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Gambian and Senegalese Refugee Policies as a Potential Means Towards Regional Stability

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Introduction

Senegal has been experiencing an ongoing low-intensity conflict between the Senegalese government and the Movement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance –MFDC) since 1982. Figure 1 illustrates how Senegal is essentially divided in two by Gambia. Casamance is the southern region of Senegal,

Figure 1

which leaves it isolated from the North, and the capital Dakar. This separation has produced long-term tensions based on the marginalization of the Casamance people. The geographic location of Casamance along with other socio-economic factors led to a separatist movement by the MFDC. The conflict is classified as low-intensity, meaning that there is a political-military confrontation between groups below conventional levels of war but above routine, peaceful procedures.[1] However, a 2017 conflict vulnerability assessment notes that since the conflict has begun it has lead to thousands of deaths, over 78 villages destroyed, over 150,000 people have

[1] Pike, J. (1996, May 23). *Military*. FM 100-20 Chapter 1 Fundamentals Of Low Intensity Conflict.

lost their homes, and there are approximately 6,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs).[2] Additionally, in 2018, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were approximately 18,000 Casamance refugees in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau.[3] Overall, more than 60,000 have fled the area due to the conflict.[4] The conflict in Casamance has been a primary factor in causing regional displacement, specifically, in Gambia and the Casamance region. The UNHCR is responsible for helping to solve the plight of refugees. The three traditional solutions for solving refugeehood are third country resettlement, local integration, and voluntary repatriation. Ultimately, states remain the primary actors in the protection of refugees with the UNHCR acting at the mercy of states.[5] However, not all states treat refugees equally and this is evident through different refugee policies..

In relation to other states in the world, Gambia offers generous refugee policies. The government has agreed to include the years spent as a refugee towards the total time required to meet the criteria for naturalization. Gambia has also prolonged residence permits from one year to five years for all refugees. In regards to the Casamance refugees specifically, the state agreed to reduce the processing fees for residence permits by 80%. Both the Gambia and Senegal have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Additionally, both states have signed the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. In 2008 Gambia also created The Gambia Commission for Refugees, which is a national legislative body to address policies surrounding refugees. In regards to Casamance refugees becoming integrated within the communities of Gambia, the refugees share ethnic, cultural, and linguistic attributes with local populations. From the 16th to

[2] USAID Senegal Conflict Vulnerability Assessment Final Report 2017
[3] UNHCR Solutions in West Africa Senegalese Refugees in Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Q3 2018
[4] Gehrold, Stefan, and Inga Neu. Report. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2010. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09980.
[5] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004

19th century Gambia and the Casamance region were part of the Kingdom of Gabou. As a result, they share Jola ethnic ties, cultural similarities, and linguistic traits. These commonalities make for relatively smooth transitions into the host location.

Similarly to Gambia, Senegal also has relatively generous refugee policies in relation to other states in the world. As noted, Senegal has signed a number of treaties and conventions pertaining to the rights of refugees. In addition, Senegal has two entities designed specifically for addressing policies surrounding refugees. These institutions are called, Conseil Nationale de l'Eligiblité (CNE or The National Status Determination Council) and Comité National Chargés de la Gestion de la Situation des Réfugiés, Rapatriés et Personnes Déplacées (CNRRPD or The National Committee on Refugees, Returnees and Displaced People). In regards to long-term protracted refugees in Senegal, Senegal has implemented programs to support their livelihoods and take measures to ensure self-reliance. Under these circumstances, this study will investigate Gambian and Senegalese refugee policies, and why these policies were enacted.

By analyzing Gambia and Senegal's current refugee policies and examining the impacts these policies have on Gambia, Senegal, and the Casamance refugees, this study will deepen understanding of the refugee regime. Furthermore, this study will assess how the Casamance refugee situation has influenced inter-state dynamics between the Gambia and Senegal. This question will lead to greater understanding on how intrastate conflict, refugees and other displaced people influences regional stability and dynamics.

Case Study

Many factors have contributed to the Casamance conflict. The main causes are based on the exploitation of the southern region's resources by the capital Dakar, and the North. The

Casamance region is far richer in resources, including, arable land, oil and gas, than other parts of the country; therefore, the people of this region feel that Dakar uses these resources without corresponding financial, and material infrastructure development.[6] This problem became escalated by the geographic separation as seen in Figure 1, and the socio-economic grievances fall along ethnic lines. In the Northern part of Senegal the majority of people are ethnically Wolof, whereas in Casamance the majority of people are ethnically Jola. Thus, due to physical distance and a lack of ethnic and social cohesion, the Casamance people do not identify as being Senegalese but rather as Casamancais.[7] These long-term tensions came to a head on December 26th, 1982 when the MFDC organized a peaceful protest at the regional capital of Ziguinchor.[8] This protest was met with violence and suppression by the Senegalese armed forces. Prior to this event the MFDC was a nonviolent organization that advocated against the exploitation of the Casamance region, and advocated for the independence of the region. However, due to the violence and numerous arrests of members, the MFDC created a military branch of the movement known as Atika, whose members are referred to as "maquis".[9] In memory of this demonstration one year later on December 18th 1983, the MFDC organized the same protest in Ziguinchor. In response the Senegalese forces killed between 50 to 200 protestors; however, only 24 official deaths were reported.[10] Throughout the 1980s, politically motivated arrests were frequent, and a number of detainees were tortured or murdered in custody.[11] These actions resulted in the insurgency becoming increasingly militarized. In 1990 MFDC forces became fully mobilized by training and arming its members in the forests and across the border in

[6] Gail Hopkins: Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration
[7] Ibid.
[8] Gehrold, Stefan, and Inga Neu. Report. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2010. http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09980.
[9] Vincent Foucher : Senegal: The Resilient Weakness of Casamançais Separatists
[10] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004
[11] Ibid.

Guinea-Bissau. The first cross border attack by the MFDC occurred on the customs station at the Gambian border in April 1990. Shortly after, in May 1990, the Senegalese government appointed a military governor of Ziguinchor and deployed large-scale forces to the region. This series of events ignited a further spiral of violence and human rights abuses on both sides,[12] which in turn increased the number of refugees fleeing from this conflict.

This increased level of violence made both the Senegalese government and the MFDC eager to promote peace negotiations. However, peace negotiations have encountered multiple obstacles, a particular one being the various factions within the MFDC. In May 1991 preliminary ceasefire negotiations were held in Guinea-Bissau. The result of the negotiations was the MFDC splitting into a Northern and Southern front, geographically separated by the Casamance River. The split was based on differing interests of the ceasefire outcomes. Sidy Badji, representing the MFDC, and the Senegalese government, signed a ceasefire agreement known as the Cacheu accords. However, others within the MFDC, led by, Abbé Diamacoune, denounced the agreement due to the failure of negotiations to address the MFDC's central demand for Casamance independence.[13] Thereafter, the Northern front, led by Badji, ceased fighting Senegalese forces in accordance with the agreement. Diamacoune and maqui commander Léopold Sagna led the Southern front, which continued to be an active military force of MFDC. Both the Northern and Southern fronts have experienced further splintering, although the Northern and Southern fronts still remain the main groups. The main bases of the Southern front were located on both sides of the Guinea-Bissau border, prior to the offensive movement by the Senegalese government. Nonetheless, this resulted in the Southern front having close ties with the Guinea-Bissau freedom movement in 1998. Specifically, General Ansumane Mané was

[12] Ibid.
[13] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004

suspended from his position as Guinea-Bissau's Chief of Defense Staff, due to his ties with the Southern front of the MFDC. This prompted Mané to take up arms against the Guinea-Bissau government with the support of the Southern front of the MFDC.[14] The civil war in Guinea-Bissau from June 1998 to May 1999 was in part a proxy war for the Casamance conflict.[15] The Southern front's forces supported both coups by Mané, which took place in 1998 and in 2000, while the Senegalese government supported Guinea-Bissau's government. After Mané's death in December 2000,[16] President Kumba Yala came to power in Guinea-Bissau, Yala aligned with the Senegalese government against the Southern front. In an attempt to control the Southern front, both Guinea-Bissau and Senegal took offensive actions. President Kumba Yala in Guinea-Bissau forced the removal of MFDC bases on the border, and also removed the passage way created by Mané known as São Domingos, which allowed MFDC fighters and refugees to freely move to and from Senegal and Guinea-Bissau.[17] The Senegalese government took action at the same time by establishing military bases in the Casamance region. This renewed offensive move by the Senegalese government threatened the Northern front as well and the ceasefire agreement with the Northern front ended. The intermittent fighting and rising tensions in the 1990s to the early 2000s resulted in numerous civilian casualties and the displacement of 20,000 people along the Senegal-Guinea-Bissau border.[18]

On December 30th 2004 the MFDC and the Senegalese government signed a truce that lasted until August 2006. These negotiations took place in Gambia. At this point the MFDC was overall weaker; however, general peace negotiations and solutions were still difficult to attain,

[14] Peter Karibe Mendy, Richard A. Lobban Jr.: Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau
[15] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004
[16] Agence France-Presse "Rebel General Shot Dead, Guinea Bissau Says" New York Times December 1, 2000
[17] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004
[18] Minahan, James (2002). Encyclopedia of the Stateless Nations: Ethnic and National Groups Around the World: A-C. Greenwood Publishing Group.

due to the numerous factions and splintering within each faction. The Senegalese government has had difficulty coordinating and communicating with each individual faction, resulting in different factions having different ideas on how to proceed following negotiations. These factions also make it difficult for the Senegalese government to distinguish those, which are taking action against the government, and those, which are refraining from the use of violence. Thus, any further attacks after the death of Mané are generalized to the MFDC as a whole, rather than specifying particular factions. With continuous fighting many have been forced to flee to the Gambia. Heavy fighting resumed in 2010 when MFDC fighters led attacks on Bignona, a town just south of the Gambian border. The Senegalese forces believed that the weaponry being used by the MFDC included Iranian arms being smuggled with the assistance of the neighboring countries Nigeria and Gambia to support MFDC fighters. The attack on Bignona ended with several dead and wounded on both the Senegalese forces side and the MFDC side. In the following years intermittent fighting continued, resulting in similar outcomes. In 2014 there was another ceasefire between Senegalese forces and the MFDC. However, during the following years there were suspicions of President Yahya Jammeh in the Gambia recruiting MFDC fighters into the Gambian army. In 2017 there was an ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) military intervention in the Gambia. This was prompted by a disputed presidential election and the illegitimacy of President Jammeh.[19] MFDC leaders supported Jammeh and his forces.[20] In 2018 attacks against the Senegalese government continued, however leaders of the MFDC have denied responsibility. Since 2018 there has been a general lull in fighting with only occasional disruptions. On January 26th, 2021 the Senegalese army with the assistance of Guinea-Bissau launched an attack on the MFDC bases in the southern region of Casamance. The

[19] Adam Jobe: ECOMIG forces explain mandate in Gambia
[20] Kwanue, C. Y. (18 January 2017). "Gambia: Jammeh 'Imports Rebels'". allAfrica. Retrieved 19 January 2017.

goal of this was to achieve definitive peace in the region by stopping civilian causalities and destroying illegal activity that was funding the MFDC, in an attempt to stabilize the area where refugees can feel safe to return.[21] This recent development is likely to lead to two possible outcomes: lasting peace in the region or the continuation of the 40 yearlong conflict.

Senegal-Gambia Relations

In 2018 there were an estimated 8,029 Casamance refugees in Gambia.[22] Due to the number of Casamance refugees' in Gambia and Gambia's geographic location in relation to Casamance, Gambia is a major actor in the conflict and thus, in solving the refugee situation. Different eras in Senegal-Gambia relations have been dependent on national and regional interests. Throughout the 1980s there were efforts to create a Senegambia confederation. This would have been a federation of the two states, which would promote closer integration between the two countries.[23] However due to differing ideas on the division of power the confederation never came to be.[24] The Senegambia confederation would have benefitted the MFDC due to having more representation in government since many in Gambia are also ethnically Jola; however, the union ultimately failed.[25] In an attempt to continue mutually beneficial cooperation between the two independent states, each signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in

[21] "Senegal says troops overrun rebel camps in Casamance region". *Africa News*. 10 February 2021. Retrieved 12 February2021.
[22] UNHCR Solutions in West Africa Senegalese Refugees in Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Q3 2018
[23] Awosusi Oladotun Emmanuel : An Analysis of Latent Factors Influencing Gambia-Senegal Relations beyond Colonial Dichotomy
[24] Richmond, Edmun B. "Senegambia and the Confederation: History, Expectations, and Disillusions "*Journal of Third World Studies* 10, no. 2 (1993): 172-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/45193442.
[25] Minahan, James (2002). Encyclopedia of the Stateless Nations: Ethnic and National Groups Around the World: A-C. Greenwood Publishing Group.

January 1991.[26] This treaty signified a special relationship between the two states and established a joint commission to handle matters of common concern.[27] Despite this treaty many Gambians were frustrated at the frequent border closures, and harassment of Gambian travellers by Senegal. Gambia's economic survival is dependent on trade through this border, and frequent border closures made economic success difficult to attain. Senegal argued that these policies were necessary as anti-smuggling measures; however, many Gambians believe that Senegal was attempting to disrupt Gambia's economic prosperity in order to have more regional power, since trade through Senegal is crucial to Gambia's economic survival.[28] These tensions increased in 1994 when Yahya Jammeh came to power by military coup. Originally President Jammeh attempted to establish good relations with President Abdou Diouf of Senegal. However, Senegal introduced tighter border control and restrictions due to suspicions that Jammeh sympathized with the MFDC. There was some truth to this, as many Gambians supported the MFDC separatist movement and Jammeh shared Jola ethnic ties with the MFDC. This support in Gambia for the MFDC forced Senegal to be diplomatic to Gambia in order to not lose complete control of the Gambian border in regards to the conflict in Casamance.[29] Similarly to Senegal accusing Jammeh of sympathizing with the MFDC, Jammeh often accused Senegal of harboring his "enemies" as well.[30]While Jammeh was in power, from 1994 to 2017 Senegal-Gambia relations were highly volatile mainly because of the security of the Casamance border. These tensions made it difficult for both Casamance and Gambian refugees, who were both, fleeing

[26] Awosusi Oladotun Emmanuel : An Analysis of Latent Factors Influencing Gambia-Senegal Relations beyond Colonial Dichotomy
[27] Ibid.
[28] Awosusi Oladotun Emmanuel : An Analysis of Latent Factors Influencing Gambia-Senegal Relations beyond Colonial Dichotomy
[29] Ibid.
[30] Sanna Camara : As Gambia's Crisis Grows, Refugees Face Struggle for Asylum in Senegal https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/refugees/community/2017/01/19/as-gambias-crisis-grows-refugees-face-struggle-for-asylum-in-senegal

political uncertainty, with Gambians fleeing Jammeh's rule and Senegalese fleeing conflict, to travel across the border. Trade was also significantly impacted on both sides. Matters were often addressed by a "war of words"[31] between Jammeh and Senegalese leaders. In 2016 Gambia was approaching a presidential election, which presented Senegal with the opportunity to implement a multilateral diplomacy strategy. Senegal mobilized regional and international support from the African Union in order to remove Jammeh from office after elections. After Jammeh was removed from office in 2017, Senegal-Gambia relations began to mend again and a series of cooperation and agreements were signed between the two states. While there are active efforts to cooperate between the two states, decades of tensions and a lack of general domestic peace in both states has resulted in the regional displacement of people from both Gambia and Senegal. In 2017, the UNHCR reported that approximately 45,000 people fled Gambia between January 19th and January 20th of 2017, due to Jammeh claiming office without authorization from the elections, and the proceeding military intervention by the African Union.[32] At this time, many of the people fleeing from Gambia sought temporary asylum in Senegal in hopes that Jammeh would step down. However, included many refugees from Gambia prior to Jammeh illegitimately claiming office as well, who were seeking permanent refugee status in Senegal. These were often journalists who were being persecuted by Jammeh. Some refugees had to wait over two years to receive approval, and many others had their request denied.[33] Senegal's reluctance to grant asylum to these Gambians was due to political controversies of how Gambia,

[31] Awosusi Oladotun Emmanuel : An Analysis of Latent Factors Influencing Gambia-Senegal Relations beyond Colonial Dichotomy

[32] https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/briefing/2017/1/5881deb74/senegal-around-45000-fled-political-uncertainty-gambia.html

[33] Sanna Camara : As Gambia's Crisis Grows, Refugees Face Struggle for Asylum in Senegal https://deeply.thenewhumanitarian.org/refugees/community/2017/01/19/as-gambias-crisis-grows-refugees-face-struggle-for-asylum-in-senegal

more specifically Jammeh, would react to Senegal accepting Gambian refugees.[34] This resulted in many asylum seekers living in rural towns and villages without declaring themselves to Senegalese authorities.[35] At this time, according to the UNHCR Senegalese refugees living in Gambia became increasingly anxious due to these events since it seemed that there was no safety on either side of the border.[36] Refugees and internally displaced peoples in both Gambia and Senegal depict the overall regional displacement. Thus, between refugees and internally displaced peoples in both Gambia and Senegal there is an issue of overall regional displacement. In order to understand the impacts of this regional displacement, it is important to understand the displacement regime's role and responsibilities in regards to displaced people.

The Displacement Regime

This study involves two different regimes in regards to displacement: the refugee regime and the Internally Displaced Persons regime. According to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which is the main treaty relating to how states should treat refugees, a refugee is defined as any person who: "Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself the protection of that country."[37] Along with the definition of a refugee, the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol encompass the rights and obligations of refugees in their country of asylum, and states' obligations, including cooperating with the UNHCR, to facilitate its duty of

[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] UNHCR Briefing: "*Senegal: Around 45,000 have fled political uncertainty"* in The Gambia 2017

[37] Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Entry into force 22 April 1954. Chapter 1, Article 1

supervising the application of the Convention and Protocols.[38] As noted, Senegal and Gambia have also signed an additional treaty regarding refugees, the Regional Organization of African Unity (OAU) 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.[39] This Convention incorporates a regional refugee definition that includes, "Any person compelled to leave his or her country owing to external aggression, occupation foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his or her country of origin."[40] The OAU Convention also states "the grant of asylum to refugees is a peaceful and humanitarian act that is not to be considered as an unfriendly act by any Member state of the OAU."[41] Senegal and Gambia have also signed numerous treaties regarding migration on a regional level through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Specifically, both states signed the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration in 2008. There are six principles detailed in order to pursue a common approach to the management of intraregional migration: free movement of persons within the ECOWAS zone; legal migration to other regions of the world contributes to ECOWAS Member States' development; combating human trafficking is a moral and humanitarian imperative; harmonizing policies; protection of the rights of migrants; asylum seekers and refugees; and recognizing the gender dimension of migration.[42] These treaties are examples of laws and regulations that are part of the displacement regime. The displacement regime was designed to offer international protection to refugees, migrants, and IDPs who cannot rely on the protection of their own state. Therefore, the displacement regime encompasses the laws and regulations regarding the protection of displaced people with the primary principle of

[38] UNHCR: A guide to international refugee protection and building state asylum systems
[39] OAU 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa
[40] Ibid.
[41] UNHCR: A guide to international refugee protection and building state asylum systems
[42] ECOWAS Commission: ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration January 18th 2008

international cooperation.[43] The displacement regime was created by states and international organizations to safeguard against limitations of the state system, to ensure that even when someone's own state was unwilling or unable to provide its citizens basic rights, there would be an alternative provider of these rights.[44]

The UNHCR envisions three durable solutions to refugee situations: voluntary repatriation[45], local integration, and resettlement[46]. All three solutions are meant to work together; however, the main solution regarding this case study is local integration.[47] Local integration occurs when a refugee ends their exile by becoming a full member of their host community in their first country of asylum.[48] The UNHCR describes this as often being a complex process due to the demands it puts on both the refugee and the receiving society. However, the UNHCR also explains that it has benefits, such as allowing refugees to contribute both socially and economically to the host country.[49] This solution is also described as the alternative for those who are unable to return home through voluntary repatriation.[50] The programs used to promote local integration assist long-term refugees in pursuing livelihoods. The term "livelihood" refers to the means used to maintain and sustain life; where "means" connotes resources, including household assets, capital, social institutions, and the strategies

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[43] UNHCR: The State of the World's Refugees in Search of Solidarity 2012

[44] Alexander Betts, "Survival Migration," in Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013)

[45] Voluntary repatriation is defined as a refugee's choice to return to his or her country of origin free from coercion, and based on objective information that it is safe to return. This solution is predicated on the conflict having ended. The UNHCR will often facilitate this transition by allowing the refugee to have 'go-and-see' visits to their country of origin as well.

[46] Resettlement is the transfer of refugees from an asylum country to a third country that has agreed to admit them and ultimately grant them permanent residence.

[47] https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/solutions.html

[48] Lucy Hovil: The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies

[49] https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/solutions.html

[50] Ibid.

available to people through their local and transnational communities.[51] When a refugee arrives in the host country his or her immediate livelihood goals usually include physical safety from violence, the threat of violence, or intimidation; reducing economic vulnerability and food insecurity; finding a place to settle; and locating lost family members.[52] If these goals are achieved, but refugees remain in a protracted situation new goals will emerge as these refugees are exposed to new experiences, and cultures. In rural areas, land is the basis of livelihoods and the most valuable economic resource lost when rural people are forcibly displaced. This is because prior to refugees fleeing their country of origin, agriculture was the basis of rural people's subsistence and income. Refugees also rely on access to common natural resources such as, water, forests, and rangeland. Strategies for mobilizing these resources are constrained by relations with the host community, the security situation, and government policies, which may restrict refugees' ability to settle and move.[53] This demonstrates refugees' reliance on their relations with their host community and local authorities. Livelihood resources from international humanitarian assistance organizations can assist in some of these aspects. International support programs often come in two forms: one is formal livelihood support programs, such as income-generating activities that are directly implemented by aid agencies in host communities; second is through indirect economic stimuli to the host community. The latter is usually seen as relief agencies creating new economic opportunities from both the local community and refugees, such as construction work, translation jobs, or administrative work.[54] This form of aid can create broader regional economies that assist refugees, local populations, and surrounding areas. The former, income-generating programs, are helpful in promoting self-

[51] Karen Jacobsen: Livelihoods in Conflict, Blackwell Publishers Ltd. 2002
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

sufficiency among refugees. However, due to the permanent connotation livelihood programs carry, host governments often politically oppose them. These programs use two approaches. Most commonly, they are grand-based, which provides cash, capital equipment, and raw materials to refugees for free. The other approach is based on microfinance, which offers a loan or line of credit to start small businesses. These programs can have positive effects on the host community by expanding the capacity and productivity of the host community economy as a result of refugees' labor and skills coupled with training and inputs from international assistance.[55] Providing aid to support refugee livelihoods, especially in protracted situations, can lighten some of the unintended negative consequences that occur when hosting refugees. The negative consequences can be seen in the form of environmental and security implications; such as, deforestation for farming or natural resources by refugees, water pollution and uncontrolled fishing, and illegal activities for economic gain due to a lack of opportunity.[56] Thus, by supporting refugees' local integration processes and their pursuit of livelihood it can diminish negative implications on the host community. However, it should be noted that none of the UNHCR solutions are possible without international cooperation. Within the refugee regime there has been increased tensions regarding the principle of responsibility. The tensions stem from donor countries arguing that solutions should be found as close as possible to a refugee's country of origin, while host countries argue that they bear a disproportionate share of the responsibility due to 80% of the world's refugees originating in the global south.[57] In this instance, donor countries refer to the states that finance the aid supplied to displaced people.

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] UNHCR: The State of the World's Refugees in Search of Solidarity 2012

Many people in Gambia and Senegal are internally displaced persons as well. On a regional level, Senegal and Gambia are both member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS members have outlined specific obligations on the guiding principles on internal displacement through the Accra Declaration in 2000.[58] These principles include a commitment to promote initiatives to actively avoid displacement, to provide the resources to maintain education services for children (including internally displaced children) in conflict and post-conflict situations, and to support the reintegration of IDPs. In addition to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement put forth by the UNHCR that is comprised of 30 principles pertaining to practical guidelines for governments, intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations for the protection of displaced people; and the Accra Declaration, Senegal and Gambia are also members of the African Union (AU) who put forth the African Union Convention for the Protection of and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in Africa. This is known as the Kampala Convention. This instrument legally binds governments that signed to protect the rights and well being of people forced to flee their homes by conflict, violence, disasters and human rights abuses and those who are internally displaced.[59] It is important to recognize that Senegal and Gambia have signed these treaties, which obligates each state to abide by the principles indicated. Aside from multiple treaties, Senegal and Gambia, as sovereign states, each have their own set of laws and refugee policies, discussed in the following section. On an international level, the UNHCR designed a mechanism to ensure a more predictable and better-coordinated response to the needs of IDPs in 2006 called the 'Cluster Approach'. This approach was developed in order to address IDP situations in terms of international concerns rather than solely internal affairs. IDPs often face similar challenges to

[58] Erin D. Mooney: The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and their Pertinence to Governments in the ECOWAS Region

[59] Florence Armitano: Migration in The Gambia , a Country Profile International Organization for Migration 2017

refugees, such as the need for shelter, food, and protection. However, since they have not crossed an international border the principle responsibility for these protections rests with the government, even if the government is responsible for their displacement. In the post-Cold War era, international human rights and humanitarian law became more involved in discussions about a state's duty to protect its population. The first Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Internally Displaced Persons, Francis Deng, coined the term 'sovereignty as a responsibility', which paved the way for the international community to recognize that the right to sovereignty comes with a national responsibility to protect the people within its borders.[60] The UNHCR outlines three dimensions of solidarity that are required in order to execute a comprehensive response to solving the plight of refugees: between the host community and the displaced themselves, solidarity of governments with their displaced citizens, and solidarity of the international community with IDPs in need of assistance and protection. Solidarity between the host community and IDPs is especially important to the safety and well being of the displaced. Communal affiliation within host communities allow for IDPs to have more protection, and a better sense of belonging after leaving behind their own communities. The governments of IDPs have the duty and responsibility to protect these persons in order to uphold their sovereignty. This is the idea of solidarity between governments an IDPs. However, some governments limit access for international humanitarian actors to assist displaced peoples. Some governments may also be simply, unwilling to act, especially in situations where the authorities are the perpetrators of the displacement. In this case, governments may deny the existence of IDPs or turn a blind eye to their plight.[61] In cases where there is a lack of solidarity between the government and IDPs, there is a need for international solidarity. International solidarity is also called for when a

[60] Ibid.
[61] UNHCR: The State of the World's Refugees in Search of Solidarity 2012

government is willing but not fully able to assume their responsibilities to care for IDPs. Where national authorities are unwilling to act on their responsibilities to protect, the international community may have an obligation to step in.

The international community sometimes overlooks the important principles covering the protection of displaced persons when there is a long-term protracted refugee situation. A protracted refugee situation is one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. These situations often stem from political impasses. The UNHCR illustrates how these situations come to be by explaining "They are not inevitable, but are rather the result of political action and inaction, both in the country of origin (the persecution or violence that led to flight) and in the country of asylum."[62] Refugees endure these situations because of ongoing problems in the countries of origin, and become protracted as a result of the host country's responses to increasing numbers of refugees. When refugees become protracted they end up in what is called a Protracted refugee situation. A protracted refugee situation is defined by the UNHCR as, "Situations where refugees have been in exile for 5 years or more after their initial displacement, without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions."[63] Protracted refugee situations become exacerbated when refugees have limitations on movement and employment, which is a common theme in encampment. Encampment refer to refugee camps, which is defined by the UNHCR as "Temporary facilities built to provide immediate protection and assistance to people forced to flee."[64] Encampment can have negative implications for security, and refugee livelihoods. These negative implications will be further discussed in the analysis section, as a possible explanation for why Gambia removed its refugee

[62] UNHCR: Protracted Refugee Situations Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program June 10th 2004
[63] Milner and Loecher "*Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations"* Refugee Studies Center 2011
[64] UNHCR Factsheet on Refugee Camps

camps in 2006 and why Senegal never implemented them at all despite a spike in refugee numbers in 1991.

The negative consequences associated with hosting refugees often deter states from being generous, especially for long periods of time. However, this hesitation is not evident in Senegal or Gambia's refugee policies. Rather the refugee policies adopted by Senegal and Gambia are generous in relation to other states in the international community. Each state's policies outline a relative acceptance of refugees as well as detailed strategies towards local integration. Therefore, this study addresses why Senegal and Gambia provide more generous frameworks for refugees and internally displaced people than other states. The main reason that will be analyzed is the idea of contagion and connectedness. States in the global south, such as Gambia and Senegal, are particularly vulnerable to external shocks due to the inability of these states to protect themselves effectively from the contagion of conflict.[65] Therefore, Gambia and Senegal's policies, which will be discussed in the following section, illustrate the successful implementation of local integration as a means to prevent contagion.

Gambia and Senegal's Refugee Policies

In the initial years of the conflict in Casamance, Gambia was receiving many refugees fleeing from civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone; however, most refugees in Gambia were from the Casamance region.[66] Due to the high number of refugees, Gambia had five refugee

[65] Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection." *Daedalus* 146, no. 4 (2017).
[66] Franzisca Zanker: The Gambia: A Haven for Refugees Forced Migration Review 2018

camps at Kwinella, Bambali, Sifoe, Kitti, and Basse as pictured in Figure 2.[67]

Figure 2

The number of refugees in Gambia began to decrease around 2005, and the camps were closed. However, after the closure of camps there was a renewed influx of Casamance refugees in Gambia in 2006. The UNHCR considered reopening the camps at Sifoe and Kitti but the Gambian government was opposed to this due to the camps placement near the borders. The Gambian government worried that the placement of these two camps would attract armed fighters. Therefore, the UNHCR and the Gambian government agreed to reopen refugee camp, Bambali, for Casamance refugees. However, refugees refused to be placed at Bambali on the basis that it was far from the Casamance border. The Casamance refugees wanted to be closer to the border in the event that they would have the opportunity to recover their animals, materials, and continue to have contact with their families that remained in Casamance.[68] Thus, in 2006 a large number of Casamance refugees settled in Gambia and were issued with refugee identity

[67] Gail Hopkins: Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration

[68] Catherine Grant: Shifting policy on refugees from encampment to other models Institute of Development Studies

cards for the first time.[69] It is important to note that the refugees settling in Gambia prior to 2006 often went back and forth between Senegal and Gambia; however, the refugees settling in Gambia after 2006 were settling at more permanent rates.[70] Since the closure of the camps Gambia has implemented more reforms to strengthen its legal framework and policies on refugees. In 2008 Gambia established the Gambia Commission for Refugees through its Refugee Act of 2008. This created a branch of legislation that is tasked with coordinating all refugee affairs in Gambia. Furthermore, a representative from the UNHCR sits on the commission's advisory board.[71] In addition to granting refugee identity cards the Refugee Act of 2008 grants refugees the access to work, education and health services.[72] In regards to permanence, which many Casamance refugees were seeking after 2006; refugees in Gambia have the right to become naturalized Gambian citizens after they have legally resided in the country for a period of 15 years. In addition, as of 2018, Gambia agreed to include the years spent as a refugee towards the total time required to meet the criteria for naturalization. In addition, residency permits for immigrants in Gambia are valid for one year; however, for refugees the permit is valid for 5 years.[73]

These are important policies that help establish a legal framework for refugees in Gambia. Many Casamance refugees choose to settle in rural villages close to the Casamance-Gambian border, and as of 2011 records estimate that approximately 83 villages in Gambia host or have previously hosted Casamance refugees.[74] These communities are reasonably well organized, with each village having a refugee leader. The Gambia Food and Nutrition

[69] Franzisca Zanker: The Gambia: A Haven for Refugees Forced Migration Review 2018
[70] Gail Hopkins: Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration
[71] Franzisca Zanker: The Gambia: A Haven for Refugees Forced Migration Review 2018
[72] Florence Armitano: Migration in The Gambia , a Country Profile International Organization for Migration 2017
[73] UNHCR SOLUTIONS IN WEST AFRICA SENEGALESE REFUGEES IN THE GAMBIA AND GUINEA-BISSAU Q3 2018
[74] Gail Hopkins: Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration

Association (GAFNA) organizes villages hosting refugees into clusters and the refugee leader is in frequent contact with GAFNA field officers in the area. In addition, the refugee identity cards noted above also entitle refugee children school fees of up to 5000 dalasi (US $180). However, these refugee identity cards are applied for in Banjul at the Gambian Immigration Department, which is far from the Casamance border and many host villages. The Gambian Immigration Department recognized this challenge and implemented an annual refugee registration program in rural areas where refugee cards may be applied for in specified villages on particular days. This gave the majority of Casamance refugees better access to refugee identity cards. Furthermore, in 2006 the UNHCR appealed to the World Food Program (WFP) for assistance to Gambia due to the Casamance refugee situation. The WFP supplied a limited distribution of food from 2006 through 2009.[75] In 2007, the WFP increased the amount of food distribution due to the poverty levels seen in the host villages of Gambia. The World Bank identified that 60% of Gambians fall below the poverty line.[76] This is important to note because often in cases where the host community is impoverished there are underlying tensions on the basis that refugees are receiving assistance and the host community is not.[77] However, this was not seen in Gambia. Rather, the WFP increased food supply since refugees and their hosts were sharing the supply of food that was being distributed, and the food that was being farmed by the local population.[78] In addition to food supply, the UNHCR, partnering with the Gambia Red Cross (GRC) and GAFNA supplied items such as latrines, water, sleeping mats, mosquito nets and basic clothing items. Once official supply distributions ended in 2009, there was another emergency supply by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) through the GRC in 2011 due to another

[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Lischer, Sarah Kanyon. *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2005.
[78] Gail Hopkins: Casamance refugees in The Gambia: self-settlement and the challenges of integration

influx of refugees. However, for the most part the assistance switched to a sustainable livelihood program. These programs focused on restoring farming practices through the distribution of seeds, tools, and animals. This program also provided community gardens and soap-making training. These programs have been instrumental in assisting refugees as well as preventing further vulnerability in the host community. With this being said, these programs have run into obstacles and limitations due to the budgets and financial capacities of Gambia's institutions and the UNHCR. This is a common problem facing host countries of protracted refugee situations. In terms of the second solution involved in this study, voluntary repatriation, the Casamance region remains unstable according to the UNHCR as of January 2021, thus this is not applicable in terms of Gambia's current policies.[79] Nonetheless, especially given the financial circumstances, Gambia's policies towards the Casamance refugees have proved to benefit the refugees and the host villages in which they reside.

Senegal has signed the above regional and international treaties regarding internally displaced people and refugees. The two main institutions working on forced migration in Senegal are: Conseil Nationale de l'Eligiblité (CNE or The National Status Determination Council) and Comité National Chargés de la Gestion de la Situation des Réfugiés, Rapatriés et Personnes Déplacées (CNRRPD or The National Committee on Refugees, Returnees and Displaced People).[80] The CNE is responsible for advising the president on the status of a given refugee. This Council is presided over by the president of the Supreme Court and its members include representatives from the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the UNHCR holds an observer role on this Council. The CNRRPD is based at the presidency and led by a representative of the Senegalese armed forces; however, the president's personal chief

[79] UNHCR Fact Sheet: UNHCR Senegal Multi-Country Office January 12th 2021

[80] Jegen, L. 2020. "The Political Economy of Migration Governance in Senegal." Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute (ABI).

of staff runs the Committee. This Committee deals with questions pertaining to returnees, refugees, and internally displaced populations. The CNRRPD is also responsible for refugees once an asylum claim has been issued. While these are the current frameworks of refugee policy In Senegal, the UNHCR has been urging Senegal to reform the asylum process and the refugee system. The two main reasons that reform is needed are the low level of cooperation and communication between the CNE and the CNRRPD, and the strong presidential control over the individual refugee status determination process.[81] With this being said, when Gambians were fleeing to Senegal at high rates[82] in 2017, Senegal worked with the UNHCR to assist rapidly. A UNHCR report stated that, "UNHCR, other aid agencies and the Senegalese authorizes have been monitoring the borders since the political crisis erupted, deploying joint field missions last week and this week to southern Senegal's Casamance, bordering Gambia, and its surroundings."[83] In this crisis situation Senegal was able to act quickly with the assistance of the UNHCR, ECOWAS, and the African Union. This regional, and international approach used military intervention, which resulted in Jammeh stepping down from office[84] and many Gambians being able to return home. The Gambians fleeing political uncertainty from Jammeh's reign were able to return home; however, there is still a large displaced population of displaced persons in both Senegal and Gambia.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Around 45,000 people were reported to have arrived in Senegal from Gambia – according to the Senegalese Government, amid the ongoing political uncertainty as Senegalese and West African troops entered Gambia on Thursday January 19th 2017.

[83] UNHCR Hélène Caux: Gambians seek refuge in Senegal amid political tension 13 January 2017

[84] The cause of refugees and political uncertainty was due to President Yala Jammeh of Gambia refusing to step down after a lost election.

While this study focuses on Gambia and Senegal it is important to note that there are many refugees from other parts of the continent in Senegal.[85] Senegal received a particularly large number of refugees in 1991. Many of these refugees remain in Senegal today. Therefore, the livelihood programs explained are in reference to many refugees that arrived at this time. Approval for permanent residency is difficult and often takes many years due to the low level of cooperation and communication between the CNE and the CNRRPD. However, economically, in terms of local integration, refugees in Senegal are able to easily practice farming, and many women have made businesses selling artwork.[86] There has also been accessible healthcare to refugees. The element of livelihood that is lacking in Senegal's framework is the availability of education. Approximately 73% of 400 household heads could not read or write and 56% of refugee children under 20 are not in school.[87] Senegal has taken strategy initiatives in partnership with the UNHCR and L'office Africain pour le développement et la coopération (OFADEC) to improve this element, and strengthen the other elements of livelihood. The strategy involves awareness campaigns with health centers and schools in order to popularize the use of existing channels and also work with court officials to help refugee children obtain civil status. The campaigns also help provide necessary financial and infrastructural assistance to the refugees living in Senegal.[88] Therefore, Senegal provides a legal framework for refugees that promote livelihoods and integration.

[85] For example, a border conflict between Senegal and Mauritania, which resulted in many Mauritanians seeking refuge in Senegal. At the peak of the conflict there were approximately 53,000 Mauritians who were expelled from Mauritania and fled to Senegal. These people have been displaced long-term and therefore, livelihood programs in Senegal often assist these refugees in particular.

[86] Pillay Kevashinee The effectiveness of local integration as a durable solution: the situation of Mauritanian refugees in Senegal 2011

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

In Gambia there were an estimated number of 4,000 internally displaced people as of 2019[89], in addition to the Casamance refugees in the country, which is approximately 8,000 as of 2018.[90] In Senegal as of 2018, there were approximately 18,000 internally displaced people and 15,000 refugees as of 2021.[91] With this being said, the policies of each state to promote refugee livelihoods and local integration demonstrate its success.

Analysis

The migration of refugees is a form of direct contagion. Contagion can be defined as a process whereby internal conflict in one location alters the probability of another internal conflict erupting in another location.[92] There are other forms of direct contagion such as arms trafficking that can relate to the direct spillover of conflict across borders as well. There are two main reasons why refugees can cause a contagion effect: one is because it can exacerbate competition over scarce resources in the host country, and two is because of possible militarization of refugee camps.[93] The fear of direct contagion can, in part, explain why Gambia and Senegal provide generous opportunities to pursue livelihoods. By Senegal and Gambia assisting refugees in the pursuit of livelihood there is less likely to be animosity between the local populations and refugees over scarce resources. With this being said, contagion is may not be the sole reason for implementing livelihood programs. In hosting states with large refugee settlements, some governing parties fear a loss of power due to popular anger over economic hardships and social

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[89] "Gambia." IDMC. https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/gambia.

[90] UNHCR Solutions in West Africa Senegalese in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Q3 2018

[91] Jegen, L. 2020. "The Political Economy of Migration Governance in Senegal." Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute (ABI).

[92] Erika Forsberg. 2016. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil Wars: Clustering, Contagion, and Connectedness."

[93] Ibid.

pressures sparked by scarce resources.[94] Furthermore, the fear of direct contagion through the militarization of camps might also explain the removal of refugee camps by Gambia after 2006, and the reason why Senegal never established camps even though it had a dramatic increase in the refugee population in 1991.The fear of direct contagion due to camps is also explained in refugee literature. The sequence of refugee encampment contributing to cross-border disputes and regional destabilization is explained as the following: refugee camps function as bases for rebels to attack across the border; refugee-sending states view refugees as an indictment of the government's legitimacy and as a potential military threat; the sending state may pursue refugees across the border, thus subjecting them to military attack; lastly, as these cross-border attacks escalate, the risk of international war grows and the more states drawn in increases the likelihood of regional destabilization.[95] This demonstrates a possible reasonable cause for Gambia and Senegal to not implement camps on the basis that it decreases the likelihood of regional destabilization and international conflict between the two states. The other direct form of contagion is arms trafficking. When an intrastate conflict is occurring there is often an increased availability of arms. Thus, when there is not heavy border control, these arms may be transferred to neighboring states where aggrieved groups may be willing to initiate violent conflict once they have the means of doing so.[96] A third form of direct contagion is that civil war in one country may often affect the economy of surrounding states. Since civil wars lead to a reduction in trade and investment in proximate countries, which in turn heightens the probability of conflict.[97]. Lastly, the fear of direct contagion through arms trafficking may explain why Senegal is often quick to act on border protection and closures, as seen during Jammeh's reign in Gambia.

[94] Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection." *Daedalus* 146, no. 4 (2017).
[95] Ibid.
[96] Erika Forsberg. 2016. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil Wars: Clustering, Contagion, and Connectedness."
[97] Ibid.

In addition to direct forms of contagion there are also indirect forms of contagion. Indirect contagion is the intangible process whereby conflict in one country provides lessons, inspiration, and clues for actors in other countries, also known as strategic learning.[98] This can be seen where a conflict in one state may inspire a group in another state to increase its demands and attempt to use violent means to achieve their demands. This form of indirect contagion involves refugees as well, since refugees can be a means for rebels to expand their social networks.[99] Another indirect form of contagion can be seen in the nature of the conflict. For example, separatist conflicts are more likely to lead to contagion compared to wars fought over government power.[100] This is due to separatist conflicts typically involving regional ethnic groups that have ties to kin across borders, who are more likely to act on demonstration effects. In other words, the involvement in conflict by a group in one state increases the likelihood of conflict erupting in a nearby state that shares the same group. Indirect contagion was seen in this case study between the MFDC and the Guinea-Bissau freedom movement. General Mané in Guinea-Bissau was working with the MFDC and acquiring lessons and inspiration to conduct two coups. As mentioned, the freedom fighters with Mané lost, however, this illustrates how this conflict has already exposed the region to contagion.

While these are all forms of contagion, it is important to note that different states have different levels of susceptibility to contagion. First, a state's susceptibility to contagion is conditioned on state capacity. In states with high capacity that have stability, control, resources, and the ability to adapt and respond to unexpected crises, contagion is less likely to occur even if

[98] ibid.
[99] Salehyan, Idean, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization* 60, no. 2 (2006)
[100] Erika Forsberg. 2016. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil Wars: Clustering, Contagion, and Connectedness."

there is a nearby intrastate conflict.[101] The Fragile States Index has a scale of state capacity ranging from sustainable, stable, warning and alert. According to the Fragile States Index, Senegal and Gambia are in the "warning" category, and Guinea-Bissau is in the "alert" category.[102] From this analysis it draws a better understanding of why Guinea-Bissau experienced high levels of contagion. Second, authoritarian regimes are increasingly receptive to contagion. The probability of contagion heightens even more in states that are ethnically polarized with authoritative regimes.[103] Due to this increased susceptibility in authoritative regimes, it more clearly illustrates why in Gambia under Jammeh had a generous approach towards the Casamance refugees in Gambia. This becomes especially important when noting that many Gambians shared ethnic ties with the Casamance refugees. Therefore, Jammeh was most likely aware that maltreatment towards these refugees could lead to a spillover of conflict from Casamance in Gambia. This becomes even more apparent due to the last factor of susceptibility, which is, states that are in close proximity to the state involved in intrastate conflict are more exposed to spillover of externalities and demonstration effects.[104] This may increase vulnerability to contagion.

This idea of contagion in regards to proximity brings up another transnational dimension of intrastate conflict called connectedness. This is the idea that conflicts can internationalize more broadly and involve a larger set of countries, issues, and actors. Over time, actors from different conflicts may start to cooperate with each other due to similar goals, a common enemy, and/or share ethnic bonds or ideological affiliation.[105] Some forms of connectedness can lead to a

[101] Ibid.
[102] Fragile States Index
[103] Erika Forsberg. 2016. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil Wars: Clustering, Contagion, and Connectedness."
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

regional conflict complex. In these cases conflicts are mutually reinforcing to the extent that it may be infeasible to solve just one without considering the regional aspects. The interlink of conflicts create much more complex issues. This is because there is a larger set of actors that have stake in the outcome, and arms and resources are likely to become more available leading to more violence.[106] This was seen between the Guinea-Bissau freedom movement and the Casamance conflict. This can have an overall negative impact on regional stability.

Therefore, with regional dynamics at stake due to the 40-year intrastate Casamance conflict Gambia and Senegal both may have identified the importance of having generous refugee policies to avoid factors of contagion and connectedness to exacerbate the conflict. This demonstrates the importance of securing general regional stability. Therefore, the two states use their refugee policies as a means to strengthen their, national securities, geographical/territorial influence, and economic interdependence.

Conclusion

Gambia and Senegal's refugee policies can be a reflection of their foreign policy aims to achieve regional stability, and security through promoting livelihoods. The intrastate Casamance conflict in Senegal has resulted in over 40,000 displaced persons[107], a proxy war in Guinea-Bissau[108], and a decrease in overall regional stability. These negative regional consequences of this ongoing intrastate conflict have made Senegal and Gambia open to finding other means to regain regional stability through their refugee policies. The analysis of the displacement regime indicates that this is not a common approach, and usually host countries implement policies that

[106] Ibid.
[107] Senegal Migration Profile Maastricht Graduate School of Governance 2017
[108] Martin Evans: Senegal: Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC) 2004

do not promote local integration due to its permanent connotation. However, it has been found that these policies do not only increase regional stability and reduce susceptibility to contagion, but also improve the lives of refugees, displaced persons and host communities. This is because Senegal and Gambia have policies that facilitate refugee livelihoods, and self-sufficiency. These policies work especially well in this region due to the socio-cultural similarities among refugees and host communities. National and international aid supplied to refugees is often shared with the local populations, and local populations often share land and equipment. While this is in part credited to the socio-cultural similarities of the populations, it should be noted that the policies Senegal and Gambia put forth such as, promoting and raising awareness for integration, also plays a major role in the smooth transition. Other policies by Senegal and Gambia such as, supplying resources, with the partnership of outside organizations, is also crucial in improving the lives of refugees, displaced persons, and for better economic practices domestically and between states. In this way, this study contributes to knowledge of the displacement regime and how states can foster better care for vulnerable populations, such as displaced people, while simultaneously strengthening security, economic opportunities, and regional stability.