CARIM – Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration

Co-financed by the European Union

CARIM – Migration Profile

Senegal

The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration
The Legal Framework of Migration
The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

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on the basis of CARIM database and publications

July 2010
The Demographic-Economic Framework of Migration

Since the mid-1970s, Senegal has evolved into an important emigration country due to an interplay of factors. The main triggers for emigration have been the worsening socio-economic conditions especially in rural areas and the success of former emigrants, which has acted as a strong pull factor in a country where emigration has been continuously seen as an important household strategy. Furthermore, the Conflict in Casamance has led to intense refugee outflows. Initially, Senegalese emigrants were directed towards neighboring countries; however, from the 1990s, after violent social and political crises in Central and West Africa, they have made their way, instead, to Europe – first towards France and recently Italy and Spain – as well as to the US, which together represent today the most important destinations for Senegalese emigrants.

Historically an immigration country for African migrants, Senegal had gradually lost its capacity to attract worker migrants who, today, if they visit the country at all, do so in transit in their attempts to reach Northern African destinations and Europe. Furthermore, Senegal has hosted large numbers of Mauritanian refugees, as a consequence of the 1989 Mauritanian-Senegal Conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent of settlement</th>
<th>Registered migrants</th>
<th>Unregistered migrants</th>
<th>Total migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>77,536</td>
<td>332,464</td>
<td>410,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>125,436</td>
<td>64,564</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>6,096</td>
<td>36,504</td>
<td>42,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>5,151</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>5,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>214,819</td>
<td>433,781</td>
<td>648,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stock of Senegalese emigrants by continent of settlement and legal status, period 2003-2004

At that time, the same source estimated 2 unregistered to each registered emigrant. The majority lived in other African countries which would host 63% of the Senegalese abroad. Registered migrants were more likely to reside in Europe (58.4%), where the ratio unregistered/registered migrants equaled 0.5. The same value was substantially higher both in Africa (4.3) and in America (5.5).

With respect to regular migrants, the Global Migration Origin Database (based on Census data and managed by the University of Sussex and the World Bank) reports that around the year 2000, the number of Senegalese residing abroad equaled 479,515 individuals. 46.8% resided in non-Arab African countries (mainly in Gambia, 20.6% and Ghana, 5.0%), 36.6% in the European Union (mainly in France, 18.3%, Italy, 9.6% and Germany, 5.3%) and 9.8% in Arab countries, especially in Mauritania, which became an important country of destination thanks to its economic growth triggered by oil exploitation.

In 2002, a large majority was African national (84.5%), originating mainly in Western (73.9%) and Central (8.5%) African countries.

Due to the difficult employment conditions in Senegal, working migrants represent a small part of inward flows in Senegal; given the poor performance of the Senegalese labor market especially in urban areas, (where immigrants tend to be more concentrated and where the unemployment rate reached 7.7% in 2002), working migrants are mainly...
In OECD countries, males represent the majority accounting for 66.0% of the total. Only 19.2% of Senegalese emigrants have a tertiary education. However, their educational profile is largely differentiated according to the destination country and, ultimately, to different policies in granting visas. As a matter of fact, in Canada and the US, highly-skilled emigrants represent respectively 61.5% and 36.1%, while in Italy and Spain the numbers equal only 3.8% and 7.2%. As to their occupational profile, Senegalese emigrants are more likely to be employed in low-skilled jobs, e.g. in elementary occupations (26.7%), as craft and related workers (19.9%) or plant and machine operators (14.6%) and as service workers (8.7%) (OECD.stat, years around 2000).

As a result of the Casamance conflict, Senegal has also produced large numbers of refugees. In 2009, Senegalese refugees recorded with UNHCR stood at 16,305 individuals, mainly based in Gambia (46.3%) and Guinea-Bissau (45.9%).

Flows

UNDP’s estimates confirm the evolution of Senegal from immigration to emigration country in the mid-1970s (see figure below). In 2005-2010, the net migration rate equaled (-1.7)%.

The last Census (2002) allows a reconstruction of the main characteristics of Senegalese emigrants in 1997-2001, who were still abroad in 2002. There were 168,953 (i.e. an annual average of 33,791). As to their profile, they were more likely to be men (82.2%), who emigrated while young (65.1% between 15 and 34 years old), mainly for work and family reasons (76.1% and 10.2% respectively), but also for studying (9.5%).

As a result of the 1989 Senegal-Mauritania conflict (see CARIM Migration Profile: Mauritania at http://www.carim.org/public/migrationprofiles/MP_Mauritania_EN.pdf), many Mauritanian refugees reside in Senegal. In 2009, 21,377 Mauritanians were registered with UNHCR, the vast majority of 22,151 refugees in Senegal. The huge increase observed in 2008 is explained by the fact that in 2007, the Mauritanian authorities started a large repatriation and reintegration programme aimed at those Mauritanian refugees who had been driven out of the country in the 1989 war with Senegal, 20 years before. This programme led to a new wave of registrations on the part of Mauritanians living in Senegal who had previously not been registered as refugees and who wished to return to Mauritania. Up until October 2009, a total of 14,147 Mauritanian refugees had returned home.

Flows

Census data gives important information about immigrants entering Senegal from 1997 to 2001 and still residing there in 2002. As a whole, a total of 19,680 immigrants have been recorded. A large majority is composed of African nationals (83.9%), while a very low proportion of European citizens (10.3%).

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1 Started in the 1980s, the “Casamance conflict” saw governmental forces oppose the separatist Movement of Democratic Forces with their claim to self-determination. Over time, violent confrontations have led to several hundreds of deaths, together with large numbers of Internally Displaced Persons and refugees. Today, despite the cease-fire announced bilaterally in 2004, the conflict continues to produce victims and fighting started up again in the summer 2009.
CARIM Migration Profile: Senegal

By comparing outward flows over time, the change in preferred destinations comes out clearly. While in 1988-1992 non-African countries attracted around 1 out of three emigrants, in 1997-2001, almost 1 out of 2 emigrants chose these non-African destinations. In details, from 1997 to 2002, only seven countries have attracted more than seven emigrants per 10 (75.2%), namely Italy (19.0%), France (16.1%) and Spain (7.2%) in Europe, Gambia (12.6%), Ivory Coast (6.2%) and Mauritania (7.9%) in Africa and, finally, the US (6.2%). It is worth mentioning that the choice of country of destination varies greatly according to the flows’ region of origin. From 1997 to 2001, around half of outflows (45.0%) regarded the populations of three regions: 1) Dakar, linked to Europe and the US; 2) Matam and Podor – close to the Senegal River – linked to West and Central Africa and 3) the Peanut Basin, linked to Southern Europe.

As to irregular migration patterns, recent data show the importance of this phenomenon. In 2006 and 2007, a total of respectively 28,618 and 9,246 Senegalese irregular migrants were apprehended and expelled in/from European countries, especially Spain and Italy.

Today, due to its geographical position, Senegal is considered an important gateway for irregular migrants from Sub-Saharan countries going towards Northern African countries and, often, ultimately Europe. Unfortunately, no reliable estimates are currently available on these flows.

As to the reason for migration, more than a half (51.4%) entered Senegal for family reasons, 31.8% for work and 6.8% for studying.

Today, due to its geographical position, Senegal is considered an important gateway for irregular migrants from Sub-Saharan countries going towards Northern African countries and, often, ultimately Europe. Unfortunately, no reliable estimates are currently available on these flows.

The Legal Framework of Migration

Senegal is an important emigration country, but it also receives a large number of migrants. As a member of ECOWAS, which endorses established mobility practices in the region, it is part of a free circulation area covering fifteen countries.

Rules governing foreign nationals’ entry and stay in Senegal are defined by the law of 25 January 1971. This dated text obviously contains lacunae, especially on stay permits delivered to some categories of foreign nationals, as well as on protection from expulsion or on procedural and judicial guarantees. Yet, it established family reunification and prescribed sanctions against irregular entry or stay, sanctions which were strengthened in 1978.

The exit of nationals or foreign nationals is not regulated – exit visas were eliminated in 1981. Nevertheless, the 2005 law against trafficking in persons and equivalent practices penalizes organized clandestine migration, be that clandestine emigration or clandestine immigration. Besides, Senegal recently began to cooperate with European states in order to frame migration. In 2003, because of pressure from public opinion in Senegal, it renounced a transit agreement with Switzerland aiming at readmitting African citizens who failed to obtain refugee status. It has been working together with Spain since 2006 to organize legal migration through quotas and to combat irregular migration with the support of Frontex. Italy was hoping for the same kind of cooperation in 2010. In 2006 Senegal also concluded an agreement on the joint management of migratory flows with France, where Senegal committed to combating clandestine emigration on its coasts and to readmitting its citizens who find themselves in an irregular situation. It therein accepts the principle of “chosen immigration”, categories of “chosen” migrants were listed by both countries.

Despite these commitments, and despite the government’s approval of the fight against clandestine emigration, Senegal remains a country where mobility is intense and positively considered. The attempt to accommodate this culture and cooperation with European migratory policies has often proved challenging to say the least. President Abdoulaye Wade sometimes reacted against the mistreatment of Senegalese irregular emigrants and has threatened to suspend cooperation. Like its West-African neighbours, Senegal applies a policy of tolerance towards foreign nationals on its territory and migration, like work, is largely informal.

Senegal set up its own procedure for refugee status determination, which respects international standards. UNHCR has an observer status in the procedure. It finances and takes charge of sustainable protection measures for refugees. In 2007, two decades after thousands of Mauritanians had fled to Senegal to escape clashes between Black-African and Moorish communities, the newly established government in Mauritania called for its citizens to come back. It saw Senegal and UNHCR enter into a tripartite agreement with Mauritania in order to organise repatriation operations till the end of 2009. Mauritanians currently in Senegal are no longer considered refugees. Some of them demonstrated against repatriates’ reinsertion and indemnisation difficulties in 2010.

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2 Economic Community of Western African States.
### CARIM Migration Profile: Senegal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Outward migration</th>
<th>Inward migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General legal references</strong></td>
<td><strong>Law n°71-10 of 25 January 1971 related to conditions of entry, stay and establishment of foreign nationals and its Decree n° 71-860 of 28 July 1971</strong></td>
<td>1990 Convention(^3): ratified. \n<strong>ILO</strong>: 18 conventions ratified(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Bilateral agreements</strong>: among others, convention of establishment with Morocco (1964) and Mauritania (1978); convention on movement of persons with Gabon (1979); Agreement on employment and stay of Mauritanian workers in Senegal and of Senegalese workers in Mauritania (1972); with France, convention on persons’ circulation and stay (1995, 2002), conventions of establishment and of co-development (2000) and an agreement on the joint management of migratory flows (2006).</td>
<td>Member State of the <strong>African Union</strong>, the <strong>ECOWAS</strong> and the <strong>CENSAD</strong>(^5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Circulation</strong></td>
<td>Exit visas were eliminated in 1981. Yet, entry visas for destination countries are checked at departure border posts. Civil servants’ exit from the territory has to be authorized by the government. Senegalese citizens are exempted from entry visa when entering ECOWAS member states, and Tunisia and Morocco, among others.</td>
<td>On entry, foreign nationals must present passport, visa and repatriation guarantees. ECOWAS nationals are exempted from visa requirements, so are nationals from France, Spain and Belgium among others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entry and Exit</strong></td>
<td><strong>Palermo protocols</strong>(^6): ratified <strong>Law n°02-2005 against trafficking in persons and equivalent practices and for the protection of victims</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organized clandestine migration by land, sea and air, as well as documents falsification, may be punished with a 5 to 10 year-prison sentence and a 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 FCFA fine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Law n°78-12 of 29 January 1978 abrogating and replacing article 11 of Law n°71-10 of 25 January 1971 on the entry, stay and establishment of foreign nationals.</strong></td>
<td>1 to 5 years in prison and 120,000 to 250,000 FCFA fine if irregular entry or stay. Irregular labour may be punished with 1 to 3 months in prison and a 20,000 to 50,000 FCFA fine (Law of 1971).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^3\) Convention on the Protection of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Family.  
\(^4\) Including convention C111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation but excluding conventions C118 Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security, C97 concerning Migration for Employment and C143 concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers.  
\(^5\) Community of Sahel-Saharan countries.  
## Rights and settlement

The right to move and to settle abroad is guaranteed in the [Constitution](#).

Decree n° 91-041 of 16 January 1991 creates a Committee in charge of the coordination of emigration policy, concerning stay conditions in receiving countries, migratory flow management and emigrants’ reinsertion.

Expatriates have voting rights.

Distinction between immigrants and non-immigrants. The latter's entry is subject to authorisation for a 4 month maximum stay. Immigrants receive an authorisation for establishment.

Access to work has been facilitated by the 1997 new [Labour Code](#). The placement monopoly of the manpower service has been suppressed, and the national preference principle has disappeared.

Civil service reserved for nationals.

Family reunification: for the spouse, ascendants and minor children in the charge of the immigrant.

Access to public services: yes.

### Nationality

Nationality: [Law n°61-10 of 7 March 1961 relating to Senegalese nationality](#) (last amended 1992). Jus sanguinis by father's descent. Discrimination: children born to a Senegalese mother and a foreign father are not nationals of origin, they can opt for the Senegalese nationality when they come of age. Jus soli: double, without any discrimination - nationality of origin for a child born in Senegal to a parent also born there. A foreign woman getting married to a Senegalese man obtains his nationality unless she renounces that right. The delay of access to naturalization is reduced for a foreign man married to a Senegalese woman. A naturalized Senegalese citizen must renounce the nationality of origin. There is then the principle of exclusive allegiance, but dual citizenship is possible when there is access to another nationality.

## Refugees

[1951 Convention](#): ratified.

[1969 Convention](#): ratified.

[Law n° 68-27 of 24 July 1968 on the status of refugee](#): Refugee Status Determination led by the National Eligibility Commission. UNHCR has an observer status, and is responsible for financing local insertion (education, health care, and accommodation), resettlement and repatriation.

[Tripartite agreement between Mauritania, Senegal and UNHCR](#) for the voluntary return of Mauritanian refugee’s from Senegal, November 2007: repatriation operations from December 2007 to December 2009. The agreement’s implementation has become difficult because of political instability in Mauritania.

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7 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees.

8 OAU Convention governing specific aspects of refugees in Africa.
The Socio-Political Framework of Migration

At the crossroads between the Atlantic, Sub-Saharan and North Africa, Senegal is subject to various emigration and immigration pressures of a socio-economic and political nature.

The emigration policy apparatus in Senegal has been characterized by its pro-active stances in the last decade. Different governmental institutions have promoted policies with a view to encouraging Diasporas to contribute to local development through investments or through permanent return. Structural projects with the aim of creating jobs and matching supply with demand in the labour market have targeted the young in order to strengthen their commitment to local development, boost economic growth and curb clandestine emigration. The Senegalese government has, furthermore, focused on stimulating dialogue with Senegalese Diaspora communities, and is currently carrying out a project whose aim is to collect statistical data on Senegalese citizens living abroad so as to fill in data gaps on emigrants’ flows and distribution. These numerous initiatives notwithstanding, Senegal’s migration apparatus has been criticized for its lack of coordination in migration governance. Hence, targeted policy areas suffer from a lack of focus and institutional actors’ competences are at times either overlapping or lack follow up. The Senegalese government has yet to meet several challenges including irregular emigration, the eradication of poverty, and the repatriation of Senegalese citizens in Gambia in the wake of the conflict that saw separatist movements fight the Senegalese Army in Casamance.

Due to its relatively stable politics, and despite poverty and regional socio-economic inequities Senegal attracts immigrant workers and students from neighbouring countries (e.g. Guinea, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau, Mali, and Gambia) and from Lebanon. The country has also hosted refugees from nearby conflict-ridden areas (e.g. Mauritania in the 1989 crisis, Rwanda and Liberia). It should be noted that, like other surrounding countries, the permeability of frontiers as well as incoherent control mechanisms add to the complexities of irregular and transit immigration on Senegalese territory.

In terms of international cooperation, Senegal has multiplied its efforts to embed migration management in a developmental perspective with main destination areas. Above all there is Senegal’s cooperation with the European Union and the hope of signing a Mobility Partnership, a Partnership that would address labour migration opportunities and irregular migration. Beyond its active role in the ECOWAS framework, Senegal has also promoted the governance of legal and illegal migration flows in a concerted perspective with European countries (particularly Spain, Italy and France).

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10 The Higher Council of Senegalese Abroad was created in March 2010 to consolidate dialogue between the Senegalese Diaspora and the Senegalese government.


13 Although a Ceasefire has been established between the Senegalese government and rebel forces in the Casamance area, secessionist movements are still present. See for instance, « Suite au regain de tension en Casamance, des réfugiés sénégalais arrivent en Gambie » UNHCR, November 2006, http://www.unhcr.fr/4acf00c229.html

14 It is worth remembering that immigration in Senegal has been linked in a historical and ideological perspective to free mobility within the African continent and to the socio-cultural values of hospitality. See Country Profile Senegal, FOCUS Migration, November 2007, p.3.

15 These bilateral accords seek to increase the channels and opportunities for legal migration between Senegal and host countries, to curb irregular migration while regulating and facilitating the legal deportation of irregular immigrants.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senegal's socio-political framework</th>
<th>Inward migration</th>
<th>Outward migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governmental Institutions</td>
<td>Higher Council of Senegalese Abroad; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of the Interior; Ministry of the Youth and of Employment for the Young; Ministry of the Senegalese Abroad; Ministry of Labour and Public Service; National Commission for Managing and Following Up on Employment Offers</td>
<td>Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labour and Public Service, the General Directorate of National Security, the Directorate of Air and Border Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental Strategy</td>
<td>Designing action plans and policies to manage and encourage legal Senegalese emigration; negotiating agreements with destination countries so as to defend the Senegalese labour migrants’ interests and rights; combating clandestine emigration by creating jobs; embedding emigration in a developmental perspective, while involving the Senegalese Diaspora in local development through the creation of enterprises or remittance transfers; completing a database whose aim is to take a census of Senegalese citizens living abroad; favouring the professional reinsertion of repatriated persons; assisting Senegalese refugees and organising their repatriation process (notably in the wake of the Casamance conflict in the 1980s).</td>
<td>Setting up rules concerning the entry and residence of foreign nationals; establishing action plans with regard to the recruitment of economic immigrants; cooperating with other concerned parties so as to contain illegal and transit immigration; identifying refugees and defining their status and rights on Senegalese territory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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16 We note for instance the project coordinated by the Ministry of Youth, the Information System for an Efficient Governance of Migrations (SIGEM).

17 The Senegalese government has particularly attempted to address the concerns of young Senegalese and has aimed through the intermediary of the Ministry for the Youth and for Youth Employment to create jobs seeking to retain young Senegalese citizens in the country. The Office for the Employment of the Youth from the Suburbs (OFEJBAN) is, for instance, a governmental initiative seeking to promote employment among Senegalese of a young age so as to curb their desire to emigrate. Certain governmental initiatives such as “the Funds for supporting investments by the Senegalese Abroad” (FAISE) and “the Return Plan to Agriculture” (REVA) seek to retain citizens in the country or to favour their return by financing projects directed towards the creation of enterprises or the promotion of investments, so as to spur job creation. See "Ministre des Sénégalais de l'extérieur: un plan pour mieux accompagner les émigrés porteurs de projet", Le Soleil, June 2010.

18 The Ministry of Senegalese abroad has adopted a methodology based on three complementary approaches so as to take a census of Senegalese citizens living abroad: (i) developing a website allowing migrants to register themselves; (ii) using consular registers in destination areas; (iii) counting Senegalese citizens abroad who are affiliated to Senegalese associations. To this end, a database encompassing more than 700 Senegalese associations based abroad has been created. See Senegal's migration profile, IOM, p.74.

19 While the status of refugees in Senegal is generally defined by the 1969 OAU convention, it is noteworthy that Mauritanian refugees have awakened specific interest at domestic, regional and international levels. Following Mauritanian border tensions, ethno-political upheavals culminated in the expulsion of Senegalese and Black Mauritians from Mauritania. Since 2008 and following a tripartite agreement signed in November 2007 in Nouakchott between Senegal, Mauritania and UNHCR, the Mauritanian government has coordinated with the Mauritanian National Agency ANAIR and in conjunction with UNHCR the return and reintegration of Mauritanian refugees from Senegal. See for instance Abdelrahmane el Yessa, « le retour des réfugiés mauritaniens au Sénégal et au Mali, vingt ans après la crise de 1989 », CARIM Research Report 2009/11, http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/bitstream/1814/10794/1/CARIM_RR_2009_11.pdf. See also Mauritania’s migration profile, CARIM, 2010, http://www.carim.org/public/migrationprofiles/MP_Mauritania_EN.pdf.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Society Action</th>
<th>(a) Initiatives of Senegalese organisations, migrant associations as well as professional and student Diaspora networks aimed at:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promoting the socio-political and cultural interests of Senegalese abroad;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contributing to local development by helping underprivileged villages and Senegalese citizens in education and health matters (e.g. Association Teranga; Association Malicounda);</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tackle migration issues related to awareness-raising, to the repatriation process and to the reinsertion of return migrations (the Council of NGO’s in support of development (CONGAD) that encompasses 178 national and international NGOs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Initiatives of research institutions aimed at:</td>
<td>Studying and surveying migration between Senegal and Europe and between Senegal and West Africa (e.g. : The Institute for Training and Research in population studies, development and healthy reproduction (IPDSR); regional university centers (RUC))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges</td>
<td>Consolidating coordination among different governmental structures and actors managing migration;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Filling in data gaps and contradictions in administrative structures regarding statistical data and gathering in the migration realm;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Consolidating governmental efforts so as to link migration governance with a holistic developmental approach (integrating migration governance in the framework of a partnership of co-development to stimulate economic growth and fight poverty);</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curbing clandestine emigration and fighting its root causes (underemployment, poverty, salary levels etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curbing the departure of highly-skilled migrants by ensuring a match between education and job opportunities in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil society networks and initiatives aimed at:</td>
<td>Improving the coherence and rigour of the framework regulating the mobility of persons from ECOWAS and Non-ECOWAS countries;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Studying if and how labour immigration can meet domestic developmental goals;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fighting irregular immigration, particularly illegal migration from surrounding African countries at times – as in other nearby countries – a product of the porosity of frontiers and rewriting regulations which in certain cases lack coherence;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collecting reliable and representative data regarding the stocks and status of irregular immigrants in Senegal;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooperating more efficiently with international stakeholders so as to improve the socio-economic status as well as rights of refugees and asylum seekers on Senegalese land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ensuring the complete and successful repatriation of Mauritanian refugees in Senegal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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20 Data regarding this point is absent or contradictory.
21
Cooperating with destination countries in legal migration and the fight against irregular migration (signing agreements with France (2006 & 2008), Italy (2008) and Spain (2006)); spurring synergies with international actors and institutions so as to integrate migration governance in Senegal in a developmental framework (e.g. working together with the ILO in order to govern labour migration more efficiently and to improve Senegalese migrants’ employability abroad as well as matching offer and demand more efficiently); cooperating with other entities so as to curb clandestine emigration (e.g. signing a readmission accord with Spain; border management and control with FRONTEX); launching multilateral cooperation programs such as TOKTEN\textsuperscript{22} with the UNDP so as to galvanize emigrants’ contribution to local development in public health, food industry, medicine etc.;\textsuperscript{23} fighting against trafficking in collaboration with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); finding, with the help of international actors, Senegalese associations abroad (in cooperation with the IOM in the framework of the MIDA project) and establishing databases on qualified Senegalese migrants (work with the UNDP in the TOKTEN framework)

Developing cooperative mechanisms with UNHCR and with the African Union (AU) with a view to dealing with the status of refugees and assisting refugees and asylum seekers on Senegalese territory; developing cooperation mechanisms with UNHCR and the Mauritanian government so as to facilitate the return and repatriation of Mauritanian refugees who fled that country in the wake of the 1989 crisis; regulating and facilitating personal mobility in and through Senegal within the ECOWAS framework

(1) This socio-political framework does not claim exhaustive coverage, but intends rather to provide a synthetic picture of the socio-political facets and policy developments shaping migration developments and governance in, across, and from Senegal.

\textsuperscript{21} Even though the majority of Mauritanian refugees had gone back, there are still more than 33,193 refugees (according to estimates in January 2009). See « Migration au Sénégal : Profil National », IOM, 2009, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{22} The programme TOKTEN, managed by the UNDP, encourages Senegalese expatriate professionals to come back to their country for a short period (1-6 months) to contribute to the development of sectors in crisis such as health, food industry, medicine etc.

\textsuperscript{23} TOKTEN Senegal is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the African Union for Senegalese Abroad in collaboration with UNDP. See http://www.diplomatie.gouv.sn/maeuase/note_presentation.doc