West Africans migrating to Europe. It is also a land of departure as many Senegalese leave the country in search of better opportunities in Europe. The Western Mediterranean Route (WMR) - from West Africa towards Spain - became the most frequently used route into Europe with over 58 000 arrivals in 2018. Senegal was one of the top West African nationalities of arrivals in 2018, after Guinea, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, and The Gambia, and has witnessed an increase of irregular departures from its coasts towards Spain since 2016. Restrictive migration policies have contributed to the irregularization of trans-Saharan and intercontinental migration, affecting Senegalese populations. A recent study revealed that 45 percent of people who have taken the WMR have already tried to migrate using regular means.[30]

While migration to the OECD largely originated from specific rural areas, progressive economic downturn over the last five decades had resulted in increased migration from people in urban areas. In fact, rural youth generally do not have the social network and economic capital to migrate directly to Europe. They will, therefore, often migrate into urban areas within Senegal or North African countries, where they will attempt to establish social networks and economic capital, to aid their potential onward migration to Europe and other countries.

## 3.2
## Migration patterns and dynamics in the city of Saint Louis

Saint Louis constitutes a microcosm of regional/ transnational migration dynamics highlighted in the previous section. This coastal city is a locus for various human mobilities: a point of arrival, transit, residence, destination, and return for various communities and individuals. It is also a place, which clearly demonstrates the deep connections among various forms of migration, displacement, and drivers thereof.

Urban migration governance in Saint Louis comes across as multidirectional, fluid and flexible in terms of the roles, relationships and processes employed to address specific (sets of) challenges stemming from human mobility. Along these lines, rather than a top down, rigid approach calling for selected actors to address problems in specific ways by using predefined toolkits, migration governance in Saint Louis is shaped by the issues it seeks to address. In other words, rather than institutionalized and pre-defined governance structures affording solutions to thematic problems, specific problems and available resources shape the solutions and governance strategies utilized at the local level.

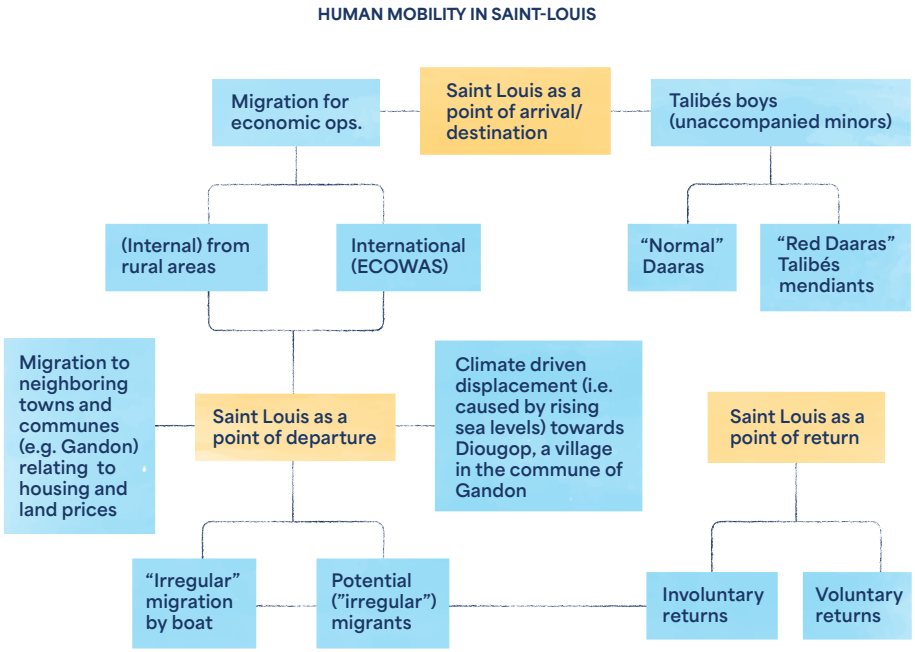
This section will lay out the principal forms of migration and mobility observable in Saint Louis, the links among them, and the impacts of human mobility in the city. Finally, this section shall also touch upon the forms of governance addressing human mobility and its consequences in Saint Louis.

30 IOM. "Latest IOM Study on Migration Trends in Senegal Explains Peak Arrivals in Spain" (2019). Available at: https://reliefweb.int/report/spain/latest-iom-study-migration-trends-senegal-explains-peak-arrivals-spain?gclid=CjwKCAjwxr2iBhBJEiwAdXECw3z_j23XYl2uiXd1cF0SWjxFttwYNAS14JKX--7sOgStSkDclCXX9xoCgGEQAvD_BwE. Accessed: 21 May 2023

The following graph constitutes an overview of the different forms, drivers and agencies (e.g. voluntary vs involuntary) of human mobility in Saint Louis. Much like the subsequent sections of the report, the graph illustrates migration in Saint Louis along three main axes, namely:

1. Saint Louis as point of departure;
2. Saint Louis as a point of arrival;
3. Saint Louis as a point of return.

***Figure 3.** Illustration of migration patterns and dynamics in Saint Louis*




**Factors influencing migration dynamics:** search for socio-economic opportunities, climate change, fishing industry, geography, stategic geographical position, Daara schooling

The black lines stretching from the main axes (in yellow) to the specific types of mobility (in blue) are indicators of categorization. These lines serve to position forms of mobility in terms of their relationship(s) to Saint Louis, thus answering the following question: *how does Saint Louis factor into or compound an individual's experience of mobility?* Finally, the red arrows underscore the interrelationships between mobilities, with Saint Louis acting as a spatial nexus catalysing the shift from one form of migration to another. For example, Saint Louis may originally be perceived as a more permanent destination by an individual migrating from a rural area to the urban setting in search of work. However, the city may eventually become a point of departure for this same individual, should they be unable to find adequate livelihood opportunities following their arrival.

### *3.2.1*
### *Saint Louis as a point of arrival*

#### Unaccompanied minors / talibés forced begging: the Daara industry

The city of Saint Louis - of approximately 230 000 residents in 2019[31] - is recognized as a major destination point for talibés children in Senegal. There are no official estimates for the overall number of talibés in Saint Louis or throughout the country.[32] However, the Maison de la Gare, an NGO offering assistance to talibés children, provides on its website an estimate of 15 000 talibés mendiants wandering the streets of Saint Louis[33]. These children are likely the single most significant group of displaced persons present within the city, and the most visible (as they are subject to exploitation through forced begging). Their overwhelming visibility in the street, however, is offset by the near total absence of their voices, experiences and needs in the policy making realm.

According to an NGO representative providing assistance to the *talibés mendiants*, these children hail from a variety of places:

> *They come from Gambia, from Guinea, from Mauritania, and there are even some that we had to return to Côte d'Ivoire. But also from Dakar, from Touba, everywhere someone can depart to come here, learn the Quran, of all nationalities, they are there.*[34]

These children often require assistance in obtaining healthcare, access to justice (including legal aid), secular education (e.g. in French or English, maths, etc.) or professional/vocational training, all of which are elements key to their eventual socioeconomic integration into the city of Saint Louis.[35]

Moreover, as indicated in the above-quoted statement, the Maison de la Gare may at times help children to return to their families or countries of origin.

#### Mobility in search of economic opportunities

Saint Louis is a destination of choice for individuals seeking new livelihood (or investment) opportunities, as the city is home to a number of industries. The tourism industry is worth mentioning here, underlined various times in the integrated development plan for the region of Saint Louis.[36] However, the primary economic driver of Saint Louis is without doubt



31 INTP, "The Climate Refugees from the Venice of Africa" (2019). Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/intpa/items/650216/en. Accessed: 21 May 2023

32 USAID, "Countering Forced Child Begging in Senegal" (2020), available at: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00X3GM.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

33 Maison de la Gare, "Au service des enfants talibés" (section of NGO website), available at: https://www.mdgsl.com/talibes.html. Accessed: 21 May 2023

34 KII12

35 USAID, "Countering Forced Child Begging in Senegal"; KII12

36 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013). Available at: https://cda-omvs.org/wp-content/uploads/attachments/12281_-_prdi_pespectives_definitive_05_2013.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

the fishing industry, largely based around Guet Ndar, the fishermen's village.[37] Indeed, a key informant indicated that a significant number of seasonal migrants - often from other (sub) regions of Senegal - move to Saint Louis to work the high fishing season, before returning home with the income they have managed to generate. Conversely, others reside and work in Saint Louis while preparing to migrate further afield, towards cities or countries considered "much more promising".[38]

This comment points to a complementary form of mobility at the center of migration dynamics in Saint Louis. If Saint Louis is a point of arrival, of permanent or temporary settlement, it is also a point of departure.

### *3.2.2*
### *Saint Louis as a point of departure*

The fishing industry has over the years drawn individuals into Saint Louis in search of work. The sector has been threatened over the past few years by i) natural gas exploration, ii) overfishing, and iii) displacement by rising sea levels. This has resulted in migration out of Saint Louis as people seek more stable economic opportunities, as was described by an interview respondent:

> *Now the areas of concentration are mainly the region of Saint-Louis. Because today when you go to the fishing sector there are many fishermen who leave, who use pirogues to go abroad. In fact, even in Saint-Louis, in the Guet Ndar district, there are many fishermen who have left to earn a living and change their living conditions. This is a reality.*[39]

The Greater Tortue Ahmeyim (GTA) project, a joint natural gas exploration and extraction venture involving British Petroleum, the Government of Senegal, and the Government of Mauritania, is currently underway off the coast of these two countries, in a sector of the Atlantic Ocean right across from Saint Louis.[40] Fishermen are thus no longer allowed to fish right off the coast lining the city. Rather, they must now acquire permits from the government of Mauritania, and then take their boats north to Mauritanian waters for several weeks at a time.

These new restrictions, as well as the potential environmental degradation caused by gas exploration, have dealt another blow to an industry already reeling from the consequences of overfishing,[41] further fuelling the aforementioned increase in human mobility out of Saint Louis.



37 Ministères des Collectivités Territoriales, du Développement et de l'Aménagement des Territoires & Agence de Dévelopement Municipal (ADM), "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Étude d'impact environnemental et social de l'aménagement définitif du site de relogement de Djougop et de la libération de la bande de 20 mètres sur la Langue de Barbarie - Rapport provisoire" (2020), available at: https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/793001587966927566/pdf/Etude-d-Impact-Environnemental-et-Social-pour-de-l-Amenagement-Definitif-du-Site-de-Relogement-de-Djougop-et-de-la-Liberation-de-la-Bande-des-20-Metres-sur-la-Langue-de-Barbarie.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

38 KII2

39 KII9

40 International Trade Administration, "Senegal - Country Commercial Guide: Oil & Gas" (updated February 2023). Available at: https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/senegal-oil-gas. Accessed: 21 May 2023

41 Elodie Toto, "Win for science as BP pressured into cleaning up offshore gas plans", Mongabay (2023). Available at: https://news.mongabay.com/2023/02/win-for-science-as-bp-pressured-into-cleaning-up-offshore-gas-plans/. Accessed: 21 May 2023

Guet Ndar, the fishing village of Saint Louis, is the most densely populated neighbourhood in Senegal, with nearly 30 000 people living on a 17 hectares piece of land. This section of the Langue de Barbarie takes the form of a narrow strip of land, stuck between the ocean and the Fleuve Senegal. Guet Ndar is particularly vulnerable to (i) coastal erosion, (ii) rising sea levels, and (iii) flooding caused by river overflow.[42] Between 2012 and 2022, about 800 metres of the coastline in Guet Ndar was lost, resulting in various sections of the villages being destroyed.

These factors have resulted in increased migration out of Saint Louis including 'irregular' migration towards Europe, migration into neighbouring communes, and migration towards Dakar.

### 'Irregular' migration towards Europe by boat

Not all individuals who leave Saint Louis by boat in the hopes of reaching Spain work in the fishing industry. Rather, the industry is particularly well equipped to facilitate such a form of movement by sea. Not only do fishermen already have boats and crews, but they also have extensive navigation skills (particularly important when using a relatively small wooden pirogue to reach a destination hundreds of kilometres away). Accordingly, in the words of an informant, "Sometimes these same internal migrants pass through Saint-Louis on their way to Spain by sea. So, fishing has become a gateway for illegal emigration".[43] This sentiment was echoed by one of the participants at the workshop in Saint Louis, who simply stated that "who speaks of fishing speaks of migration".[44] In other words, fishing is a "gateway" as an industry, whereby individuals migrate towards Saint Louis in search of work without necessarily planning to migrate further, yet eventually continue on towards Europe in search of better livelihood prospects. It is also a "gateway" as a practice: the expertise and equipment at fishermen's disposal afford the possibility of 'irregular' migration by sea.

### Mobility towards neighbouring communes and towns

Mobility from Saint Louis towards other territorialités locales (e.g. villages, towns or rural areas) has grown in terms of numbers and permanence in recent years. A prime destination in this regard is the neighbouring commune of Gandon. This changing trend in mobility was identified by a high ranking official of the Gandon communal authorities: "The migrants tended to only come work here before, but now they want to come stay, and to live with us. Mostly because of the speed, everyone wants to live here. The people from Saint Louis want to come here, they want to leave their parent's house, and have a house of their own. The price of land has risen a lot over the past several years."[45]

In response to the damage and danger posed by climate change to the city of Saint Louis, the village of Diougop in the commune of Gandon was selected as a permanent 'relocation zone' for the displaced persons.[46]

This same official went on to add that the main issue with this form of mobility is that, even

42 ADM, "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Actualisation de l'étude de l'impact environnemental et social (EIES) de l'aménagement définitif du site de relogement de Diougop et de la libération de la bande de 20 mètres sur la Langue de Barbarie - Rapport provisoire", 2020. Available at: https://www.adm.sn/en/serrprapport-de-leies-du-relogement-definitif. Accessed: 21 May 2023

43 KII1

44 Equal Partnerships Workshop Report, "Multi Stakeholder Cooperation on Issues of Human Mobility in Saint Louis" (2023).

45 KII16

46 Ibid.

with more and more people arriving, "there are no vast opportunities for employment, this is the problem."[47] Furthermore, the potential urbanization of Gandon - which is currently predominantly rural - resulting from migration out of Saint Louis, is intensifying the existing challenges faced by this commune. Indeed, the influx of people into the area is not accompanied by an increase in economic opportunities. The Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme (Urbanism Master Plan - PDU) for the city of Saint Louis pointed out that "the current communal perimeter does not allow the commune enough space for suitable urbanization. In fact, the communal territory has vast low-lying areas that are subject to flooding; a significant chunk of the best urbanizable lands are found in the neighbouring rural community of Gandon"[48]. The 2013-2017 PRDI also highlighted the "exorbitant price of rent, in particular in the commune of Saint Louis".[49]

### Mobility towards Dakar

Gandon is not the only destination for those leaving Saint Louis. Dakar, the capital of Senegal, home to over one third of the country's population and the undisputed core of the national economy, is unsurprisingly identified as another major destination for outbound Saint-Louisiens. Per a key informant, the departure for Dakar of significant numbers of people - most of them youth in search of work - has serious consequences on the ability of cities such as Saint Louis to sustain their own (already weak) economic prospects: "This has several impacts in Saint-Louis. I think that when you lose your youth, you lose a lot. Because not only do you need manpower to build your city, you need your youth to be able to change, but unfortunately you notice that there are only elderly people or people who work in the administration, but the young people have left either for Dakar or somewhere else. So on the economic level, I think that this weighs a lot."[50]

The economic development and urbanization of Saint Louis has, in fact, long been framed as a means of creating an alternative urban destination to Dakar. For example, the aforementioned 2008 PDU justifies the classification of Saint Louis as a "regional development pole" along with Kaolack, Thiès and Ziguinchor. These four poles were to "constitute focal points of preferential urban system development, capable of counterbalancing, in the long term, the influence and inordinate development of the capital and of its metropolitan area. They must also fulfil a dynamic role in the national territory by increasing their attractiveness."[51] The 2013-2017 PRDI claims, along these same lines, that, through agricultural development projects, the region of "Saint-Louis will become a credible alternative, thus mitigating the rush to Dakar".[52]



47 KII16

48 Commune de Saint Louis, " Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme PDU - Saint-Louis Horizon 2025" (2008). Available at: https://www.pdudakar.gouv.sn/IMG/pdf/rapport_de_presentation_du_pdu_de_saint_louis.pdf: 27. Accessed: 21 May 2023

49 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013): 62

50 KII9

51 Commune de Saint Louis, " Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme PDU - Saint-Louis Horizon 2025" (2008)

52 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013) : 45 - The original text speaks of the "Ruée vers Dakar"

### Potential 'irregular' migrants

The high rate of departures from Saint Louis by boat underscores the presence of "potential" migrants in the city, i.e., individuals making plans to leave, or still hesitant about departure. These potential 'irregular' migrants were identified by various informants and interview participants as key recipients, targeted by employment creation/employability enhancement efforts, as well as awareness raising campaigns surrounding the danger of migration by boat.[53]

Organizations involved in these efforts include the German Development Agency (GIZ), the Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes (National Agency for the Promotion of Yotuh Employment - known by the acronym ANPEJ), the Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation et de Suivi des Migrants (Office for the Reception, Orientation and Accompaniment of Migrants - BAOS), and (return) migrant associations. As indicated, this determination and motivation to leave Senegal is fuelled by an absence of opportunities for socio-economic growth and development at the individual and community level. More to the point, this absence of opportunities is bound to foster feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, notably among young people. In the words of a young man, having arrived from the Casamance region to Saint Louis at the age of 12, and now in his early twenties:

"At the moment, I want to move, because at the moment here in Senegal it's a bit difficult to get a job. There is work, but there is no good pay, you know. And also, at the moment, I'm with my mother, I'm the one who manages everything, so it's normal that I find a good job to help my mother and my little sister who is with her. So that's why, at the moment, all I want to do is move, maybe go to Europe, maybe go to another country, to find a job that will allow me to realize my projects, and to help my mother too."[54]

## *3.2.3*
## *Saint Louis as a point of return*

### Voluntary return migrants from Europe

Many Senegalese nationals having migrated to Europe (often by sea) end up returning voluntarily to their country of origin, disillusioned by their experiences abroad. Along these lines, various migrant associations (such as the Association Khakhatay, the Association des émigrés retournés d'Espagne[55], and the Association régionale des migrants de retour de Saint Louis[56]) exist in and around the city, several of which have been created by return migrants themselves to provide support to their peers based on shared experiences.[57] These migrants are also among the main targets/beneficiaries of organizations attempting to ensure their socio-economic integration upon return.

### Involuntary return migrants from Europe

While certain migrants return to Senegal voluntarily others are forced back through deportation or repatriation procedures. These involuntary return migrants generally present the same characteristics (i.e. they require assistance in terms of employment opportunities, socio-economic re-integration, and mental health support) and are targeted by the same



53 Equal Partnerships Workshop Report - Multi Stakeholder Cooperation on Issues of Human Mobility in Saint Louis (2023).
54 KII15
55 Association of Emigrants having Returned from Spain
56 Regional Association of Return Migrants in Saint Louis
57 KII1; KII5

migration governance actors as their voluntary counterparts. However, involuntary returnees are also widely considered as potential migrants, the idea being that, as they were forced back, they may still be willing to return to Europe by boat. In the words of an informant working on socio-economic integration via the creation of employment opportunities, and on raising awareness of legal migration possibilities:

> *The objective is really to accompany the social reintegration of the returning migrant. As I said earlier, this is a rather vulnerable section of the population and they are generally repeat offenders. Generally, they either return by force or they return on their own free will. For example, for those who have been repatriated, if they don't see any alternative, they will be forced to take the Barça Barsakh route to go through Libya to leave again. So, there is a real need to show that there are local opportunities that must be seized and that can be seized.*[58]

This idea, whereby irregular migration (and all associated risks) can only be mitigated by building economic opportunities in Saint Louis, was developed in even more explicit terms by a returning migrant:

> *We are not against migration per se. That is why we raise awareness, but it is difficult to ask someone not to leave when you give them no alternative to stay.*[59]



58 KII8
59 KII1

### *3.2.4*
### *Policy frameworks and planning documents for Saint Louis*

The table below summarises the policy frameworks and planning documents for Saint Louis.

*Table 2: Policy frameworks and planning documents for Saint Louis*

| Policy/Strategy | Description |
|---|---|
| **Code Général des Collectivités Territoriales (2013-10)** | It lays out the roles of the collectivités territoriales (such as departments), and the collectivités locales (or communes) such as the municipality of Saint Louis. Of particular relevance are sections pertaining to 1) partnerships, 2) cooperation, 3) the logistics of decentralization and devolution (including the allocation of resources), as well as 4) the notion of "integral communalization", and 5) responsibility at municipal level in terms of supporting Daara (religious schools which often welcome children from other regions of Senegal or neighbouring countries).60 |
| **Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013 - 2017** | The guiding document for development planning in the entire region of Saint Louis provides a template for cooperation among actors at various levels. The PRDI is meant to cover a five-year period, with the last one covering the period 2013 - 2017. The PRDI calls for "institutionalized partnerships frameworks", stating that "by deciding to draw up this PRDI, the Regional Council of Saint-Louis is expressing its political will to engage all actors in a strategic reflection on local, territorial, national and even global issues [...]. The PRDI will serve as a reference framework and a gateway for all actors involved in the region, primarily the State, local authorities, development cooperation partners, private operators, NGOs and the population."61 |
| **Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme - Saint Louis Horizon 2025 (PDU)** | Developed on the basis of the Urban Planning Code, the Urban Planning Master Plan (PDU) is developed to integrate urban planning policy into the general economic and social development policy. The PDU sets the general direction and specifies the essential elements of urban development in Saint Louis within the framework of the National Land Use Planning. The PDU integrates and coordinates the objectives of the State, the local authorities, public or private organizations in matters of economic and social development. Essentially, it acts as a blueprint for integrated urban development in Saint Louis. It applies to municipalities, parts of municipalities, agglomerations or parts of agglomerations that bring together common interests62. |

60 Loi n° 2013-10 du 28 décembre (2013). Available at: https://www.sec.gouv.sn/publications/lois-et-reglements/code-general-des-collectivites-locales. Accessed: 21 May 2023

61 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013): 49

62 Commune de Saint Louis, " Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme PDU - Saint-Louis Horizon 2025" (2008)

# 4 Partnerships approaches in Saint-Louis town

The following section addresses various stakeholders, beneficiaries, strategies, outcomes, and obstacles to partnerships in urban migration governance in Saint Louis. The main actors are first presented in the mind map appearing in the next section.

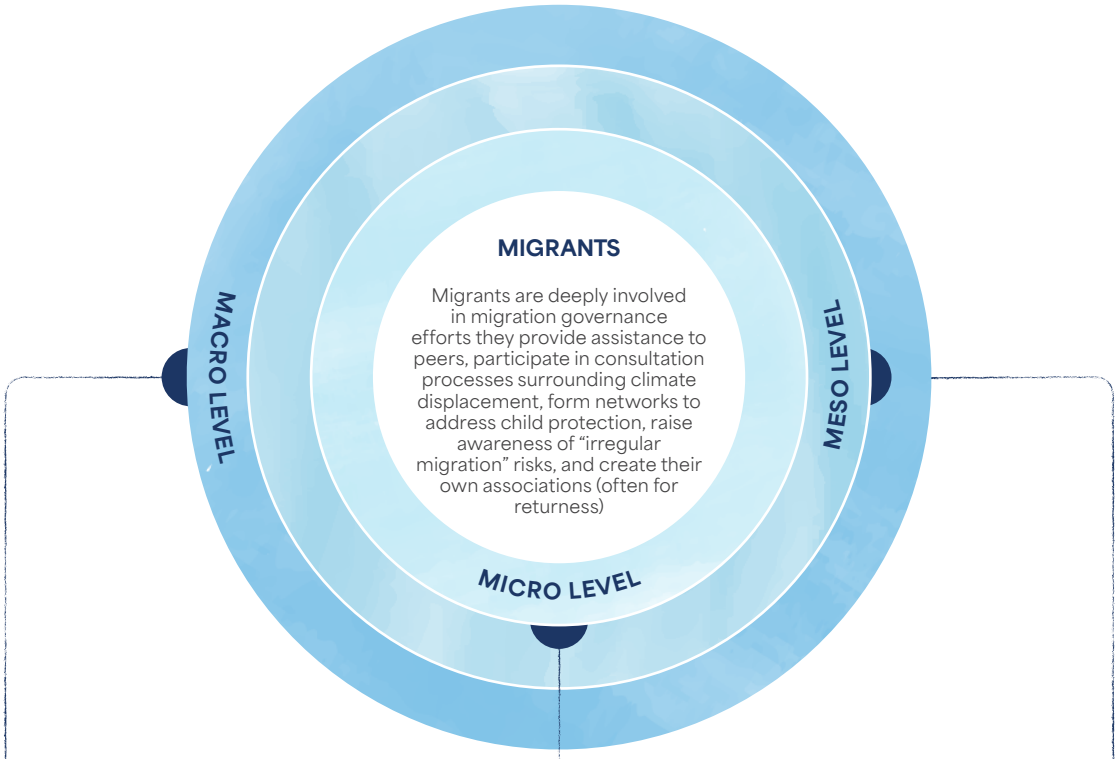
The section that follows lays out institutional grounded frameworks for governance collaboration that are relevant in the context of Saint Louis. While these are not built exclusively around (urban) migration governance, they are nonetheless relevant components of the cooperation actions that are discussed in this study. They are also institutions that can be leveraged for increased advocacy, cooperation, and partnerships on urban migration governance. Alternatively, these entities may act as a blueprint for other, similar cooperation frameworks explicitly planned around migration governance.

This chapter concludes with a detailed description and analysis of key cooperative actions in the context of the city of Saint Louis, as well as specifying the key cooperation challenges and failures.

## 4.1 Stakeholder mapping

The following mind map lays out the various layers, levels and groups of stakeholders interacting within the realm of urban migration governance in the city of Saint Louis. The micro-level includes stakeholders whose core activities involve direct connection/interaction with the migrants themselves. They include local NGOs and CSOs as well as community-level governance structures such as community councils. At the meso-level are the local institutions, including local authorities and academic institutions within the city of Saint Louis. At the macro-level are the organisations/institutions that are not locally positioned on a long-term/permanent basis but have ongoing interventions within the city. Macro-level actors include iNGOs, UN agencies, and the national government of Senegal.

*Figure 4: Specification of migration stakeholders in Saint Louis under three categories - micro, meso, and macro*




**Local NGOs, CSOs:**
- (return) migrant associations
- Association Khakhatay
- ONG CONCREE
- Fishing councils and committees
- Maison de la Gare
- ENDA Jeunesse
- La Liane

**Community governance structures & actors:**
- Community councils
- Neighborhood councils (and leaders)
- "Baniénou Gox" (marraine de quartier)
- "Baniénou Gox" (marraine de quartier)

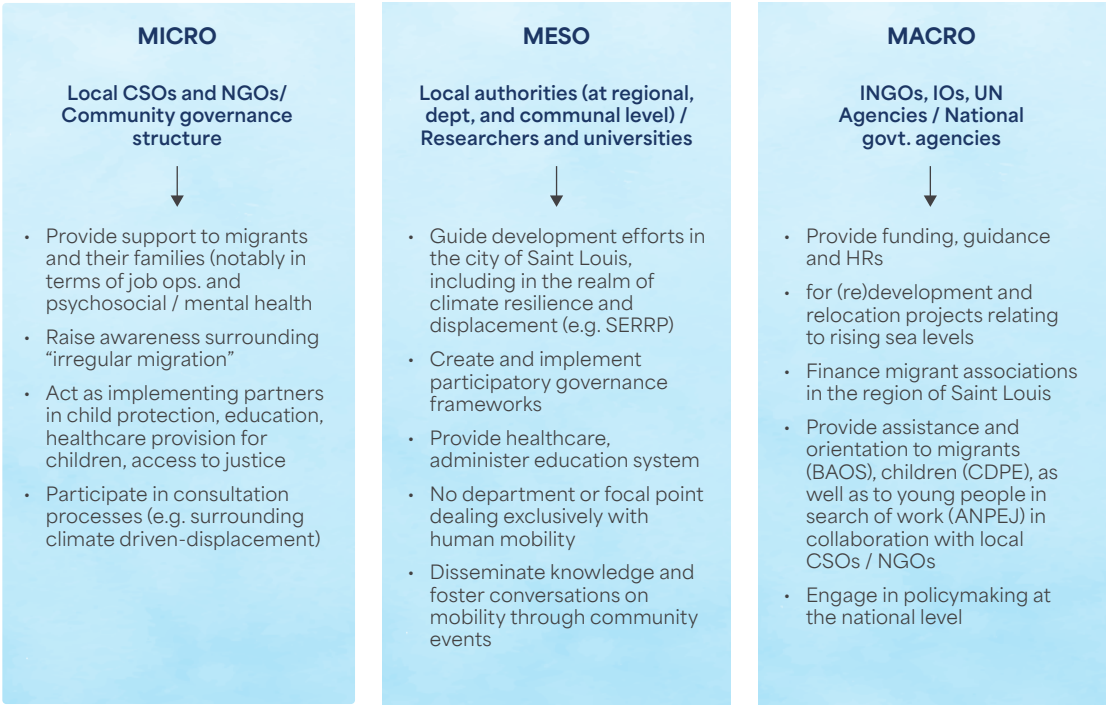
**Local authority (region, dept., commune of Saint-Louis)**
- Departmental council
- Municipality of Saint Louis
- Commune of Gandon
- ARD
- ADM
- CDPE
- AEMO
- ACT-SL

**Educational institutions/ researchers:**
- Université Gaston Berger de Saint Louis
- GERM (groupe d'étude et de recherche sur les migrations

**INGOs, IOs, UN Agencies**
- World Bank
- GIZ
- UNICEF
- UN Habitat
- IOM

**National Govt. of Senegal**
- BAOS (detached from the national government to regional departmental communal levels)
- ANPEJ (extensive cooperation with GIZ)

*Figure 5: Specification of roles and mandates of migration stakeholder*




## 4.2 Key cooperation frameworks

The three following entities are simultaneously frameworks for cooperation, and active participants in cooperation actions. These frameworks are indeed remarkable in that they come across as efforts to merge various governance structures and actors into singular entities, which in turn serve as rallying/facilitation points for collaborative actions at the local level. In this sense, these entities contain the networks they are a part of, while their constituents (e.g. communes and departmental authorities) facilitate the inclusion of third parties – such as those operating at community level – in collaborative governance initiatives.

Agence Régionale de Développement (ARD): ARDs (i.e. Regional Development Agencies) were created under Article 39 of the Code Général des Collectivités Territoriales, a legal framework outlining the roles, responsibilities and prerogatives of the collectivités territoriales, i.e. of the departments of Senegal. Specifically, this code states that "The departments from a given regional administrative area constitute, in common and with the communes, a Regional Development Agency (ARD). The agency's mission is to offer free assistance to the collectivités locales in all activity domains related to development."[63] The ARD is therefore an institutionalized partnership, allowing for cooperation among various actors operating at regional, departmental, and municipal levels.

The ARD for Saint Louis is, moreover, involved in urban migration governance, with direct, overarching participation in projects such as SERRP (which deals with climate driven displacement), as well as in the creation of job opportunities (closely linked to migration into and out of the city of Saint Louis). It is worth noting, moreover, that communes are simul-

63 Loi n° 2013-10 du 28 décembre (2013). Available at: https://www.sec.gouv.sn/publications/lois-et-reglements/code-general-des-collectivites-locales. Accessed: 21 May 2023

taneously constituents, providers, and beneficiaries of the "free assistance" offered by the ARDs (as collectivités locales are themselves communes). Stated differently, communes, alongside departments, constitute an ARD. However, one of the mandates of ARDs is to provide assistance to communes.

Agence Municipale de Développement (ADM): The ADM (Municipal Development Agency), similarly to BAOS, is an entity formed at the national level, but operationalized locally in the different departments, cities, and communes of Senegal (i.e., in the collectivités territoriales and the collectivités locales).

Of particular relevance here is the ADM's strategic orientation towards partnership facilitation among territories, notably via the reinforcement of intercommunality (a concept generally used to refer to cooperation between the communes in a given territory) and data management. The ADM is involved in projects dealing with urban migration and displacement in Saint Louis (most notably the SERRP), as well as efforts to enhance inclusive governance processes and cooperation mechanisms in the municipality and department of Saint Louis (e.g. PROGEP).

Conseil Départemental de Protection de l'Enfance (CDPE): The CDPE (Departmental Child Protection Council) is a framework which exists at both the national and departmental levels and focuses on a broad range of child protection issues. Of particular relevance here is the (often ad hoc) cooperation facilitated by the CDPE in Saint Louis (addressed in the following cooperation actions section), as well as the variegated nature of this organization, well encapsulated by the following statement made by a key informant working on child protection issues in Saint Louis: " So this CDPE includes the ASPs, the police, the gendarmerie, the juvenile court, the prosecutor, the fire brigade, the social workers, the baniénou gox, the neighbourhood chiefs, the town hall. It includes everyone, everyone is on the inside, it's a large organisation financed by UNICEF for a very long time, which works for the stability of child protection in all regions of Senegal."[64]

As indicated in this statement, the CDPE is a holistic framework for child protection, which demonstrates the networked nature of child protection in Senegal.

## *4.3 Cooperation actions in Saint Louis*

This section highlights three areas of cooperation within urban migration governance between local authorities and other actors operating within Saint Louis. It also outlines the main achievements of cooperation, in addition to the strengths and weaknesses of relevant actors. Finally, this section lays out opportunities for inclusive and sustainable urban migration governance in the city of Saint Louis.

The main characteristics, orientations and key operational elements of partnerships and governance collaboration in this context can be grouped into three areas.

**Climate change:** Firstly, the most successful, comprehensive and far-reaching instances of collaboration pertain to climate change. The first of these aims to tackle destruction caused by rising sea levels by facilitating the displacement of at-risk populations from the Langue

64 KII12

de Barbarie section of Saint Louis towards a "relocation zone", situated in the neighbouring commune of Gandon. The second instance does not have an explicit focus on mobility, but rather serves to create, enhance, or revitalise participatory, inclusive forms of governance conducive to partnerships at various levels (including community members and leaders, as well as municipal authorities).

Climate governance thus appears to be the area most susceptible to whole-of-government partnerships, which also include various community-level actors, CSOs, NGOs. Such partnerships tend to operationalize bottom-up governance processes foreseen by decentralization strategies enacted in Senegal since the 1990s and reiterated in the regional integrated development plan for Saint Louis.[65]

**Child protection:** Secondly, while child protection is an area witnessing widespread cooperation and collaboration, there are limited initiatives in terms of institutionalized, long-term official partnerships involving local authorities. Rather, cooperation around child protection issues – such as talibé mobility – is often addressed through informal, ad hoc cooperation channels, even in cases where local authorities are involved. Child protection is also the thematic area most likely to spur international cooperation, which in turn buttresses cross-border engagement and cooperation aimed at resolving problems at the local level. This, in turn, calls for an expansion of the definitional/conceptual scope of local, urban migration governance.

**Irregular migration:** Thirdly, cooperation with municipal authorities in the realm of "irregular" migration, inbound international migration for work, or support to potential migrants is limited. This is surprising since such forms of mobility are those fitting the general perception of "migration" prevalent among most stakeholders engaged in Saint Louis. This lack of cooperation is even more surprising considering the sheer number of migrant associations present in the city.

As will be discussed in more detail, the lack of institutionalized partnerships and cooperation actions involving municipal authorities working alongside migrant association boils down to: 1) the financing system for such associations, conducive to a competitive environment hostile to cooperation and information sharing; 2) the absence of a migration/mobility focal point at departmental or municipal level, and 3) the insufficient mandates and funding attributed to BAOS, a national government agency operating locally, and mandated to support, accompany and orient a small subset of international migrants.

Accordingly, an overview of partnerships on urban migration governance in Saint Louis reveals that 1) the vast majority of collaborations are more readily characterized as "multistakeholder cooperation" rather than (institutionalized) "partnerships", as few of these go beyond a specific, temporally bounded problem; and 2) that, counter to expectations, the most successful areas of cooperation on human mobility in Saint Louis are child protection and climate-driven displacement. Stated differently, the forms of mobility which are actually thought of as "migration" among stakeholders (i.e. international migration towards and returning from Europe) are also those least likely to yield successful cooperation or partnerships in Saint Louis.



65 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013).

### *4.3.1*
### *Projet de relèvement d'urgence et de résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP)*

The SERRP project is a response to the consequences of climate change in the Langue de Barbarie. From 2010 onwards, concerns began to mount surrounding the increasing onslaught of the ocean against certain neighbourhoods of the Langue de Barbarie, namely Guet Ndar, Ndar Toute, and Goxu Mbacc. It became clear that these low-lying neighbourhoods were exposed to damage caused by rising sea levels, in addition to flooding and coastal erosion.[66]

Beginning in 2010, UN-Habitat and the commune of Saint Louis started a pilot project for the evacuation of a 20-metre strip of land situated on the outer extremity of the Langue de Barbarie. The SERRP was subsequently set forth in 2018 as a more permanent, institutionally embedded contingency plan for dealing with climate change and associated displacement.

With funding from the Association Internationale de Développement (AID), the Government of Senegal and the World Bank, the project was scheduled to last from 2018 to 2023. It ultimately aimed to transfer 11 808 individuals from the Langue de Barbarie to a relocation zone set up in the village of Diougop, situated in the neighbouring commune of Gandon. Also planned for was the destruction of "at risk" sections of the 20-metre strip of the Langue de Barbarie mentioned above.[67]

One element of SERRP with particular relevance to urban migration governance is the extensive Environmental and Social Impact Evaluation (EIES) study commissioned by the Agence Municipale de Développement (ADM) and the Senegalese Ministère des Collectivité Territoriales, du Développement et de l'Aménagement des Territoires (the two entities overseeing the entire SERRP project). The EIES final output is a report of over 200 pages, containing detailed descriptions of all foreseeable consequences, benefits, and challenges of the project. The report also contains 1) a detailed description of cooperation involving a wide range of actors in the context of SERRP, and 2) guidelines for an extensive, inclusive, and collaborative consultation process involving a spectrum of stakeholders.[68]

Overall, the project brought together actors operating at multiple levels and within diverse sectors of governance. A brief, far-from-exhaustive list of partners includes the ADM, the Civil Protection Directorate, the Regional Urbanism Service, the Regional Hygiene Service, the Office of Lakes and Waterways (OLAC), the ARD of Saint Louis as well as the communes of Saint Louis and Gandon.[69]

The report reveals a strong emphasis on local engagement and participation in all project phases. This is in line with the bottom-up consultation guidelines provided by the 2013-2017 PRDI, calling for the inclusion of "the population in all its parts."[70] The PRDI explicitly mentions, among others, elected officials, community organizations and leaders, in addition to

66 ADM, "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Actualisation de l'étude de l'impact environnemental et social (EIES) de l'aménagement définitif du site de relogement de Diougop et de la libération de la bande de 20 mètres sur la Langue de Barbarie - Rapport provisoire" (2020). Available at: https://www.adm.sn/en/serrprapport-de-leies-du-relogement-definitif. Accessed: 21 May 2023

67 ADM, "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Actualisation EIES"

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013): 10

the representation of actors at the "local, departmental and regional levels" in consultation processes.[71] These guidelines were fully transposed to the SERRP EIES report, a 30 pages section of which outlines outreach and consultation efforts aimed at the base populations directly affected by the project.[72] This consultation was to involve KIIs and focus group discussions with representatives of both displaced and host populations, including village, community and neighbourhood chiefs, as well as neighbourhood councils. Interactions were guided by a specially constituted Social Facilitation Mission (MSA), and results (in the form of bullet-pointed concerns, recommendations, opinions, and advice) are extensively listed in the report.[73]

SERRP is the most extensive example of multi-stakeholder cooperation on human mobility in Saint Louis. Nonetheless, while clearly constituting urban mobility governance, the SERRP never mentions "migration" per se (although the word displacement is used repeatedly). As revealed by the workshop in Saint Louis, this is likely because the conception of "migration" held by a vast majority of stakeholders is limited to 1) international migration departing from, and returning to, Senegal, 2) the dangers of 'irregular' migration and 3) the importance of linking employment opportunities to these specific types of migration.

### *4.3.2*
### *Projet de gestion des eaux pluviales et d'adaptation aux changements climatiques (PROGEP)*

PROGEP (Projet de gestion des eaux pluviales et d'adaptation aux changements climatiques[74]) focuses - as per its name - on rainwater management, as well as adaptation to the effects of climate change. This project was built around two main objectives, namely (i) to mitigate risks of flooding in certain "peri urban" areas surrounding Dakar and (ii) to promote sustainable management practices in certain urban areas, namely the cities of Saint Louis and Diamniadio. At face value, PROGEP appears generally disconnected from the realm of urban migration governance. However, this project presents far reaching implications for cooperation on migration governance in the context of Saint Louis.

PROGEP factors into the Plan décennal de lutte contre les inondations (PLDI)[75], a plan seeking to mitigate the risks associated with flooding in Senegal. PROGEP was implemented by the ADM, and received funding to the order of 121.3 million USD from the Government of Senegal, with financial support from the World Bank, the Fond pour l'Environnement Mondial (FEM)[76] and the Nordic Development Fund (NDF).[77] The project outline document for Saint Louis, without explicitly mentioning displacement as a consequence of rising sea levels, coastal erosion or flooding, does nonetheless refer to the "multiple natural threats" posed by

71 Ibid.: 10

72 ADM, "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Actualisation de l'étude de l'impact environnemental et social (EIES) de l'aménagement définitif du site de relogement de Diougop et de la libération de la bande de 20 mètres sur la Langue de Barbarie - Rapport provisoire" (2020): 65

73 ADM, "Projet de Relèvement d'Urgence et de Résilience de Saint Louis (SERRP): Actualisation de l'étude de l'impact environnemental et social (EIES) de l'aménagement définitif du site de relogement de Diougop et de la libération de la bande de 20 mètres sur la Langue de Barbarie - Rapport provisoire" (2020)

74 Project for rainwater management and adaptation to climate change

75 An approximate translation of this would be "Ten-year Flood Control Plan" - an update on the most recent version of the PLDI. Available at: https://urbasen.com/lutte-contre-les-inondations-au-senegal-un-nouveau-plan-decennal-en-gestation. Accessed: 21 May 2023

76 This translates to "Global Fund for the Environment"

77 ADM, "Saint Louis: Assurer le développement durable d'une ville historique et de son agglomération", PROGEP report (2020). Available at: https://www.thegpsc.org/sites/gpsc/files/note-capitalisation-progep-03-web-191204.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

climate change to the city of Saint Louis.[78] As indicated by the SERRP project, displacement, destruction and relocation management all feature as direct corollaries of climate change in Saint Louis.

The Saint Louis component of PROGEP, which was scheduled to last seven years (from 2012 to 2019), was overseen by a "piloting committee", headed by the regional governor, and composed of all communes in the department of Saint Louis. Other project partners included the Université Gaston Berger (based in Saint Louis), the Division régionale de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat (DRUH)[79], the Division régionale de l'environnement et des établissements classés (DREEC)[80], and the ARD (which, as previously underlined, is constituted of the communes in a given administrative zone).[81] PROGEP is thus, from a strategic and organizational viewpoint, built upon cooperative governance involving various actors and institutions operating at municipal, communal and departmental levels.

PROGEP, however, is not just based on extensive cooperation. Rather, fostering, embedding, and enhancing coordination and partnership frameworks comes across as one of the key overarching objectives of the project. Indeed, one of the most significant outcomes of PROGEP in Saint Louis was the creation or "renewal" of 204 "communal instances" (also widely known as cadres de concertation communautaire or community-based consultation frameworks) - these include 32 neighbourhood councils (mostly in Saint Louis), as well as 172 "village development committees" (in surrounding villages and communes within the department of Saint Louis).[82]

At the communal/municipal level, deliberations in the context of PROGEP resulted in the creation of the Association des Collectivités Territoriales - Saint Louis (ACT-SL)[83], described in the report as "the formalization of territorial cooperation", bringing together locally elected officials, technical services, administrative authorities, community actors, and financial partners/donors.[84]

The creation of the ACT-SL aligns with another component of PROGEP, namely the extension of the scope of the Saint Louis PDU – the previous version of which was assessed as obsolete in the report – to encompass not only the city, but also neighbouring communes such as Gandon and Gandiol.[85] As underlined above, these communes (and especially Gandon) are tied by various forms of human mobility (including climate driven displacement) to the city of Saint Louis. A final outcome was the training provided by the UGB to over thirty experts on questions relating to management of the consequences of climate change in urban settings.[86]

These new collaborative frameworks are tied, in the PROGEP outline, to the creation of an "integrated territorial dynamic" allowing for more efficient, concerted forms of governance relating to climate change, as well as the management of other "shared issues."[87] It is difficult

78 ADM, "Saint Louis: Assurer le développement durable d'une ville historique et de son agglomération" (2020): 1
79 This translates to Regional Housing and Urbanism Division
80 This translates to Regional Division for Classified Establishments and the Environment
81 ADM, "Saint Louis: Assurer le développement durable d'une ville historique et de son agglomération" (2020)
82 Ibid.
83 This translates to Association of Local Authorities - Saint Louis
84 ADM, "Saint Louis: Assurer le développement durable d'une ville historique et de son agglomération" (2020): 4
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.: 4

to imagine these shared issues would not include displacement (especially that spurred by climate change). And indeed, the relevance of such an "intercommunal" concertation framework is explicitly projected beyond climate change, sanitation, and flood management: "Intercommunality does not only apply to resolving waste management issues. This approach provides the foundation for a concerted management approach to other issues including coastal erosion, mobility, opening of rural communities, access to clean drinking water and electricity, etc."[88]

As indicated above, this is not a migration governance initiative per se. Rather, it is a cooperative governance initiative writ large. PROGEP presents clear ramifications for urban migration governance frameworks going beyond 'mere' multi-stakeholder cooperation on issues of human mobility (e.g. SERRP).

Indeed, the notion of intercommunality, the initiative to extend the PDU along the lines of shared governance issues and objectives, and in particular the creation of the ACT-SL and of over two hundred participatory local governance structures are all developments with massive implications for partnerships on urban migration governance. It thus appears as though PROGEP aims to drastically enhance local collaborative governance possibilities, under the guise of a project ostensibly limited in scope to climate resilience, rainwater management, sanitation, and flood preparedness.

The outputs of this project offer a blueprint for collaborative governance throughout Senegal and beyond, while demonstrating how cooperation on one set of issues potentially extends to many others. PROGEP accordingly served to revitalize participatory governance processes with direct relevance to human mobility in Saint Louis.

### *4.3.3*
### *Cooperation actions on child protection*

Another domain presenting clear examples of cooperation actions on urban migration governance is child protection. It is important to note that the involvement of local authorities in these actions is extremely minimal. Two examples of such cooperation are discussed below.

#### ENDA Action Jeunesse: Free the Slaves Initiative

An extensive USAID commissioned report surrounding forced child begging in Senegal underlined various interventions involving diverse actors seeking to put an end to this phenomenon. Among these efforts, noteworthy is a "source region" intervention funded by Free the Slaves, an international NGO, and implemented by ENDA Action Jeunesse (an NGO operating in Senegal).

This intervention aimed to raise awareness among community members in a specific area of the Kolda region, identified as a "source region" for talibés mendiants found in the city of Saint Louis. The intervention essentially consisted of organized visits, whereby parents, family members, and community leaders from certain villages in Kolda were brought by ENDA Jeunesse to Saint Louis in order to witness first-hand the living conditions in the "red" boarding Daaras attended by their children, as well as the reality of forced child begging.[89]

88 Ibid.: 10

89 USAID, "Countering Forced Child Begging in Senegal" (2020); Free The Slaves, "Aar Sunu Khaleyi Progress Report", (2019). Available at: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00X3GM.pdf. Accessed: 21 May 2023

This intervention reportedly led to the return of several talibés children to their regions of origin, as well as to the establishment, within these same regions, of community-based Daaras. This mitigated the need to send children away, without resources, to Quranic schools where they risk being exploited by Serignes Daara (i.e the individual in charge of a Daara, also known as a Marabout).[90]

This cooperation action is particularly remarkable because local (i.e. municipal/administrative) authorities appear to have been involved minimally, if at all, in the implementation of this "source region" intervention. It is also remarkable that such an intervention serves to redefine the notion of "local" urban migration governance. Indeed, a local, community-based approach to questions of human mobility need not be tied down to the urban area in which these questions are most visible. While this may seem self-evident in the realm of migration, displacement, or mobility, it is nonetheless important to explicitly underline the fact that the "intercommunality" of partnerships in urban migration governance points not only to interactions between communes, but also between communities (which may be hundreds of kilometers apart).

Finally, and somewhat counterintuitively, this approach demonstrates that facilitating one type of mobility may serve to resolve or mitigate problems stemming from another - i.e. in this case enabling temporary (short term) mobility of adult community members serves to reduce the longer term mobility of unaccompanied children. Along these lines, human mobility itself must therefore be considered an asset (rather than simply a subject) of urban migration governance.

### Maison de la Gare collaboration with EU, AEMO and national CDPE

A similar cooperation initiative was undertaken by the NGO Maison de la Gare. Based in Saint Louis, this organization was founded in order to provide assistance to talibés mendiants in the form of shelter, access to justice (including legal aid), mental health support, education, vocational training, and healthcare.[91]

Maison de la Gare also engages in various forms of community outreach and awareness raising. In order to illustrate the breadth of this organization's efforts in various spheres of urban migration governance and child protection, three initiatives shall be summarized below:

### International awareness raising campaign surrounding talibé phenomenon

A key informant closely acquainted with the activities of Maison de la Gare, highlighted a 2016 awareness raising campaign facilitated by the European Union. This informant described the implementation and rationale of this partnership in the following terms:

> *... the programme focused on social reintegration, and the return to the family, but also on raising awareness in the places of origin. So we went around Senegal, passing through other countries such as Gambia, but at the same time, passing through Guinea Bissau to raise awareness which allowed us to create an international network, but this network also helped us to dismantle the maximum origin of the Red Daaras.*[92]

90 Ibid.

91 Maison de la Gare, "Notre organisation ONG" (section of NGO website). Available at: https://www.mdgsl.com/association.html. Accessed: 21 May 2023

92 KII12

Similarly, to the ENDA Jeunesse initiative described above, this approach to urban migration governance 1) does not appear to include local authorities in Saint Louis, and 2) reaches beyond city, regional and even national borders in order to devise a solution to a "local" problem. Moreover, this approach serves to create a knowledge map surrounding Saint Louis/Daara-oriented talibé mobility. A map, which is in turn substantiated by the real, human connections constituting the international network mentioned above, thus allowing for coordination, collaboration, and complementarity among relevant stakeholders.

### Identification and family reunification

The crucial importance of building networks in the realm of urban migration governance is further highlighted by the same informant in the context of another Saint Louis-based cooperation action, this time aimed at the identification of children and, ultimately, at family reunification.

The key informant explained how the national CDPE would make use of informal communication channels in order to maximise coverage in efforts to identify children:

"Apart from the CDPE Saint Louis, we have the national CDPE with the one that has been opened in Dakar. We also work with them, and sometimes they send us messages to ask questions to understand, because they have a child from Saint Louis who is in Dakar, and we investigate very quickly. They send a message, at times they even send it secretly to my mobile, and I look at the child, I share it here in the centre first so that we can try to find the child's family, and within 24 hours we send them the right answer to tell them that the child can take a car, or you can send him to Saint Louis, we confirm."[93]

The exchange described above seems to circumvent municipal/local authorities entirely, establishing a direct connection between child protection actors operating through an institutional framework at the national level, and non-state counterparts embedded within extensive networks at community level. And indeed, this entire identification process is contingent upon the network sustained by Maison de la Gare, which includes various individuals who were themselves, at one point, in the same situation as the unaccompanied minors they are helping to identify.[94]

### Legal and psychological aid to detained minors far from home

Maison de la Gare also maintains collaborative relationships with the AEMO, the courts, juvenile justice system, as well as with carceral institutions. The key informant quoted above pointed out that, while specific legal procedures may exist for minors, there are no juvenile detention centers in the region of Saint Louis. Children are therefore held in adult facilities, where they are isolated from the general carceral population, leading to various issues in terms of mental health:

> *The AEMO goes through Maison de la Gare, because often we are in direct contact with the cases, and often the AEMO calls us so that we can do activities, and even we have to give a letter to start activities in the prison. Because the children are there, but they wander around, they don't do anything, there are no activities offered to these young people who are just*

93 KII12
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> *between four walls, who wake up, eat, sleep, wake up, eat, sleep, that's it. So, we are obliged to go there so that they don't have any trauma, to do psychological activities, psychosocial activities, to allow them to be a bit mentally stable. So that's why even the director indirectly calls us so that we can come and help a young person who wants to go out, but who doesn't have a representative.*[95]

This same organization, moreover, intervenes in cases where unaccompanied children from far-off regions of the country (or even abroad) are imprisoned in Saint Louis. Indeed, an informant revealed that Maison de la Gare may essentially play the role of a parent when no other legal guardians appear to represent a child.[96]

In short, Maison de la Gare acts as a child protection "one stop shop". This organization, which is itself funded by various international donors, is as flexible as it is omnipresent. Embedded throughout the city, the country, and the region through a network of institutional actors and authorities, community members, leaders, and children, this organization takes on any number of roles in accordance with the needs and best interests of a given child. There is Maison de la Gare the legal adviser, the educational specialist, the exploitation and trafficking awareness raiser, the mental health counsellor, the family reunification facilitator, and the shelter for talibés children. And within each one of these roles can also be found Maison de la Gare, the largely invisible and no doubt invaluable partner in urban migration governance.

## 4.4 Challenges of cooperation and cooperation failures

We summarize in this section the challenges described by the stakeholders interviewed and the failures experienced. They include: (i) an inefficient utilisation of the BAOS structure, (ii) systemic duplication of financing structures, (iii) the political and cultural discourse surrounding Daaras and child begging, (iv) and the lack of enforcement of legal frameworks.

### 4.4.1 The inefficient utilization of BAOS

This study found that the main reference point in terms of urban migration governance in Saint Louis is the BAOS. This office was created by national decree as an agency, which could deal with the needs, concerns and (re)integration of migrants (including returning migrants). It is therefore the one, official state entity explicitly built around migration governance issues, and instantiated at the local level. A key informant with close ties to BAOS further specified that these offices are "… regional detachments of the General Directorate for Support to Senegalese citizens Abroad, itself part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."[97] This informant went on to explain that, in the Saint Louis BAOS

> *… our targets are returning migrants, potential migrants, the families of migrants and the collectivités territoriales. For example, in Saint Louis, we*

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> *participated in the elaboration of the communal development plans. We work with the Agence Régionale de Développement which is the technical arm of the collectivités territoriale because the young people who are leaving come from families from these collectivités. So, it is important that the collectivités territoriales take charge of questions relating to migration to better manage not only entries but also exits.*[98]

This statement underscores some of the core obstacles to successful, holistic approaches to migration governance in Saint Louis (and in Senegal). Indeed, the BAOS, the only government agency operating domestically and focused exclusively on migration, operates under a mandate limited to specific forms of (potential) international migration. And even within this category of human mobility, the scope of BAOS's work is seemingly restricted to Senegalese citizens alone - this is implicit in the embeddedness of BAOS within the General Directorate for Support to Senegalese citizens Abroad (rather than simply within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

BAOS therefore adopts a 'triple-distilled' approach to human mobility, i.e. one which filters out 1) internal mobility of unaccompanied children, 2) internal climate driven displacement, 3) international mobility of non-citizens into and out of Senegal, leaving only certain agents and types of international migration on the table. Such a limited approach largely precludes collaboration with actors involved in projects such as SERRP, or in child protection efforts relating to the talibé phenomenon.

The efficiency of BAOS in urban migration governance in Saint Louis is also hindered by the absence of a dedicated focal point for migration issues within the municipality.. BAOS therefore operates within a bubble, as it is an office detached from the national government, and dispatched to a local governance system which, per the absence of a focus/department dealing with migration questions, is inherently incompatible with the BAOS mandate (at least from a governance perspective). BAOS, in other words, operates in a local political environment which precludes an explicit, institutionalized, and sustained focus on migration issues. This structural problem was succinctly communicated by a key informant:

> *There is no connection between the local authorities and the structures that manage everything that is migratory return, notably the reception centres. For example, we have set up a reception centre in Dakar, but it operates throughout Senegal. And I'm sure that these structures have no contact with the local authorities. Otherwise, with some ARDs, they have set up reception, orientation and monitoring offices (BAOS). We provide some support for their implementation.*[99]

Another informant called for the BAOS system to be strengthened through additional support. [100]

One key area of such reinforcement is resource allocation. Indeed, one of the main obstacles to successful, sustainable cooperation and partnerships in urban migration governance is the general lack of funding at local level. Once again, it is important to underline the semi-na-

98 Ibid.
99 KII8
100 KII9

tional nature of BAOS. This office, in line with decentralization measures implemented in Senegal since the 1990s, depends on support from the regional, departmental, and communal authorities. Moreover, per Article 282 of the Code des collectivités locales, "... the transfer of competencies by the State must be accompanied, at the very least, by concomitant transfer to departments and communes of the means and resources necessary to the normal execution of these competencies in the conditions foreseen by the present code."[101]

This transfer of resources, however, does not appear to have reached the levels of concomitance required for normal execution of competencies assigned to local governance actors in the above-quoted legal code. Indeed, the 2013-2017 PRDI decries the fact that "the collectivités locales have financial means and human resources insufficient in regards to their missions."[102]

The same planning document  further deplores the fact that "unfortunately, more than 80% of the approved budget and of the resources mobilized are spent on functions (salaries, organization of meetings, representation missions, travels, etc.)."[103] Beyond the amount of resources available to authorities at the municipal level to address, albeit indirectly, issues related to urban migration, it is crucial to examine how the limited funds are allocated among non-state stakeholders who directly work on migration-related matters in Saint Louis.

### *4.4.2*
### *Systemic duplication through financing structure for migrant associations and NGOs*

One of the main obstacles to the sustainability of partnerships on urban migration governance in Saint Louis relates to the financial incentives underlying the creation of local CSOs and NGOs working on issues relevant to human mobility. Indeed, the financing structure through which local organizations obtain funds poses certain challenges in terms of coordination, cooperation, and concertation.

These challenges came up in a discussion around partnership opportunities during the Equal Partnerships workshop conducted in Saint Louis. Participants emphasized the need to renew the existing cadres de concertation[104] in order to more effectively tackle the challenges arising from human mobility in the city. They highlighted that updated frameworks would enable collaborative efforts in addressing migration, fostering synergy and complementarity among different stakeholders.

These actors included migrant-led associations, which focus mainly on return migrants, (potential) 'irregular' migration by boat, and the creation of work opportunities serving to mitigate the reasons for departure (this focus aligns with the conception of "migration" prevalent among stakeholders in Saint Louis). Noteworthy among the ideas for greater cooperation set forth in the workshop, is the suggestion to create a "federation" of migrant associations operating in the region of Saint Louis (i.e. to include actors from all three departments therein).



101 Loi n° 2013-10 du 28 décembre, Article 282 (2013). Available at: https://www.sec.gouv.sn/publications/lois-et-reglements/code-general-des-collectivites-locales. Accessed: 21 May 2023

102 Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire et des Collectivités locales & Conseil Régional de Saint Louis, "Plan Régional de Développement Intégré (PRDI) 2013-2017" (2013): 23

103 Ibid.: 25

104 Consultation frameworks

However, a workshop participant remarked upon the fact that such cooperation among migrant associations was unlikely to materialize, as this would contradict the financial motives underlying the creation of these organizations. The participant went on to state that it was no accident if the appearance of such associations tended to coincide with the period of the financing cycle during which national and regional governments (and associated agencies) provided funding for migration-related initiatives.[105] According to this same participant, regional authorities were even known to have encouraged migrants to form their own associations, even in an environment where 1) funding at the municipal level is very much limited, and 2) other such associations already exist in abundance.

This last point can be observed by providing a short, non-exhaustive list of the names of associations working on (narrowly defined sets of) migration issues in and around Saint Louis: Association Sénégalaise des Émigrés de Retours, Association des Migrants de Retour de Saint Louis, Association des Jeunes Rapatriés, Association des Migrants Rapatriés d'Espagne, Association Régionale des Migrants de Retour de Saint Louis, and Association des Migrants de Retour.

The objectives of these associations are often vague and largely overlapping, mainly in the realm of: 1) raising awareness of the risks of 'irregular' migration by boat among potential migrants, 2) providing support to return migrants and families of migrants, 3) enhancing the employability of young people (including return and potential migrants), and 4) countering the "scourge" of irregular migration.[106]

This reality, as indicated above, is fuelled by a financing structure, which encourages duplication, without consideration for the potential consequences in the realm of cooperative action. Indeed, it is not a problem as such that so many associations work on these issues – rather, this is a sign of the key importance of these themes in the region of Saint Louis. However, partnerships are discouraged by the (largely unfounded) idea that, by merging efforts, financial support may decrease.

The financial incentive to found such organizations leads to the appearance of migrant associations without 'real' migrants, built solely in order to attract funding, as explained by a key informant:

> *Now the problem is that there is no formal organisation of the population in the Saint-Louis region. Even if there are, sometimes you won't find the real migrants within these associations. That is the problem. Now what needs to be done is to have real migrant associations in the region of Saint-Louis, migrants who are there when there is something for them, at least so that they can be contacted so that they can benefit from what has been allocated for them. But unfortunately, most associations are run by people who are not migrants but rather potential migrants, whom I call fundraisers.*[107]

These issues revolving around financing, moreover, are not limited to the realm of migrant associations. Rather, a very similar problem was described by a key informant working on child protection with an organization whose main beneficiaries include talibés mendiants:

105 Equal Partnerships Workshop Report, "Multi Stakeholder Cooperation on Issues of Human Mobility in Saint Louis" (2023); KII5
106 Equal Partnerships Workshop report, "Multi Stakeholder Cooperation on Issues of Human Mobility in Saint Louis" (2023); KII5
107 KII9

> *... there are many organisations that are in competition. Why are they competing? Because they have financial backers who force them, who are just there waiting for detailed reports. So, a lot of them work for the donor. That is to say, this work is really something that must make our actions stable, but at times you feel that there are organisations that are here, and that can only work when they receive help from a donor. If they have absolutely nothing at all, it costs absolutely nothing for them to do this work, they stay there. Even if you invite them to work all together, they tell you that they have something to do. But they have absolutely nothing to do. Because they have no funds, why, because it doesn't generate money. And I'm telling you that in the last 10 years here, how many organizations have closed their doors? Why? Because what they were searching for, they do not find it. Why, because they've earned quite a lot of money, and automatically the money is divided up and they disappear. So, these are all things that need to be solved.*[108]

### *4.4.3 Lack of data sharing and limited information on current migrant population*

This perceived "competition" for funding among non-state actors (in particular migrant associations) in Saint Louis also acts as a disincentive to the sharing of information among stakeholders.

This challenge was underlined in the same workshop discussion described above. Various participants mentioned that creating a shared database of migrants would allow for stakeholders to coordinate efforts to address the needs of migrants. However, the same participant who underlined the financial barriers to cooperation went on to mention the direct links between this "competition" for funds and the absence of consolidated data bases or registries. In the participant's own words, "people refuse to share data because we believe that if we share our databases, we will lose everything."[109]

Stated differently, in an organizational landscape fraught with duplication, competition and an absence of sustained collaboration, information becomes the single most important source of capital for migrant associations. The prevailing logic is therefore that financing is contingent upon engagement with migrants, and that such engagement depends on the identification of said migrants in the absence of a centralized, common registration system. Losing data is accordingly perceived as synonymous with losing funding. And, perhaps most importantly here, there seems to be little distinction made between sharing data and losing it completely.

Similar issues were identified by several of the key informants interviewed in Saint Louis. In the following statement, an informant explicitly outlines the relationship between data and funding for migrant associations:



108 KII12

109 Equal Partnerships Workshop Report, "Multi Stakeholder Cooperation on Issues of Human Mobility in Saint Louis" (2023)

> *Because it is a matter of course. It's really data that you must have. So, I say that it is imperative to have an office that allows us to have qualitative and quantitative data on everything related to migration. Because there is no funding that goes against this migration. And without data in principle, it is difficult to have it. Because in order to have a project in relation to this migration stuff, you need to have some qualitative data. If we don't have this data available, we won't be able to access this funding."*[110]

### 4.4.4 Political and cultural/traditional discourse surrounding Daaras and child begging

In the realm of partnerships and collaboration on issues surrounding the mobility and exploitation of unaccompanied talibés boys in Saint Louis, the main challenge to institutionalized partnerships involving local and national authorities pertains to the political landscape buttressing the Daara/Quranic schooling system in Senegal. Indeed, an informant working in child protection, with extensive knowledge of these issues in Saint Louis, indicated that there is little to no political will in the country to tackle even the most flagrant and severe violations of children's rights occurring in the context of Daara-oriented displacement. Indeed, when asked whether local authorities in the health, education, and sanitation departments carried out regular inspections of Daaras in order to ensure adequate living conditions, the informant responded that:

> *... they don't even do regular inspections. They don't do inspections. The state is there but you don't feel it. Because with the state, when you talk about Daara, they don't touch. Why not? Because they protect their votes. That is, we are in a country where people confuse two things: religion and politics. Because it is a mixture that causes many, many problems for many, many disadvantaged communities. Every time we talk about politics, we talk about religion.*[111]

When probed about who could address these issues and how, this same informant pointed to the power of religious leaders in the realm of Daara schooling and administration:

> *If there is a leader who can change things, it is these religious leaders. But if they say absolutely nothing, it's because it doesn't suit them, it doesn't suit them at all to say things.*[112]

This informant went on to indicate that the issue of talibés children "... is something that is hot, you touch it, you think you are getting burnt."[113] The rationale underlying official unwillingness to devote any attention to the Daara system (or even to openly deliberate on the topic), was explained by the perception that criticizing some Daraas would imply one is criticizing all types of Daraas: "Actually, it's like you're criticising Islam. There are connotations that make it sound like you're not talking about child protection, exploitation, you're talking about denigrating Islam."[114]

110 KII8
111 KII12
112 KII12
113 KII12
114 KII12

Accordingly, the socio-political ecosystem which enables and sustains the Daara schooling system - as well as child displacement and exploitation therein - is rooted in a false, if convenient, equivalency between an entire religious tradition on the one hand, and a subset of pseudo-educational institutions on the other. In such a context, it is extremely difficult for actors addressing the problems faced by talibés mendiants to secure the political support necessary to the creation of sustainable, institutionalized partnerships with actors in high places, or even with municipalities. According to this same informant, the Daara system is so ingrained within Senegalese society and politics that even the death of a child does little in terms of triggering responses from the national, regional, or departmental authorities.[115]

This reality, in turn, has forced child protection stakeholders to look elsewhere in search of partnership opportunities, notably at community level. This is illustrated by the first two cooperation actions in child protection mentioned above, namely the "source region intervention" carried out by ENDA Jeunesse with support from Free the Slaves, and the awareness raising campaign conducted by Maison de la Gare with support from the European Union. This cooperation initiative, moreover, is a particularly clear example of the consequences resulting from a lack of political willpower to address talibé issues. Indeed, this campaign involves 1) a non-state actor operating at municipal level, 2) community members, leaders and in particular the families of talibé boys, and 3) a supranational donor entity from another continent. Authorities at the departmental, regional, and national level are thus completely bypassed in such a cooperative endeavour.

A 2020 USAID report on the phenomenon of talibé begging also underlined the absence of real political efforts to address these issues. Indeed, it is noted that certain drastic events (notably child deaths) can secure short-term interventions. However, long-term plans to tackle talibé begging and the red Daara phenomenon are short lived. In line with the above quoted statement, the actor identified by this report as holding the most political sway and influence in this domain is the National Federation of the Quranic Teachers' Association.[116]

### *4.4.5*
### *Lack of enforcement of legal frameworks*

Senegal does not currently have a migration policy in place. Additionally, laws and policies pertaining to migration governance are outdated and where legal frameworks of relevance to migration issues are in place, they are rarely operationalized. For example, while there is little political will oriented towards mitigating forced child begging and exploitation, legal frameworks for addressing these issues do in fact exist: "The legal framework of both national law and international protocol is in place in Senegal to combat forced child begging. Adequate laws and policies address mandatory school age and the criminal code. The challenge is that most of these laws are not enforced."[117] A key informant offered a similar opinion on the matter:

> *"What comes first is that there are laws, and these laws are applicable, otherwise there would be no laws. As long as there is no application of the law coming from the State of course, absolutely nothing will be stable, nothing at all. There will always be social instability, as long as there is no law enforcement."*[118]

115 KII12
116 USAID, "Countering Forced Child Begging in Senegal" (2020)
117 Ibid.: 8
118 KII12

This sentiment was further echoed by another informant, also working on child protection, and addressing various questions pertaining to human mobility in the city of Saint Louis. For this informant, any real solutions stem from the application and enforcement of the legal framework currently in place: "It is a question of applying the law, and this precisely my line of thought, that there is a legal system in Senegal, and that the laws are very well conceived."[119]

This is not only the case in child protection. Senegal indeed presents a relatively comprehensive (legal) framework for governance partnerships, such as those taking shape in response to the consequences of climate change. The country also offers an extensive framework which outlines and foresees the implication in governance processes of various actors operating at the local and community level, including on issues connected to human mobility (e.g. BAOS cooperation with migrant associations in Saint Louis). Moreover, a variety of partnership templates (e.g. the PRDI, the ACT-SL), cooperative actions (e.g. SERRP, PROGEP), and plural, institutionalized entities (e.g. the ARD) exist through which to operationalize cooperation.



119 KII13

# 5 Conclusion and recommendations

## 5.1 Conclusions

### 5.1.1 Socioeconomics as key pull factor for migration into Saint Louis

This study reveals that the city itself shapes human mobility. Saint Louis, as a city offering (limited) economic opportunities, draws in communities and individuals from various rural areas, hinterlands, and neighbouring countries, with economic opportunities being the main pull factor. These economic opportunities can essentially be reduced to geography: Saint Louis is on the coast, which allows for the emergence of tourism business and the fishing industry. This in turn results in an influx of human capital driving urbanisation.

### 5.1.2 Climate change and socio-economic conditions are key drivers of out-migration

The geography of Saint Louis renders certain areas and populations susceptible to the consequences of climate change (in particular rising sea levels), which in turn drives movement towards neighbouring communes such as Gandon in search of more stable – and affordable – land for housing. Saint Louis has also suffered from a lack of adequate work opportunities to cater to the ever-increasing labour force. Additionally, the fishing industry is being affected by the oil exploration initiatives at sea. These socio-economic factors have impelled Saint Louiseans to move to other regions in search of more stable employment opportunities.

### 5.1.3 Local actions on 'irregular' international migration lack synergy

Cooperation actions in Saint Louis are largely on local climate-driven displacement, i.e., SERRP and PROGEP, as well as on child protection aiming particularly at supporting talibés boys. While multiple actors are involved in addressing issues related to 'irregular' international migration, these efforts are undertaken in silos, with migrant associations in particular considering one another as competitors rather than potential partners. Synergy among the

interventions could result in complementarity of actions - with sustainable outcomes and greater impact for potential and returning migrants as well as the society at large.

These partnerships, moreover, must be read in light of the conception of "migration" held by actors in Saint Louis. The understanding of "migration" in Saint Louis is limited in scope to 1) (potential) "irregular" international migration, 2) return migration (in particular from EU Member States), and 3) international migration from neighbouring countries. However, as indicated above, the most successful partnership and cooperative actions taking place in the realm of urban migration governance in Saint Louis deal with 1) Daara-driven child mobility (including from neighbouring countries) and 2) climate driven displacement. It is therefore noteworthy that the types of mobility falling under the definition of "migration" prevalent among stakeholders in Saint Louis are also those least likely to spur successful cooperation initiatives.

A key migration dynamic in Saint Louis – and Senegal more broadly – is that of returning migrants. In turn, return migrant associations could have great potential to contribute to (urban) migration governance deliberations if they would strengthen dialogue and cooperation among one another.

### *5.1.4*
### *There is a missing link between actions on local and 'irregular' migration dynamics*

As is evident from the discourse surrounding different forms of mobility, while climate change is considered a cause of displacement, the conception of 'migration' espoused by stakeholders in Saint Louis is oriented towards international mobility, with a particular focus on issues stemming from (potential) 'irregular' migration by sea, as well as migrants returning from Europe, phenomena closely associated with employment opportunities for youth.

Actors focused on local migration dynamics driven by climate change and Daara schooling do not consider in their scope of engagement issues connected to 'irregular' migration. Vice versa, the actors focused on 'irregular' migration do not engage on climate-related and talibés issues. All these migration dynamics are interlinked and ought to be tackled from a systemic perspective, including through collaboration among actors, for example in designing multi-dimensional solutions.

Governing these forms of human mobility also calls for transboundary regional collaborations as some urban migration issues involve transboundary problems that require the cooperation of two or more national governments to resolve.

### *5.1.5*
### *Policy and decision makers have placed more focus on international migration*

Local partnerships in Saint Louis on urban migration governance have largely been driven and funded by NGOs and CSOs. Policy and decision makers have focused on developing frameworks largely in the context of engaging diasporans and controlling the 'irregular' migrations by boat. The review of policies in this study showed that most of the laws and policies, especially on regular migration, are outdated. For example, Senegal is one of the very few countries in West Africa without a national migration policy in place. While the Sen-

egalese government has entered into agreements with several European Union countries on actions to control 'irregular' migration, they have invested and engaged minimally with stakeholders at national and local level on urban migration governance issues.

## 5.2 Recommendations

### 5.2.1 Advocate for development and operationalisation of migration policies

Partnerships for urban migration governance can only be enacted effectively if migration policies are in place as blueprints for stakeholder actions. National migration policies will also guide the development of city-level strategies. In this sense, the priority partnership action among stakeholders in urban migration governance should be to come together and provide support for the development and operationalisation of migration policies and strategies at national, regional, and municipal/communal levels. This requires lobbying for resources, both human and financial. Certain semi-national actors such as the BAOS, or international donors such as the World Bank, are particularly well placed to engage in such efforts, as their own experiences in urban migration governance in Saint Louis underscore the urgent need for policy support and financial assistance at the local level.

### 5.2.2 Strengthen partnerships between national and local governments

Avenues for partnerships on urban migration governance between actors operating at both national and local level need to be created to ensure that national policies are informed by actual situations and experiences at city and other local levels. The flow of information from local to national governments can also influence the prioritisation of urban migration issues in policy circles. Successful urban development is locally driven, but a successful urban transition will require national support and multi-level collaborations.[120]

### 5.2.3 Strengthen cooperation between local authorities and the BAOS

In order to render the BAOS a more efficient and effective actor in urban migration governance, it is necessary to create direct, institutionalized links between this agency and the localities in which it operates. In order to maximise the governance potential of BAOS, cities such as Saint Louis should consider setting up a focal point for migration and mobility issues at the municipal level.

This should be accompanied by a broadening of the scope of BAOS operations, to include not only a limited subset of international migrants, but also various other forms of mobility relevant to the city of Saint Louis in BAOS portfolio (notably mobility driven by climate change, the search for livelihood opportunities, the fishing industry and Daara schooling). Broadening BAOS scope of action could facilitate partnerships between actors and organi-

120 McGranahan, Gordon, Diana Mitlin, David Satterthwaite, Cecilia Tacoli, and Ivan Turok. Africa's urban transition and the role of regional collaboration. International Institute for Environment and Development., (2009).

zations working on a spectrum of mobility issues in Saint Louis.

BAOS, moreover, should take on a role going beyond accompaniment, orientation and support to migrants and their families. Rather, considering the vast number of migrant associations in Saint Louis, BAOS is in a position to act as a coordinating entity for such associations, which in turn could limit redundancy, reduce competition, enable partnerships, consolidate migration data, enhance complementarity and increase the efficiency of budget allocation processes among migrant associations. Considering that most of these associations (as well as BAOS) aim to provide employment opportunities for youth, and to facilitate socio-economic integration of migrants, the coordination action outlined above could potentially be carried out as a partnership involving BAOS and the ANPEJ (as well as, ideally, all migrant associations operating in the city and department of Saint Louis).

Finally, all these recommendations concerning the strengthening of BAOS are contingent upon greater resource allocation to this office at both national, regional, departmental and communal levels.

### *5.2.4*
### *Involve local CSOs and religious leaders in partnerships to solve the talibés challenges*

Migration issues related to the Talibés mendiants have a strong cultural and religious dimension. As such, urban migration deliberations at city as well at national/policy levels need to involve local CSOs and religious leaders to ensure solutions are locally led and community-informed. However, such engagement is contingent upon a shift in the discourse, political landscape and cultural connotations surrounding Daara schooling and child begging. A 2016 study by Zoumanigui[121] reported that the failed progress stems from a lack in cultural context by organisations, especially transnational ones, that have attempted to find solutions to the practice of forced talibé begging. In particular, these actors shaped their narratives on poverty and population growth with little acknowledgement for the role played by certain Serigne Daaras in perpetuating (and profiting) from this issue, nor for the lack of political engagement in terms of putting an end to the practice of forced child begging.

### *5.2.5*
### *Engage stakeholders from rural settings in the discourse on urban migration governance*

This study has revealed complex interlinkages between rural livelihoods and urban migration dynamics. In order to establish sustainable solutions to urban migration issues, it is necessary to extend partnerships and cooperation frameworks beyond city limits, in order to build networks of relevant stakeholders, and involve a plurality of actors in the conception of holistic policies addressing migration and mobility in a more comprehensive manner. The actors currently leading the way in this regard generally work in the realm of child protection. Rural actors to be involved in such partnerships include community leaders and members, village chiefs, and families (in particular parents) with young children.

121 Zoumanigui, Antoinette K. "On the Talibé phenomenon: A look into the complex nature of forced child begging in Senegal." The International Journal of Children's Rights 24, no. 1 (2016): 185-203.

### *5.2.6*
### *Generate accessible data on urban migration governance*

Credible data is critical to the development of evidence-based policies and good migration governance. Up-to-date data on migration would facilitate greater coherence and a more comprehensive approach to the design of national and local-level migration policies. The generation, dissemination and use of this data requires cooperation among stakeholders at several levels. For example, migrant associations, coordinated by BAOS, could collect, compile and collate data on certain forms of international migration. The same could be done by local NGOs for the mobility of unaccompanied minors in coordination with the CDPE, and for climate-driven displacement by the ARD and/or ADM. A department dedicated to mobility and migration issues with representation at national, regional, departmental and municipal level could then be in charge of maintaining a central mobility database containing information pertinent to all relevant forms of migration. This database, in turn, would serve as a basis for policy making processes, whereby decision-makers would be connected to local stakeholders through a migration focal point appointed to each locality, commune and/or department.

# Annexes

## 1. Description of administrative structures in Senegal and Saint-Louis

We provide in this section a very brief summary of the administrative division of the territory of Senegal.

- **The territory of Senegal is made up of 14 regions, which are the largest of all administrative units used in the country.**
- **Each region of Senegal is divided into sub-regions known as Départements. Most regions contain between 3 and 4 Départements, with Dakar being the exception (5 Départements). Overall the country is subdivided in 45 Départements.**
- **Each Départements is constituted of several communes, also known as collectivité territoriales or locales.**

Accordingly, the région of Saint Louis contains three Départements, including the Département of Saint Louis, which is itself home to the city of Saint Louis. The city of Saint Louis is also a commune, as well as the chef-lieu of the department and region (both called Saint Louis) in which it is situated.

## 2.
## *Actor mapping Saint Louis*

*Table 3. Actor mapping Saint Louis*

| Name | Level of governance | Topic | Target groups | Partners |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Public Actors** | | | | |
| **Action Éducative en Milieu Ouvert (AEMO)** | National, regional and local | Legal aid and assistance to children in the judicial system, education | Children, parents and legal guardians | Maison de la Gare, La Liane, judicial authorities, schools, municipalities and departmental councils |
| **Agence de Développement Municipale (ADM)** | Regional and local | Development projects, inclusive / participatory governance reinforcement | Collectivités locales, populations displaced by climate change | Local (including municipal) authorities, various governmental departments, IOs (e.g. World Bank for funding) |
| **Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploie des Jeunes (ANPEJ)** | National, regional and local | Promote youth employment and employability, facilitate access to information on labor market, international mobility for work | Focus on youth, including potential and return migrants | GIZ, local authorities, potential employers |
| **Agence Régionale de Développement (ARD)** | Regional and local | Assistance to collectivités territoriales in development initiatives | collectivités territoriales, i.e. local authorities in a given administrative region | Local authorities at the communal, municipal, departmental and regional levels |
| **Association des Collectivité Territoriales - Saint Louis (ACT-SL)** | Regional and local | Cooperation / partnerships among and within the communes of Saint Louis (operationalize intercommunality) | Multiple | Elected officials, technical services, administrative authorities, CBOs (e.g. neighbourhood councils) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation et de Suivi des Migrants (BAOS)** | Regional and local | Assistance to return and potential migrants, assistance to municipalities in drafting communal development plans | Return and potential ("irregular") migrants | Local migrant associations, IOM, Red Cross, mayor's offices / municipalities |
| **Conseil Départemental de Protection de l'Enfance (CDPE)** | National, regional and local | Child protection | Children, NGOs and CSOs providing assistance to children | NGOs, CSOs, CBOs, national, regional, local and judicial authorities, law enforcement, social workers, UNICEF |
| **Conseil Départemental** | Regional (departmental) | Provision of social services, participate in drafting of planning documents (e.g. PRDIs), land management | Population of department of Saint Louis | Communes in the Dept. of Saint Louis, Regional Governor, Prefects, national government, UGB |
| **Municipality of Saint Louis** | Local | Participate in planning processes, climate-driven mobility (rising sea levels), sustainable livelihoods | Population of the city of Saint Louis | CLPA, BAOS, GIZ, World Bank, UN Habitat, neighbourhood councils, national government |
| **NGOs / CSOs / CBOs** | | | | |
| **Conseil Local de Pêche Artisanale (CLPA)** | Local | Links between fishing industry and ("irregular") migration | Persons working in the fishing industry | CBOs (e.g. neighbourhood councils) |
| **La Liane France-Afrique** | Local to international (depending on needs of child and/ or initiative undertaken) | Access to justice/ legal aid, housing, (mental) healthcare, education, child protection, registration, mobility of unaccompanied minors, raising awareness surrounding ("irregular") migration | Children (either accompanied or not), including Talibé children, parents and legal guardians, women and girls | AEMO, CDPE, courts, police, community-based actors, schools, healthcare providers |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Maison de la Gare** | Local to international (depending on needs of child and/or initiative undertaken) | Access to justice/legal aid, housing, (mental) healthcare, education, child protection, mobility of unaccompanied minors | Talibé children forced into begging, "street children"/unaccompanied minors in Saint Louis, families of children | AEMO, CDPE, courts, police, prisons, community-based actors, international donors (e.g. European Union), Daaras, etc. |
| **Migrant Associations (multiple in Saint Louis)** | Local | (Raising awareness of the dangers of) "Irregular" migration by boat, employment opportunities / livelihood security | Voluntary and involuntary return migrants, potential migrants, families of migrants | BAOS, GERM UGB, ANPEJ, GIZ, |
| **Academic actors** | | | | |
| **Groupe d'Étude et de Recherche sur les Migrations (GERM), UGB** | Local | Gender, environment, religion and migration | Students, local migrant associations, municipalities | Research for Development Institute (IRD) |
| **Université Assane Seck de Ziguinchor** | Local | Climate driven migration, migration and development/economic resilience | Students, community members interested in migration issues | Collectivités territoriales, national government, IOM, Direction Générale des Sénégalais de l'Extérieur |
| **International Actors (IOs & INGOs)** | | | | |
| **GIZ** | International, national, regional and local | Raising awareness around irregular migration, socio-economic integration of migrants (e.g. via targeted subventions) | Youth (15-35 y/o), return and potential migrants | ARD, BAOS, migrant associations in Saint Louis, ANPEJ |
| **UNICEF** | International, national and regional | Child protection (writ large) | Children (through CDPE supported programming and organizations) | CDPE |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **World Bank** | International, national and regional | Climate-driven displacement | Local (including municipal) authorities and organizations | ADM, ARD, collectivités territoriales, municipalities, other international donors |

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# Equal Partnerships

*African Intermediary Cities as Actors and Partners in Urban Migration Governance*

**Partnerships in**
***Saint-Louis, Senegal***
**2023**

FAU Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg
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