



DIALOGUES

SECURITAIRES
DANS L'ESPACE
SAHELO - SAHARIEN

SECURITY CHALLENGES AND ISSUES
IN THE SAHELO-SAHARAN REGION

THE SENEGAL PERSPECTIVE

by Wore NDIAYE

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FOREWORD

The recent Malian and Libyan crises have exacerbated the multidimensional insecurity (at personal, economic, political, social, environmental, healthcare, etc. levels) that affects the populations living the Sahelo-Saharan region, and have showcased not only the weakness of the States but also the necessity for regional cooperation, especially between the Maghreb and West Africa. Together, they may face up to similar challenges.

The project called "Dialogues about Security in the Sahelo-Saharan Region" stems from this observation. It was initiated by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) Office in Mali, in partnership with its counterparts in Morocco, Senegal and Tunisia, in order to underscore the strong interdependences that exist between North and West Africa regarding security matters, and to promote national and sub-regional dialogues about the security challenges and issues that prevail within the States and across borders.

It aims at assessing the overall situation in the region, in light of the concept of human security. This is why country-based studies were conducted in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Chad and Tunisia. Each country-based study went through a validation process led by a committee of human security specialists from the country in question. Also, each country-based study was discussed by experts during a workshop that was organized for the purpose of not only identifying shared issues, but also agreeing on the top political actions that must be carried out in the Sahelo-Maghrebian region.

These country-based studies represent the first phase of an on-going multiyear project. They are also the intellectual basis on which some upcoming activities will be based, such as a regional conference that will focus on the priority issues that the experts have defined during their respective workshops.

The outcomes of the project will be used by all the key players involved in the various aspects of human security across the region. They will also be important sources of information and guidelines for the policy-makers and the members of the civil society, as well as for national and foreign researchers and university staff members.

Bamako, July 2016

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INTRODUCTION

Senegal has a population of 14 million inhabitants and holds a key position, from a geographic standpoint, in the Sahelo-Saharan region. The country is a reference in terms of its rich democratic experience and its well-known religious and cultural heritage.

However, this heritage includes a multitude of political parties and of religious brotherhoods, and may be a source of conflict. Indeed, for most of the Senegalese, religious affiliation is part of their identity and it should be protected from any type of attack or insinuation. This creates social tensions sometimes. In addition, the high number of political parties sets the stage for a mixing-up of preferences that may generate dangerous setbacks for the country. This religious and political setting is both an asset that turns Senegal into a hub for the sub-region, and a tangible source of conflict that may weaken the country at any given time.

Security comes from a set of measures that allows a group of individuals to enjoy an environment that promotes their physical, psychological and economic well-being. In general, the Senegalese are particularly concerned with security issues at individual level. This shows through the support they provide to proximity security forces, and through the upsurge of private agencies that often recruit security guards to protect individuals. However, the Senegalese do not get involved in security issues that pertain to the State in a satisfactory manner.

Taking into account the need for the Sahelo-Saharan region to consolidate its achievements, as well as the high priority for Senegal to strengthen its security system structurally and formally, this study analyzes the security challenges for the country and their impact on its relations with both the countries of the sub-region and the bi and multilateral partners. It is based on a holistic definition of security.

This study was carried out according to the following methodology:

First, an extensive study was conducted on the security context in Senegal, with a focus on the challenges and threats that the country is facing. It required of one to look closely into security from several points of view: personal, social, economic, food, environmental, health and political security. This analysis also includes the correlation between these aspects of security and insecurity within the State. This confers a global dimension to the analysis. A second part discusses the different responses of the Senegalese State to the security issues in question, and the State and non-State key players involved in dealing with such issues. A third part outlines the position of Senegal in the Sahelo-Saharan region, and talks of both its strategic interests in the sub-region and the nature of its bi and multilateral relations. Finally, a series of recommendations followed. It included 10 key recommendations that are meant to be solutions to the identified problems.

This study is based on two distinct sources of information: a series of interviews was conducted with 27 different personalities from the country and whose expertise helped with finalizing this study, while a number of documents and journals dealing with security issues got consulted in order to back up the technical dimension of the information collected from the interviewees.

I. THE SECURITY CONTEXT IN SENEGAL: CHALLENGES AND THREATS

In Senegal, there are numerous security challenges and increasingly imminent threats. They may be associated to different themes, such as personal, social, economic, food, environmental, health and political security.

1.1. Personal safety

Senegal is a sovereign State. Among other notions, sovereignty refers to a national army that is charged with the mission of protecting people and their property. Since September 2001, after the United States of America, that was considered the superpower of the world, got attacked and was destabilized by a very small number of terrorists, the world got shaken also by the wake-up call of extremism. Although it has one of the largest armies in the world, this superpower could not defend itself against this type of threat. From then on, Senegal and other countries, particularly those in the Sahelo-Saharan region, have been dealing with security challenges that may be tied to terrorism.

Considered as "the threat which has no borders", terrorism has now become the leading source of anxiety across the world. More than six thousand years ago, the Chinese defined terrorist acts as "kill one and destabilize ten thousand". Such acts occurred not only in Western countries, but also in African countries, including Senegal. Today, because of advanced technology and the proliferation of social media, any terrorist act that occurs in a given part of the world affects more than a million individuals, because they have access to Internet and other medias. In Senegal, the fear of terrorist attacks is affecting the population. People consider terrorism as one of the top threats to personal safety, notwithstanding the latent conflict in Casamance that has lasted more than 33 years and that remains a real threat. It is true that the Senegalese State is making efforts to resolve this conflict, but it still is one of the major problems that the authorities should handle at once.

Muslims represent 94% of the population in Senegal, and religious radicalism is growing among them. The rise of Salafism, in the neighboring State of Mauritania in particular, is a problem that needs to be addressed. A considerable number of individuals, who claimed to be affiliated to religious leaders or brotherhoods, are increasingly present in the country¹. Widespread corruption and the proliferation of small arms and small caliber weapons are phenomena that exacerbate security issues in Senegal. In addition, cybercrime is a real threat to the population. There is also insecurity associated with the coastal line. Senegal is bordered to the West by the Atlantic Ocean. This is an open window of opportunity for terrorists, and the slightest inattention could lead to a dramatic situation for the country. Illicit trafficking in human-beings, drugs, tobacco and other narcotics is becoming prevalent.

The porosity of borders constitutes a serious threat to the stability of not only the desert area, but also the country at large. To the East, the neighboring State of Mali represents one of the greatest dangers. It is facing armed jihadist groups that may infiltrate the Senegalese territory at any time, especially given the fact that instability in Mali forced numerous displaced people to resettle in the eastern part of Senegal. To the South of the country, the unsettled Casamance conflict contributes to the vulnerability of Senegal. The fact that the Casamance region is close to Guinea Bissau, a very unstable country marred with drug trafficking and coups d'état, also weakens the standing of the country. Then, there is the country of Gambia that has a geographical position that makes it a bastion of disorders, which may affect Senegal at any time.

Because the States of the region are interconnected, any political instability in neighboring countries, or any lacking with respect to democracy and rule of law, could become a direct threat to Senegal.

1.2. Social security

Across the region, Senegal is regarded as a center of academic excellence. The Cheikh Anta Diop University has a great reputation and attracts many students. In addition, there are private universities and vocational schools that accept hundreds of foreign students every year. Most of these young students finish their academic training and begin their professional careers in the country, in general. This additional flow of foreign graduates, on top of the considerable number of young Senegalese who are also looking for employment, exacerbates the frustrations that one may observe on the job market. Due to the precarious nature of employment opportunities, it is now imperative to reform the school and University systems in Senegal.

¹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religions_et_croyances_au_Senegal

In addition, there is the disastrous situation of children "from" and "in" the street. Their number is estimated at fifty-four thousand² in the capital-city of Dakar alone, and this affects negatively Senegal through the so-called 'paradoxe de la honte', or shameful paradox. It comes from the fact that a significant number of Senegalese intellectuals have distinguished themselves at the national and international levels, and the country counts remarkable and well-known figures and dignitaries when it comes to Culture and Religion. Yet, the number of 'street children' and of beggars who roam the public areas across the country leads one to ponder over the fate of a large segment of the population now, and in the next ten to fifteen years. Indeed, they are exposed to all kinds of social vulnerabilities. Because their number remains just an estimate, it is clear that the State has no control over population movements.

There are internal and external networks involved in organized crime, such as the stealing of livestock, and trafficking in illicit drugs, particularly cocaine, and weapons. Money laundering is a major constraint tied to the financing of terrorism. Although Senegal has adopted a law to prevent the financing of terrorism (Loi uniforme No. 2009-16 of March 02, 2009), and ratified the United Nations Convention against the financing of terrorism, as well as 12 of the 16 international counter-terrorism instruments, the country is still late in implementing fully the International Convention against the financing of terrorism³.

The decentralization process has failed and has created a major problem, given the lack of State control over the southern part of the country. This area falls under a management system that generates separatist groups, and that the State has failed to overcome.

Physical violence has a lasting impact on the social context, particularly when it is inflicted to women and young girls. It contributes to the physical and psychological destabilization of the victims and of their families. Young people in the country have particular needs that deserve the attention of the leaders, but are not addressed fully. This segment of the society is estimated at more than 4.4 million persons between the ages of 10 to 24 years old, and is likened to a ticking time bomb. They are increasingly taking part in illegal migration at the risk of losing their lives, and they continuously submit their grievances to the State authorities through recurrent strikes they organize on the University campus. Young people from the peri-urban sectors of Dakar and from the other regions are also experiencing some huge difficulties, and the State should address their psychological and socio-economic needs, especially now that the national sport of wrestling has become a means to achieve their dream and an indicator of success for many. Wrestling does remain a source of social tension and violence. Indeed, wrestling contributes to the level of violence in the communities due to its confrontational nature. This is also true in the case of the "*navetanes*" movements, or of soccer competitions organized during the holidays. These phenomena deserve some attention.

1.3. Economic security

With a GDP estimated at nearly 5 %⁴, Senegal is a country that ambitions to count among the emerging economies by 2035 through the implementation of its ambitious Plan Senegal Emergent (PSE).

The absence of viable and sustainable programs or projects represents a failure in the economic sector. This is also the case when the State does not explore all the development options, including new sectors like renewable energy, gold and oil production. The budget deficit and external debt of the country, the collapsing purchasing power, the rising inflation, the impoverishment of the farmers despite some debt-relief measures, contribute all to the prevalence of a sluggish economy. As a result, the farmers cannot buy new equipment or good quality fertilizer. The business climate does not encourage one to invest, given the high cost of energy/electricity and the mismanagement of the agricultural and fishing export products, and of phosphate. Most of the trade services pertain to the importation of manufactured goods and food products. This does not enable the sustainable development of the agricultural and industrial sectors.

In addition, the lukewarm promotion of gender-based policies has a negative effect on the economy of the country. This creates some frustrations for more than 50% of the population, i.e., the large number of women who have limited financial capacity. In December 2015, as he announced the United Nations Report on Human Development, Selim Jahan, Director of the Office of Human Development, had indicated that a reduction of the identified impediments in the workplace would increase the GDP of Sub-Saharan countries by some additional 60 billion dollars every year⁵. Because these women are not

² NDIAYE Amadou [Online], 'Mapping of the Koranic schools in Dakar', survey - January 15, 2015. Available on: <http://www.enquetepius.com/content/Cartographie-des-Ecoles-coraniques-de-Dakar-30-Mille-enfants-Mendiants-sur-uneffectif-de-54>

³ Intergovernmental Task Action against Money Laundering in Africa (GIABA) [Online], seventh peer evaluation, Evaluation report: Senegal, Dakar, GIABA, may 2015. Available on: http://www.giaba.org/media/f/933_7th%20FUR%20Senegal%20-%20French.pdf

⁴ World Bank, Senegal Report, 16 November 2015 (last updated). Available on: <http://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/senegal/overview>

⁵ Speech of Selim Jahan, lead author of the report on human development in 2015. Available on: 's-speech-launch-2015-human-development-rep <http://hdr.undp.org/fr/content/lead-author>

included in the formal flow of payments and salaries, the amount of money to be saved, and invested in potential retirement plans, or to be paid as pensions, remains low. Consequently, a lot of retirees are also vulnerable persons.

The informal sector plays a prominent role in the economy of Senegal. It should be modernized and integrated to the formal economy. The outflow of funds through informal mechanisms has a bad impact on the country.

Also, the State lost more financial resources when entry visas were no longer required, but tourism, which is the second source of foreign currency after the fishing sector, suffered from the consequences of the Ebola virus epidemics and from the rise of extremism in some neighboring countries. In recent years, Casamance, which is a popular touristic destination, saw a significant drop in the number of visitors, due to both the latent conflict in the area and the collapse of Air Senegal International, the only company that provided air service from Dakar⁶. The entire country is equally suffering from the shortage of tourists. Mbour, Kaolack, Saint-Louis, and Tambacounda, are also affected negatively.

The Senegalese economy suffers also from the poor state of the infrastructures. The poverty rate is more than 46.7 %⁷ and it is limiting the potential of the country. Senegal ranks as the 170th country in the world, in terms of Human Development⁸.

The Assises Nationales (National Convention) also identified some additional impediments to the economic development of the country. They were: the inadequate housing conditions, with regard to the availability and cost of housing facilities; the constant suspicion about the actual costs and awarding of State contracts; the recurring debates about the quality of certain construction works that collapsed and the safety of buildings; the incomprehensible delay in adopting and implementing a construction code; the spreading of the State offices that deal with the construction sector; the problem of land speculation and the grabbing of State properties; the poor choices in allocating budgets to unproductive projects or to initiatives based on prestige mostly; and the concentration of services in Dakar and the surrounding towns⁹.

It is clear that all the other types of security are based on economic security, and there is no security if development does not occur to a certain extent. This interdependence between security and development makes the consolidation of the economy a necessity. It also makes it difficult to carry out a fair and equitable distribution of the resources generated. But, such a distribution is an essential part of keeping the peace and of avoiding social unrest across the country. The Senegalese economy has a limited capacity to lift the country to the level of emerging economies, and it is slow in getting integrated transversally to the global market.

1.4. Food security

Food insecurity affects mostly 5 year-old children and pregnant or breastfeeding women (Khady Fall Tall, AFAO). Therefore, Senegal needs to capitalize on this 22/7/2013 statement from the World Bank: "[If Africa had offered to women the same conditions it provides to men for work, the agricultural sector would have grown by at least 20%]".

Sashi Tharoor, the former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations said that "human rights begin with breakfast"¹⁰. This is because food security is a major step towards achieving all the other Millennium goals. "[Its lacking is a major challenge because food is a component of sovereignty and of national and regional stability]", according to Mrs. Khady Fall Tall, President of the Association des Femmes de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (AFAO), or Association of West African Women.

According to the United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture (FAO), women generate 78% of food crops. Thus, it must be understood that, in Senegal, women contribute a large portion of the food that households consume. As long as women are marginalized, and do not have access to agricultural equipment and supply, or to land ownership in a proportion bigger than the current ratio of 5%, food security would not be achieved. National security could be affected then.

Like many countries in the sub-region, Senegal endured a food crisis in 2007-2008, and continues to be at risk due to climate change and the fact that its agricultural production is based on rain-fed farming mostly. With regard to the agricultural sector, planning and modernization efforts are limited. But the population of Senegal could double in 50 years, given the 7% growth rate of its population, and according to forecasts by the United Nations Fund for population (UNFPA). Thus, women should be at the heart of this issue.

In short, Senegal faces many challenges regarding food security, such as the improvised nature of agricultural policies that fail to integrate farm loan and insurance mechanisms to the transformation and marketing of agricultural products.

1.5. Environmental security

If the first National Conference on Sustainable Development, held from July 22nd to 25th, 2015, identified the issues of accessing potable water and of cleaning the streets as the two priorities for the State authorities, it's because the lack of hygiene in public areas across the country has become a real problem¹¹. Trash such as used plastic bags, bottles and

⁶ BAH Mehdi [Online], "Le naufrage silencieux du tourisme au Sénégal", Jeune Afrique, 09 February 2015. Available on: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/3360/economie/le-naufrage-silencieux-du-tourisme-au-s-n-gal/>

⁷ <http://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/country/senegal/overview>

⁸ PNUD [Online], Report on Human Development, New York, UNDP, 2015. Available on: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report_overview_-_fr.pdf

⁹ Assises Nationales, An 50 Bilan et perspectives de refondation, 2011.

¹⁰ THAROOR Shashi, "Are Human Rights universal?", *World Policy Journal*, Volume XVI, number 4, WINTER 1999/2000. Available on: <http://www.worldpolicy.org/tharoor.html>

¹¹ Ministère de l'Environnement et du Développement Durable [Online], Concept Note of the Conference on Sustainable Development, Dakar, April 2015. Available on: http://www.denv.gouv.sn/documents/CNDD/Note_Concept_Conference_final%20.pdf

recipients cover the ground everywhere. Sanitation policies are not adequate, while the illegal occupation of public areas and graffiti paints tend to damage the environment.

All along the Atlantic Ocean, the coastal area of Senegal is not adequately maintained, and is covered with all kinds of debris. The celebration of the International Day for the Cleaning Up of Coastlines on September 12th, 2015, that was organized by the Embassy of the United States at the Yoff Tongor Beach, in collaboration with some national partners, helped identify the types of objects found on the beaches of Senegal: fish parts, animal heads (sheep or oxen), old shoes, rubbish, plastic bags and bottles, as well as rotten parts of domestic animals. Most of these objects are non-degradable, and they contribute significantly to the destruction of the ozone layer and of marine biodiversity.

Poaching, deforestation, and the trafficking of timber are chronic problems that plague the country. Like its surrounding States, Senegal suffers drastically from the effects of environmental degradation.

Global warming is felt across the world in a number of ways. In Senegal, it shows through the erosion of coastlines, and flooding in such areas as the peri-urban zones, where stagnating rain water causes trauma and even social unrests.

The lack of potable water or the limited access to it shows that the authorities are not able to assess and answer the most pressing need of the population, at a time when people are fighting to secure fundamental human rights. Yet, Senegal has diverse water resources. The same way potable water is not available all across the country, electricity also is in short supply. Despite an important potential for solar energy, recurrent power outages add to the level of insecurity in the peri-urban areas in particular, where women get up before dawn to carry out their income-generating activities. It is important to note the link between climate change and food insecurity. The latter is a crucial problem for Senegal, a country located in a region characterized by low rainfalls.

Because Senegal did not succeed in matching its planning efforts with good policies that take economic growth and environmental protection into account, its ability to achieve sustainable development is much more limited. This turns insecurity into a permanent fixture.

1.6. Health security

Senegal faces several security threats, such as malnutrition, infanto-juvenile and maternal mortality, and limited access to basic social services and training opportunities. Each year, malaria kills more people than sexually transmitted diseases do. AIDS is part of the reality in Senegal, but the country has a proven record in fighting with relative success against HIV.

The demographic factor should be taken into account, because a significant increase in the population would create bigger problems if the social and economic demands are not managed well.

Senegal remains vulnerable to potential cases of Ebola epidemic, although the risk of an eventual incidence of the disease has declined drastically. Guinea-Conakry has been declared 'Ebola Free' in early 2016, but some doubts persist about the virus attacking again people who had been infected, as in the case that was reported in September and November 2015 in Liberia. Senegal had closed its borders with Guinea, and stopped weekly fairs from occurring. The effects of such decisions were felt in terms of availability or shortage of certain food products, and of delivery or not of some other goods and services. This was true especially in the regions of Kolda, Tambacounda and Kedougou, where porous borders with Guinea-Conakry make trade exchanges easy, as well as illicit trafficking in goods and persons. In the southeastern part of Senegal, which includes the regions of Kédougou, Kolda, Sedhiou, Tambacounda and Ziguinchor, there are forests used by a very diverse fauna as natural sanctuaries. This is a part of the country where the exploitation of forest resources is intense, including hunting activities and the consumption of bush-meat, which expose the populations to the risk of getting infected by zoonotic diseases.

The main internal vulnerability factors are the following: a weak healthcare delivery system, with inadequate supplies and sometimes poorly trained staff; an inadequate water-health-sanitation management system; a weak control over borders; and a weak oversight of the communities. The external vulnerability factors are the borders with countries affected by Ebola, like Guinea-Conakry, and endemic diseases such as malaria, AIDS and Ebola fever.

1.7. Political security

In Senegal, gender parity is very much celebrated, but its weak impact on the socio-politico-economic spheres illustrates a lack of political will to propel women in the limelight.

With regard to the political context, one of the major security challenges is the failure of the population to internalize the legal dispositions. This is due to the fact that the Constitution is written in a style that is not understandable, for the majority of people in the country, in terms of both its format and its content. Also, versions of the Constitution in the maternal/national languages are not available. In addition, the Constitution itself was changed/replaced a number of times. As a result, the citizens of the country have lost confidence in the State institutions. They are not associated to the budgeting process, in general. This contributes to political instability, especially in a context where the average person is not safe from arbitrary prosecution, detention, and abusive pre-trial detention.

In addition, Senegal has ratified most of the conventions related to the protection of human rights, but is slow in implementing them effectively. This adds to the political tensions that exist at the national level. Also, the civil society organizations prepare and submit alternative reports to the major international institutions, which are different from the official reports sent by the State authorities. This leads sometimes to gaps in analyzing and in dealing with the prevailing issues.

Most of the security challenges are transnational in nature. This is due to the fact that Senegal is part of a regional ethnic, linguistic and cultural continuum, while it remains a discontinuous State with its own borders. Its major security challenges today consist in protecting its citizens while respecting everyone's beliefs and rights.

1.8. The invisible bridge

If it is true that insecurity affects the citizens and their properties at the political, social, economic, health, food and environmental levels, it is also true that there is an intrinsic link between these types of insecurity and the one affecting the physical dimension of the State. Indeed, the correlation between physical security and other types of insecurity is obvious. Regarding economic security, there can be no peace without development, and no development without peace.

The level of prevailing insecurity in a country influences not only the level of confidence of donor agencies and investors, but also the influx of tourists, and the capacity of conference organizers to boost the country's economy. It has many more ramifications. Security is crucial, for Senegal to achieve self-sufficiency in food production, and this would help cover the primary needs of the population. Indeed, insecurity prevents farmers from going to their fields, and discourages people from investing in farm inputs and equipment. Insecurity blocks innovation, research and entrepreneurship.

In times of insecurity, funds that could be allocated to the development of new perspectives are often invested in the defense sector and in the protection of the State. This leads to stagnation in economic activities.

Also, the education sector is left stranded. Students and teachers go to their class sessions only in a sporadic manner.

Insecurity causes social unrest and institutional crisis. It creates a certain degree of anarchy. Rising social tensions push some people to organize rebellions, and this shows the vulnerability of the State.

Insecurity causes the failure of health policies also. Then, women and young people become most vulnerable to the risks associated with insecurity. The vulnerability of the State, in times of insecurity, does not allow the effective designing or implementing of health programs against such emergencies as Ebola virus, and other viruses or infections that are likely to wipe off the population.

The policies meant to protect the environment are less and less consistent. They do not address effectively current issues like the need to protect coastlines against erosion; to protect both domestic and wild animals; to protect the environment from overexploitation, or from the destructive effects of anti-personal landmines; and to limit the flying away of birds and insects caused by the use of guns and gun-powder in some areas.

The adverse effect of this ramification of insecurity must be taken into account, because whenever the healthcare, food and vital needs of individuals are ignored, and their fundamental rights are not protected, a security crisis emerges. It is then difficult to control such a crisis.

II. CAUSES

The colonial legacy that Senegal has inherited is a considerable source of problems associated with insecurity. Social disparities are more and more prevalent, and have economic repercussions.

The current security challenges are the repercussions of feelings among a certain population that feels more and more oppressed. This phenomenon is often called "la revolte du social", or revolt of the social realm. This revolt manifests itself not only in Senegal, but also in the rest of the continent, and even in Western countries. It is true that poverty is growing to the point of even reaching its peak, it seems. It is weighing increasingly on the Sahelo-Saharan region in general, and on Senegal in particular.

The literacy rate is 52%¹². The fact that a huge portion of the population is illiterate represents an impediment to the development of the country. It is also a mirror-image of widespread poverty and a contributing factor to the insecurity situation.

The poor level of education has negative implications not only in the academic sphere, but also in the communities, where citizens lack a sense of civic engagement. This is a major obstacle to the development of Senegal. Such a lack of awareness at individual levels bears on the society at large, while the values/charters that help govern the population could be used more wisely. This is reflected in the fertility rate of 5.1¹³, when the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) turns around 5%¹⁴.

Senegal is acclaimed as a maturing democracy, but the high number of political parties, estimated at more than 250¹⁵ for 5 million voters, can be considered as a time bomb. The media sphere focuses a little too much on clashes and ideological conflicts.

Demagoguery shakes up diplomacy, as well as the degree of trust that the average citizen has in his/her political representative, especially during the electoral rounds. Since the early 1990s, most of the conflicts in Africa did start during election periods, and such moments are definitely a source of tension and insecurity in Senegal. Elections remain a source

¹² Website of French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Senegal: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/dossiers-pays/senegal/presentation-du-senegal/>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie

¹⁵ Abdoul Aziz DIOP, "Limitation des partis politiques au Sénégal: les recettes des acteurs politiques", Sud Quotidien, posted on the website xensibar.com on May 19, 2015. Available on: http://www.sensexibar.com/LIMITATION-DES-PARTIS-AU-SENEGAL-LES-RECETTES-DES-ACTEURS-POLITIQUES_a28810.html

of conflicts because the legal dispositions are not fully secured. This applies to even the Constitution that the outgoing President had changed. The fact that a significant number of the members of Government are affiliated to the party of the President, or are members of his family, creates frustrations and a social crisis that could lead to violence.

The 23 June 2011 Movement represented a political awakening. It resulted from the will of the People to express their anger over the abuse of presidential power. With preparations under way for the long-awaited March 20th, 2016 referendum, which aimed at reducing the presidential term from 7 to 5 years, another uprising of the population is still possible, if they don't find that the results reflect accurately the voting trends.

Bad governance and the mismanagement of public funds, especially the country's financial resources, mines and other underground resources are a chronic problem at the administrative level. However, such a problem is not clearly perceived at the other levels, which reflects a standpoint that considers that taking care of the needs of the population is not a priority. Bad governance is also the result of not abiding by laws that do exist and that are well elaborated, given that they take into account the issues of social stability and of security.

Bad regional planning, which resulted in the concentration of infrastructure and services in the capital-city, is a source of insecurity. One may add to this the porosity of the borders, especially now that the neighboring State of Mali is in a situation of conflict.

The concept of embezzlement and the tracking of corruption money and ill-acquired assets are equated to personal vendettas, rather than a real concern for the rule of law and for equity.

Senegal was ranked 69th out of 175 countries¹⁶ on a list that decries corruption at the global level. Thus, the country still has a way to go in order to improve its ranking. Corruption does not exist at the State level only, but also at the entry points of the country. They are strategic in nature, because they are areas that are particularly vulnerable, and potential sources of tensions and conflicts.

The lack of a culture of positive sanctioning is a major problem. This encourages a general *laissez-faire* in both the public and the private sectors. The phenomenon corresponds to a certain philosophy called 'garawoul',¹⁷ that validates a number of offences, including the breach of security rules.

The lack of accountability is a major problem. This reflects a failure in taking responsibility at the individual level.

The devolution and the privatization of State resources, and the widening income gaps between rich and poor people contribute to the destabilization of society. This is particularly true when becoming a member of a given political party guarantees an access to greater ease, and increases the disparities between the politicians and the populations. The lack of political will and inclusive approaches in conducting public affairs exacerbate tensions in the society.

The unemployment of young people continues to be a major problem. The phenomenon of abusing domestic workers or maids must be denounced, and punished by law. Religious radicalism and the collapse of certain North African and Sahelian States, in the aftermath of the 2011 Arab Spring, had negative impacts on the security of the country.

The groups that claim the independence of Casamance constitute a major internal threat. Unemployment and the increasing divorce rate contribute to the instability of the family units. Children who come from broken families or communities, and who lacked the proper supervision, become easy targets for ideological brainwashing. The notion of jihad, or struggle to eliminate one's own shortcomings, strive for perfection and cultivate such values as humility, is not well understood by most of the people who adhere to the cause of terrorism.

Weak institutions and democratic processes, terrorist threats linked to the travesty of Islamic precepts for political reasons, poverty and the effects of the socio-economic and socio-political crisis, are mentioned regularly as the major causes of insecurity.

Internal and external religious factors must also be taken into account. The dichotomy between Arabic-speaking people, namely those who speak Arabic as their second language and most of whom have studied in North African and Middle Eastern countries, and the people who speak French fluently is increasingly visible. A few years ago, Arabic-speakers were trained to be instructors of Arabic. But now, they study other disciplines, and return with degrees in medicine, astrology, meteorology, etc.

Unfortunately, the existing system is not designed to integrate them easily into the job market, due to the language differences and the transversal nature of the skills that are required. In addition, the different religious brotherhoods that exist in Senegal may constitute sometimes a source of conflicts because they blend religious and political affiliations, although they have helped soothe many tensions, too. Islam is turning increasingly into a culture, and is no longer just a religion.

In short, the major problem is the absence of a whole system of leadership. Professor Samba Buri Mboup specified the difference between a 'dirigeant', or ruler, and a 'leader', in this respect. The leader wins an electoral mandate and leaves his/her marks on the governance system of a given territory¹⁸.

¹⁶ Index 2014 by Transparency International on the perception of corruption. Available on: <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014/results>

¹⁷ May be translated as 'free for all' or 'laissez faire'.

¹⁸ MBOUP Samba Buri, "Le paradigme des conflits de leadership en Afrique: La nécessité de perspectives de Renaissance Africaine", *Journal International des Etudes sur la Renaissance Africaine - Multi-, Inter- et Transdisciplinarité*, 3:1, pp. 94-112

III. THE KEY PLAYERS

Many key players contribute to the insecurity situation. There are essentially gangs of looters and smugglers of all kinds, particularly drug dealers, and sometimes the irredentists who want to partition the States. Some politicians stoke the fire of social tensions; members of the Government who are charged with handling certain strategic responsibilities, but do not play their role. Because they come up with development programs that do not always match the realities of the targeted groups, international institutions also exacerbate rather than resolve conflicts often times. In addition, the very important issues of monitoring and evaluation are not taken into account. Some religious leaders often contribute to insecurity through the speeches they deliver.

Other major key players would be criminals across the States in the region; rebels (MFDC); drug traffickers; arms traffickers; traffickers of young girls; jihadists affiliated to the Islamic State and to the separatist movements of northern Mali; poachers, etc.

IV. THE STATE AND THE SECURITY CONTEXT IN SENEGAL

Since its Independence, the Senegalese State has tried to respond to security challenges and threats by planning and implementing social and economic development policies, by revising constantly and adapting its penal and security policies, by recruiting and training security agents and magistrates. Regarding the issue of personal security, the President of the Republic took part, for the second year in a row, to a conference on security challenges that was organized by the Institut Pan-Africain de Strategies (IPS), or Pan-African Institute of Strategies. This initiative reflects the political will of the State authorities to fight against the scourge of insecurity in all its aspects.

The State has understood the relevance of getting several security units to undertake joint maneuvers and actions in order to cover large portions of the national territory. The security and defense forces carry out their missions well, which are about protecting people and their property. In addition, all three armed forces of Senegal, namely Air, Ground and Marine forces, and the armed paramilitary bodies, such as the gendarmerie, customs, police and other bodies "in uniforms", as well as the intelligence services, have been mobilized and provided with new capabilities.

Regarding the external front, the army, the gendarmerie and the police are watching over the borders. The Léopold Sédar Senghor international airport is much more functional after it was renovated in order to correct deficiencies and to meet standards. The goal is to enhance the level of security through meeting the standards set by the Organization of International Civil Aviation (ICAO), and ensuring the best conditions of servicing aircrafts, air companies and others.

Senegal demonstrates its willingness to face up to this scourge through the speeches of the Head of State, who shows a strong commitment to fight against terrorism. Any defeatist talk would reveal the inability of the State to address the problem and to solve it.

Senegal has understood the usefulness of bringing the State authorities closer to the average citizens. Act 3 of the decentralization process has helped people to better feel the presence of the State. Compared to Mali, where a person can spend years without seeing the préfet for example, in Senegal, this is not the case, because people are increasingly close to the mayor, or to any other State representative.

The creation of a High Council for Social Dialogue is an opportunity for the State to ease social tensions and to encourage mediation among all the stakeholders.

However, the terrorist threat is much more insidious. It is an invisible enemy that must be defeated everywhere it plans to attack, especially in this current type of so-called asymmetric warfare.

Since armed men attacked the restaurant called 'Cappuccino', and the hotel called 'Splendid', in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, on January 15, 2016, caused the death of nearly 30 persons, and wounded 50 persons⁴⁹, Senegal prepared itself even more, through the strengthening of its response mechanisms and of its security apparatus. Concerning the entry points, search operations were conducted recently along some roads, especially the one leading to the Gambia.

Yet, the warning system put in place is not perfect, and it should be improved because there is no such thing as risk zero in the fight against terrorism. Similarly, the fight against trafficking in illicit drugs and arms, against cattle theft, organized crime, to name a few, requires a lot more resources, as well as a continuous adaptation to the context.

Very much aware of the need to address quickly the issue of the unemployment of young people, the Government of Senegal has carried out a specific policy for this purpose. However, the job opportunities were insufficient in comparison to the demand.

Civil society organizations have no official mandate, with regard to the security and defense mission, but they increasingly tend to get involved, provide some assistance, and give some advice. Although it is clear that the fight against insecurity in the country cannot be carried out successfully without all key players being involved in the process, the State is still slow to invest in building the capacity of all the stakeholders. In the southern part of the country, Senegal has created a framework for dialogue, but the high number of the people involved complicates the process of bringing peace back in the region.

⁴⁹ KARIMI Faith and BETSIS Sandra [Online], Burkina Faso attack: At least 29 dead, scores freed after hotel siege, cnn.com, January 18, 2016. Available on: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/01/16/africa/burkina-faso-hotel-terrorist-attack/>

The State has the means to deal with these challenges and threats, if it really wants to achieve this goal. Thus, rather than proceeding with an individualistic method, it should use a comprehensive approach, which should be about creating a synergy of experiences and of information sharing mechanisms.

The security services lack the right skills, in terms of dealing appropriately with this nebulous threat security. This is a new risk for the State that war schools have not evaluated properly yet. Terrorists blend with the population, and travel with other passengers in trains and buses. The weapons used are not necessarily those of modern warfare. Nowadays, it is not big battalions or fleets that are required, but very motivated small groups instead, that take part in a so-called asymmetric war, as in David versus Goliath. The primary weapon is to take the enemy by surprise. Terrorists attack where they are not expected to show. Therefore, the Senegalese State should learn to anticipate. This should include not only the tactical aspect, but also the structural and sociological ones, i.e., create special forces that are discrete, well-informed and quick to react. Educating and sensitizing the masses would be useful to the intelligence services, in this respect. The State should be vigilant, regarding the likelihood of suicide attacks during religious gatherings or in the big markets. Security forces should no longer differentiate women and children from other suspects, because terrorists rely more and more on the women and children to carry out the destructive actions.

The State's efforts are increasingly visible through Plan Sénégal Emergent, which aims at improving the economic conditions across the country. Some progress should be noticed, in this regard.

Senegal has signed several international conventions and is implementing development projects and programs accordingly. It is trying to address its various security challenges by carrying out such projects as: PAGOSAN, with a focus on food security, livestock, and health; PAODES, with a focus on healthcare delivery; PERACOD, with a focus on renewable energy; PROGEDE, with a focus on sustainable energy production, among others. However, this effort remains largely insufficient, and it does not provide opportunities all over the country.

With regard to the protection of the environment, Senegal has banned the use of plastic bags. The corresponding law came into effect on January 4th, 2016. It prohibited the production, importation and stocking of plastic bags, and addressed the question of how to manage used plastic bags and garbage. The correlation between the proliferation of plastic bags and terrorism lies in the fact that garbage dumps are created here and there without any respect for the law, and they could be used to dissimulate bombs or other types of deadly weapons.

Indeed, a special clean-up project was carried out in the city of Dakar by the UCG, or Unit for the Coordination of Solid Waste Management, and it had identified 630 illegal dumps that represented not only ecological bombs, but also as many opportunities for terrorists to hide bombs in various neighborhoods²⁰.

When it comes to handling the rapid erosion of the coastline, the solutions adopted so far are not very convincing. In this regard, The Netherlands has funded a major program regarding the effects of climate change in Senegal. It is mostly about fighting against the erosion of the coastline, protecting the fishing zones, and replanting mangrove for reforestation purposes. One may also refer to such cases as the building of a dyke in Rufisque, the fixing of cliffs along the Corniche roadway, and the planting of trees and bushes on the northern coastlines.

The Government has been carrying out an intensive prevention campaign, through the Ministry of Health and Social Action, for more than a year now, in order to prevent the spread of the Ebola epidemic. Strengthening the capabilities of all public, para-public and private sector healthcare providers in the context of fighting the Ebola virus, handling sick patients, and providing protection equipment, medicines, hygiene and health products, laboratory and testing materials, represent some important efforts on the part of the State.

In addition, Emergency Center was created in January 2015 to facilitate the implementation of the plan adopted by the Government, or any other critical situation that might arise.

The public healthcare services are now in a position to respond to the Ebola threat. But, they would perform even better if the State could continue to provide them with medical supplies and hygiene kits, to strengthen the capacity of healthcare personnel, to improve the conditions within the isolation and treatment centers, and to improve communication strategies in the communities.

V. THE SUPPORTIVE STAKEHOLDERS

Among the State authorities, there are the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and his Government, as well as the security forces.

At the level of non-State stakeholders, there are NGOs, CONGAD, civil society and opinion leaders, political parties, civic movements, the press, dignitaries and religious leaders, associations, development partners and donor agencies, groups of women, youth organizations, families, communities, researchers and scholars, who play an important role, and whose involvement is essential.

²⁰ <http://aps.sn/actualites/societe/societe/article/environ-630-bombes-ecologiques-identifies-a-dakar-selon-ibrahima-diagne>

VI. SENEGAL AND OTHER SAHELO-SAHARAN STATES

Like most of the Sahelo-Saharan countries, Senegal has strategic interests based on its geographical position and its historical and cultural heritage, including their Triangular Trade dimension. This makes Senegal a crossroads of influences from all over the world, and a convergence zone for Africa, Europe and America.

Its capital-city, Dakar, has a port and an international airport. Senegal has a coastline of more 700 kilometers, which extends from St. Louis to Casamance. Thousands of mangroves in the Sine-Saloum, and Casamance, the so-called 'green granary of Senegal', remain great assets for the country. Different ethnic groups and religions coexist in a context of recurring jokes meant to solidify social relations. Senegal influences decision-making processes at the international level. Its Head of State is currently chairing the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS), and the country is holding a seat at the Security Council of the United Nations. Although these positions are temporary in nature, they tend to reflect a certain position of privilege for Senegal, which is considered a "small great power" in some circles. Senegal is either chairing or coordinating the activities of a number of international organizations like NEPAD, ECOWAS, International Organization of La Francophonie, UEMOA peace and security initiatives, UNESCO programs, etc. The country earns considerable respect and prestige from these positions.

6.1. Sub-regional Cooperation

Senegal and the other Sahelo-Saharan States face the same security challenges, because the similarities in terms of languages and cultures create a continuum across West Africa. When something happens in Senegal, it impacts Guinea-Conakry, and progresses all the way to Nigeria.

Sub-regional and regional cooperation should be promoted further. It should lead to concrete and visible acts. It may help address the current challenges, but on the condition that it begins internally. This means that it must stem from the will of the political leaders of the region, who are at the beginning and at the end of all major decisions.

The creation of the OTAO, or Organization of West African Workers, allows the countries to exchange their experiences when it comes to dealing with employment issues. Coordinated advocacy actions should be carried out in each of the States. Unfortunately, the countries in question do not give themselves the proper means to implement a relevant sub-regional program of cooperation. In case of security crisis, these countries, most of which were colonized by France, expect some type of relief from the former colonial power. Cooperation between their Intelligence services is not necessarily effective. The ECOWAS countries are making some efforts, but these remain insufficient. The said countries have created an institutional framework to facilitate dialogues, but some of them, like Nigeria, share borders with Cameroon in Central Africa, a region that is considered the soft underbelly of Africa.

Regional and even continental organizations have been set up to bring together such security and defense authorities like the police chiefs, gendarmerie directors, joint-chiefs of staff of the armed forces, but the cooperation mechanisms are not working well enough to allow the destruction of the existing security challenges and threats.

6.2. Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation

Ms. Herut Gebreselassie, Special Envoy of the United Nations in the Sahel, delivered some unifying speeches.

Thus, even though Senegal is not a member-state, at this point, of the Sahelian Group of 5 (or G5), which groups Mauritania, Mali, Chad, Niger and Burkina Faso, for the purpose of working on joint development policies, it would be useful to keep this regional organization open, and to get Senegal to join later.

According to Mr. Mankeur Ndiaye, the Senegalese Minister of the Foreign Affairs, the country is the 7th provider of troops for peace keeping missions around the world. This gives Senegal a prominent place regarding the various programs of cooperation for peace and security.

Also, the countries that are already engaged in fighting against major security challenges and serious threats, such as Boko Haram, are doing this on behalf of all the West African States. This is why the concerted action of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger must be praised.

The development partners operate in the countries of the region according to their own priorities. However, these priorities do not always match the development needs of the countries in question.

The high number of decision-makers, regarding the same issues and programs, is often regrettable because this leaves, most of time, the local partners with the same difficulties to handle later on.

The strategies adopted by the bilateral and multilateral partners of the Sahelo-Saharan States are good overall, but they should always be revisited, re-evaluated every time, in order to be improved. Certainly, they take into account the challenges that the countries are really facing. This would explain why programs of cooperation are maintained with such partners and friends as the European Union, the United States and others that are still interested in pushing this multifaceted cooperation forward.

The West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) were used to carry out many efforts at the sub-regional and regional levels, regarding the conservation of marine and coastal resources, for example. But many other problems remain and must be solved. The recent COP 21 agreement is

a potential source of 'green funds' that could be used to finance many projects and programs in Senegal, particularly when it comes to protecting the environment.

Senegal has a pressing need to handle effectively separatist impulses in Casamance and to curb Islamist radicalism, which is surging all over West Africa and elsewhere in the world. Some neighboring States could use such issues as a leverage to put pressure on the Government. Sometimes, adversarial relationships affect negatively the overall context of cooperation between Senegal and the Gambia. Regarding Islamist radicalism, it is in the interest of all countries to fight it.

Free trade between the States in question would materialize a common market, induce stability and regional integration, and contribute to development. Although the States have the same interests, there is still the problem of taxes and customs fees that traders must pay when they need to cross borders. This situation must be corrected by the States.

At the environmental level, the challenge that coastal erosion represents is visible in all the West African countries that have coastlines, from Mauritania to Cameroon.

With reference to terrorism, all the countries of the world are concerned with this threat, because no country is immune to this transnational problem. Thus, each country should realize that there can be no individual solution. All the countries should fight together to fix the problem in a collective manner.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to mitigate all the security threats that Senegal is facing, various measures have been recommended in relation to the nature of the threats. First and foremost, it is crucial to address the issues of disparity and injustice, which are the root cause of radicalism.

With regard to the defense sector, security institutions need to be strengthened, have their number increased, and gain in professionalism. It is absolutely necessary to keep an eye on any form of radicalization, and to fight against religious extremism. The emphasis should be put on the training of the masses, especially young people. Border control units should be deployed frequently. Populations likely to be exposed to security threats should get more attention. Securing the coastal areas and maritime activities, controlling and regulating the ownership of small arms, and fighting against trafficking human-beings represent other priorities. The implementation of an effective system of fighting against cybercrime, with some harsh and perennial sanctions, would also contribute to countering the identified scourge.

Security matters have remained, for a long time, the exclusive domain of the State and its armed forces. To change this paradigm, a reform of the security sector is essential. It would involve civil society organizations and other private stakeholders that should also be fighting against insecurity, in a context of democratization and active participation of all the key players.

With regard to social security, priority should be given to the implementation of projects and programs that create jobs, especially for young people and women. There is also the need to ensure more transparency in the hiring processes, to give equal opportunities to job seekers, and to avoid favoritism. Other measures include normal working conditions for all employees, the strengthening of social dialogue, the fight against poverty and unemployment, efficient policies that would slow down the phenomenon of 'rural exodus'.

With regard to economic security, it would be important to foster human development, and consider it an indicator of development, in addition to increasing the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Exercising a tighter control over capital flows, particularly when funds are transferred outside the country, is a necessity. The Senegalese diaspora should be involved in implementing development policies, and be given a leading role in managing the resources they have helped generate at national level. It is also important to promote handicrafts, to add more value to domestic products, and to support small and medium-sized businesses, in order to increase their productivity. This would help create a national economic system which would take the informal sector into account.

With regard to the environment, policies that promote the devolution of power should be promoted, with an emphasis on regional development and a better distribution of the population across the national territory. Dakar represents 0.5% of the surface area of the country, but it counts one fourth of the population. The international standards about the quality of life recommend 8 square meters of green space per capita but, in Dakar, the ratio is 0.6 square meter per capita. Thus, a very good policy of decentralization should be implemented in order to set up factories, universities, and businesses in all the regions of the country. This would provide all Senegalese, wherever they may live, with more ground to claim and to enjoy their citizenship.

Energy resources should not be wasted and energy conservation measures should be promoted. Reforestation efforts should be carried out through planting trees that adapt to the effects of climate change across the national territory and the sub-region. Public transportation, as with trains and buses, should be promoted instead of individual means of transportation. Recycling initiatives should be encouraged, especially such actions as recycling used electronic devices, composting, and using ordinary food containers and baskets for groceries shopping.

With regard to food security, rice production should be given a priority as the overall food self-sufficient policy gets implemented. School canteens must meet the norms and used as ways to add value to food crops that produced and processed locally women. Such food products are: araw, sankhale, thiacy²¹ peanut butter, and fruits and vegetables that may transformed into natural juice without any added chemical products. Facilitating the marketing of local products will

²¹ Local cereals/plants

help greatly to boost the economy and to consolidate the economic empowerment of people in general, and of women in particular, given that women are most involved in the processing of local products.

Encouraging people to change their eating habits and to consume greater quantities of local products should be a priority, and the importing of food products should be limited to a strict minimum. Organizations like AFAO, which produces 21 types of food products at its unit located in Gorom, and the Center for the Training of Women, which also stands as an incubator of women's projects, want to make school canteens and good nutrition a top priority, especially in rural and peri-urban areas. Locally produced rice, corn, couscous, fondé, lakkousow and lakkoubissap can help Senegal and countries with similar food traditions and diets as the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, and Guinea-Conakry, to improve their balance of payments by reducing the deficit caused by the importation of foreign rice, milk and wheat.

Food demand is expected to double by 2020. In the Maputo Declaration adopted by the African Union (2003), African countries have committed to allocate 10% of their annual budget to the agricultural sector. The productivity level should increase, while the total quantities of food that get lost or wasted should be reduced. Approximately two thirds of the African labor force are engaged in agriculture. Thus, setting up a large scale and sustainable model of food production and consumption would improve the income, nutrition situation, and capacity to adjust to climate change for many.

Access to land and to farm inputs is a necessity. Making more food processing devices available would add value and increase food production in Senegal. Africa is very large. The continent faces a significant problem when it comes to managing well the land areas and resources, in order to achieve a number of development objectives.

Food security, access to potable water, preserving biodiversity, and sustainable livelihoods remain significant challenges because population growth is causing several regions to experience higher population densities.

Health safety should not be forgotten. In this context, it would be important to strengthen the healthcare system, by providing adequate supplies and well-trained staff, by managing well the water-hygiene-sanitation system, and by consolidating the border control and community oversight mechanisms. Access to primary healthcare services and to medical expertise backed by adequate equipment is a priority that should be taken into account.

With regard to politics, it is crucial to revisit the eligibility criteria that should apply to candidates, and the funding criteria that should apply to political parties, in order to reduce the likelihood of their proliferation and to measure their credibility. Senegal is known for its maturing democracy. Thus, political parties should harmonize their notions of democracy, in order to avoid misunderstandings when it comes to their rights and their duties. They should also sensitize their respective members, so these individuals are better equipped to identify and to prevent violence during electoral rounds. Political parties should think about socio-economic benefits also, and not just political gains, when they delineate electoral precinct. A large awareness campaign should be carried out to get people to voice their concern and to vote massively during the referendum of March 20, 2016, which is about reducing the presidential term.

At the sub-regional level, the setting up of a platform of action and reflections, regarding the different problems that Sahelian countries should address, is an option to be considered. It would encompass a framework for dialogue, while joint programs should be put in place to better handle the challenges. Cooperation would facilitate the sharing of information and experiences, pool resources together, and allow the rapid materializing of political decisions taken at the sub-regional, regional and international levels. Policy-makers should no longer decide by and for themselves only, but rather take into account the interests of all stakeholders.

The development of education in Africa is a priority. Pan-Africanism, unifying the regions first, and the whole continent of Africa next, are an essential step toward achieving a holistic, sustainable and lasting security.

Regarding the case of Africa, Professor Joseph Ki-Zerbo declared that "[one should not seek development, one should just develop]". This notion of "self-development" requires that Senegal sets up its own system in order to achievement its human development objectives. This would help reduce insecurity at the national and sub-regional levels. This notion of self-development implies also cross-cutting recommendations that touch on all the themes discussed earlier. The concept of differentiating 'decision-makers' from 'guides' should be highlighted here. According to Professor Samba Buri Mboup, African leaders should want to be exemplary guides, instead of remaining decision-makers who simply take decisions and carry out orders. Professor Mboup indicated also that leaders should inspire the populations, and implement policies that transform society in order to bring about positive change. Such transforming of society would give a new life to African values like the philosophical notion of Ubuntu that says "I am because we are", like restoring the authority and prestige associated with being a teacher, and like keeping the family as the foundation of society.

Educating and making people aware of good and bad behaviors is another priority, with regard to civic engagement.

De-radicalization centers should be set up and best practices should be promoted, as in the case of England and Scotland Yard. English people are raised and taught in such a way that accountability becomes like a reflex, and the same could be said about calling an emergency number to report something unusual or getting people to use trash cans so the environment stays clean.

It is also important to instill in young people the sense of citizenship and the notion of civic engagement because human security should be taken seriously, to the point of restoring such norms as trust, the rule of law, a clear political vision and the carrying out of decisions taken previously. To do this, it is necessary to strengthen the capabilities of all the key players within both the security forces and the civil society organizations, in terms of personal safety. Enhanced capabilities and adequate resources would allow stakeholders to be successful. The involvement of intellectuals, of political, religious, social and sports authorities, is also essential. They should participate more to the discussion and to the implementation of programs. The diaspora also has a key role to play.

Promoting research and innovation, for the use of specific resources and exclusive brands, is a necessity, when it comes to dealing with insecurity and implementing effective preventive mechanisms.

Twelve (12) key recommendations:

- Keep track of any form of radicalization and fight against religious extremism;
- Promote good governance and take more into account the needs of the population;
- Strengthen the security institutions, increase their number and improve their level of professionalism;
- Emphasize the control over ownership of small weapons and fight against the trafficking in human beings;
- Set up an effective system to fight against cybercrime and maritime insecurity by adopting harsher and long-term sanctions;
- Strengthen preventive mechanisms;
- Implement a reform of the security sector, and involve the civil society and other private stakeholders in the fight against insecurity;
- Implement priority projects and programs that generate jobs, especially for young people and women;
- Address the food security in its totality, by focusing efforts on self-sufficiency and the protection of the environment;
- Promote bilateral and multilateral partnership;
- Strengthen frameworks for dialogue, and encourage regular exchanges and the pooling of resources between Sahelian countries;
- Emphasize education and sensitization among the masses, especially young people and adults.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Sometimes named a "little super power", Senegal is a country that plays an important role in fighting against insecurity, due to its geographic position as well as his standing in sub regional, regional and international bodies. The security issue is crucial, and it deserves the attention of all the stakeholders, including the State. It should be taken into account in a holistic manner, and cross-cutting measures should be incorporated.

Senegal should address effectively its structural human insecurity problem, while it protects all its borders. It should set up effective prevention mechanisms, which include an assessment of the best practices and lessons learned, in order to adapt them to its specific context. This strategy requires a good understanding of all of the insecurity issues, as well as ways to mitigate them. Increased attention should be given to the identified threat through the setting up of a monitoring and analysis system that would pool forces together. The process of sharing experiences at the sub-regional, regional and international levels should be strengthened via bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

General Mamadou Mansour Seck has specified the threat as follows: "Monotony and routine kill vigilance. But the surprise effect is the biggest threat and it hits where it is expected the least".

If a series of recommendations has been proposed in the context of this study, the one that has been emphasized the most is about good governance and managing well State resources, followed by taking into consideration the needs of the population.

It is also interesting to note that, throughout the study, only one person, who does not live in the Casamance region, has mentioned the conflict that has been occurring in the southern part of the country for more than 33 years, as a critical security issue. So, it seems that the majority of the interviewees are more concerned with the importing of terrorism, as a major source of personal insecurity.

Therefore, the terrorism problem should count among the priorities of the State.



DIALOGUES

SECURITAIRES
DANS L'ESPACE
SAHELO - SAHARIEN

Biography of the author

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Summary

The country-based studies highlight the nature of the State and the key question of governance in the Sahelo-Saharan region. The types of relations that the State maintains with the populations become a crucial issue when one considers the identity/ethnic dimensions of the demands that minority groups often express at the risk of destabilizing the entire region. The issues of violent extremism and of crime organized across borders are also discussed.

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