

Illicit drug trading in Dakar

Dimensions and intersections with governance

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Summary

The authors provide a thorough analysis of the situation with regard to illegal drugs in Senegal's capital, Dakar. The paper focuses on cannabis, cocaine and heroine, as well as counterfeit pharmaceutical products. It discusses the extent of cultivation, patterns of consumption, international trafficking methods and routes, the role of women, police action and the impact of trafficking on governance. It is concluded that while there is no evidence that hard drugs are manufactured in Dakar and there are insufficient indicators for Dakar being a drug trafficking hub, it is evident that crime networks are interested in exploiting the city for the channelling of drugs to other parts of the world.

ONCE THE CAPITAL OF French West Africa during the colonial period from 1902 to 1958, and then of the short-lived Mali Federation in 1959, the city of Dakar became the political and economic capital of the newly independent state of Senegal in 1960. As one of the few countries in Africa that has never experienced a military coup d'état, Senegal is considered politically stable. It is situated to the south of the Sahara desert, at the westernmost end of the African continent, 6 132 km from New York, 4 371 km from London, 4 202 km from Paris, 6 619 km from Cape Town and 5 036 km from Rio de Janeiro.¹ Its airport was designated as a major stop-over from the early days of commercial air transport.²

During the 18th century Dakar was nothing more than a village. The name reportedly featured on a map for the first time in 1750.³ The first buildings appeared in 1857 in the wake of the construction of a French fort. This was followed by the design of an initial cadastral plan, according to which development began in 1858.⁴ The city was built to meet certain strategic and administrative needs of the French colonial empire and it thus became a symbol and crucial pillar of the French imperial project in Africa. It served as the starting point for conceptualising and fine-tuning France's political dominance over West Africa in particular. Given its advantageous location, and its cosmopolitan population, Dakar serves

as a crucial link in international relations and affairs.⁵

Dakar boasts a telecommunications and infrastructure network that makes the city a favourite destination for cultural, political and economic events of an international nature. The metropolis covers an area of 547 km² and constitutes 0,3 per cent of Senegal's total size of 196 712 km². The establishment in Dakar of large industrial plants for the production of export-oriented goods and the re-packaging of imported products for the local Senegalese market have turned the city into an industrial hub of the region. Dakar has become Senegal's leading centre since the country's key economic activities rely on services provided by the city. It has also become a

focal point for domestic and cross-border migration.

A breakdown by age group in 2008 indicated that Dakar's population was essentially very young, with 44,7 per cent being under the age of 20 years and more than 70 per cent being below the age of 35.⁶ The over 60 age-group constituted slightly more than five per cent of the population. In 2007, average life expectancy was estimated at 59,8 years, though it is higher amongst women at 61,3 years.⁷

Cannabis is the drug most commonly used in Dakar and in Senegal. Because it is readily available and comparatively cheap, cannabis is by far the most popular drug and is used by people across the social strata. During a debate on 'the security of citizens and their property' in the National Assembly on 4 June 2013, the Minister of Interior, General Pathé Seck, announced that in 2012 about 1,5 t of cannabis, 12,45 kg of cocaine and 36 g of heroin had been seized by the Senegalese police. Trafficking of drugs in Senegal is dominated by Dakar, closely followed by Kaolack, a gateway city with connections to Mali and The Gambia.⁸ The following areas of Dakar are known for the storage and concealment of cannabis in particular:

- Keur Mbaye Fall (suburbs)
- Mbao Protected Forest
- Mbeubeusse (a household waste dumping site)⁹
- Boune (Pikine)¹⁰

Cannabis is readily obtained in the Dakar suburbs of Pikine, Guédiawaye, Parcelles Assainies, Thiaroye, Yeumbeul and Keur Massar, as well as in Rufisque, 25 km from Dakar. The Dakar neighbourhoods are home to the urban poor who migrated from rural areas in search of a better life. Some of them are involved in the trafficking of cannabis.

Much of the cannabis found in Dakar is cultivated on farms in the region. It is often grown on small patches of land in the fertile market-garden region of Niayes, an area of about 100 km² along the coast extending almost up to Saint-Louis in the north-west of the country. The plants are hidden among normal crops. Small cannabis farms, often managed by women, yield a good income. For example, the price paid to a farmer for 5 kg of cannabis, the proceeds from three or four plants, is equivalent to the income obtained from 2 ha of potatoes. However, because the land available for farming is shrinking under the pressure of land required for housing, as well as energetic law enforcement activities, the cultivation of cannabis is declining in the Niayes region. Dakar's cannabis supply is becoming more and more dependent on certain Senegalese farmers who, in their quest for larger incomes, are abandoning subsistence crops in favour of cannabis cultivation. Traffickers are prepared to pay the

A sharp increase in the abuse of cannabis in Dakar has been noted

farmers a high price, often in advance of delivery. This applies to the Karones islands, and Blouff and Sine Saloum in particular.¹¹ A large proportion of the cannabis supply to the Dakar market comes from farms in the hinterland.¹²

It should be noted that cannabis cultivation has spread from the Grande Zone des Niayes to other parts of Senegal. Today, areas that can and are being used for cannabis cultivation are scattered across the country, as follows:

- The Gandiol-Saint-Louis region of the Niayes
- Along the Senegal River up to La Pointe de Sangomar
- Along the tributary of Sine Saloum
- The Saloum islands

- The south, especially in the Département de Bignona
- The Kolda region close to the border with Guinea Bissau

The Casamance region in the southern part of Senegal, is considered to be Senegal's largest cannabis cultivation area. Criminality in the region is worsened by the insecurity that has prevailed there for three decades. The Niayes (Dakar-Gandiol-Saint-Louis corridor) supports vast cannabis distribution and trading networks. In the past few years, there have been reports of bartering with cattle owners exchanging their livestock, stock-feed and even staple food stocks for cannabis. It is as difficult to estimate the amount of cannabis produced in this region as it is to mount eradication campaigns there.

According to data provided by the drug squad of the Senegalese police, cannabis is encountered in several varieties, including verte de Mboro,

which is a locally improved variety; Green Makut, a variety from the Gambia; Lopito or Lops from Ghana; Bouddha, an 'improved' variety from Casamance; Ganila from Mali;¹³ and the Salsa or 'Colombian' variety introduced in 1996.

A sharp increase in the abuse of cannabis in Dakar has been noted. This can be attributed to its availability, but also to recreational smoking by unemployed youth. The average age of users is quite low, with first-time users being as young as 12 or 13 years old.¹⁴ Cannabis is known to be used at academic institutions such as the University of Dakar and Dakar high schools.

Cannabis trafficking in Dakar

We draw a distinction between dealers and traffickers on the basis of the scale of

their trade. The money generated by the cannabis trade has attracted both small dealers and 'major traffickers'. While the trade affects many neighbourhoods, it is mainly in the more populous neighbourhoods that trading is most frequent and open. The most notorious areas are Niary-Tally, Grand-Dakar and Yoff, and the suburbs of Thiaroye, Pikine and Guédiawaye.

Despite the authorities' efforts, these areas continue to be the favourite hangouts of cannabis dealers and traffickers. Drugs are also sold in the major markets of Dakar. There is a virtual 'code of silence' in the poor neighbourhoods. According to the police, the inhabitants are either accomplices or reluctant witnesses. Even where residents might know the traffickers, they will not report them. Whether this is because of some assistance that they may have received from such traffickers or because of social relationships is a matter of speculation. However, during our study it was also repeatedly pointed out that Senegalese people generally do not report one another to the police as this is considered a form of cowardice.¹⁵ Furthermore, the police's relationship with the public is not conducive to unsolicited cooperation; they are perceived to be unfriendly and corrupt. Even so, the police are able to report daily arrests for cannabis trafficking in the neighbourhoods mentioned

The police regularly arrest 'packet retailers', small dealers selling 'cones', the normal name for a small measure of the drug. Cannabis is sold secretly in homes or on the street. Indeed, to find small quantities of cannabis, all it takes is to go to certain street corners. Unsolicited approaches by dealers offering cones are common. Small street-corner dealers will keep the drugs in their pockets, buried in the sand or hidden in a dump site or under abandoned

vehicles as they wait for customers. More serious traffickers have transport of some sort. Currently, motorbikes are the most common. Indeed, a motorbike is a good hiding place for the average dealer as it allows the unobtrusive transport of 2 kg to 3 kg of cannabis. Bigger traffickers use motor vehicles and canoes to carry drugs to Dakar, especially onto and from the beaches in Bargy and Sendou. Cannabis is often landed along Senegal's 118 km long coast.

Foirail de la Seras and the Malian commercial road-transport station in Mbao are considered hotspots for

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cannabis trafficking in Dakar. Most big dealers get their supplies from there. When questioned on the subject, the police and gendarmerie in Senegal stated categorically that there were no organised criminal networks actively involved in the dealing or trafficking of cannabis.¹⁶ They also pointed out that, although traffickers and dealers may sometimes have violent confrontations among themselves, the level of violence was not on the levels seen in South Africa or Nigeria. The police reported that traffickers very rarely use firearms.¹⁷

The police perception on criminal networks may be based on a narrow definition of organised crime. Our study shows that cannabis is produced on a systematic basis by producers that are paid in advance. The drug is then passed on to buyers who arrange for the transportation of the cannabis to urban markets where it is concealed by wholesalers until such time as it can be distributed to dealers for retail. The absence of violence or the limited extent thereof is not a decisive factor. Comprehensive profiling of the networks dealing in cannabis will underscore this argument further.

Trafficking of hard drugs

No hard drugs are produced in Dakar. Yet, it is evident that cocaine and heroin are trafficked in the city. Cases heard by the Assize Court since 2008 show that cocaine trafficking is on the increase. The matter of the State versus Franck Koma, a Nigerian national, involved 10 packets containing a total of 5 kg of cocaine mixed with 10 kg of white powder.¹⁸ The accused was also found in possession of a Guinean passport. In another case, Mr Douglas Quashie, a Ghanaian national, was arrested along with a certain Aïssatou P Diallo on a pier in Dakar as the

former disembarked from the Aline Sitoé Diatta boat that had just arrived from Ziguinchor. Some 4,5 kg of cocaine was found in their possession and they were charged with criminal conspiracy and international cocaine trafficking.¹⁹ Since the foreign element could not be proven, the international drug trafficking charge had to be revised to one of inland transportation of high-risk drugs.

In matters involving international drug trafficking the foreign element is a determining factor. Dakar is increasingly proving to be a transit zone in international drug trafficking. Several entry points have been identified. Dakar's Leopold Sedar Senghor International Airport is a major transit point. The port of Dakar on the Atlantic coast is another entry point into Senegal, while the third is the Gambian border in the southern part of the country. In addition, the express train from Mali provides access to Senegal that can be abused for smuggling drugs. Senegal also shares a border with Guinea-Bissau, which has been implicated in the smuggling of cocaine from production areas in South America to West Africa. Reports indicate that cocaine from the Andean regions of South America

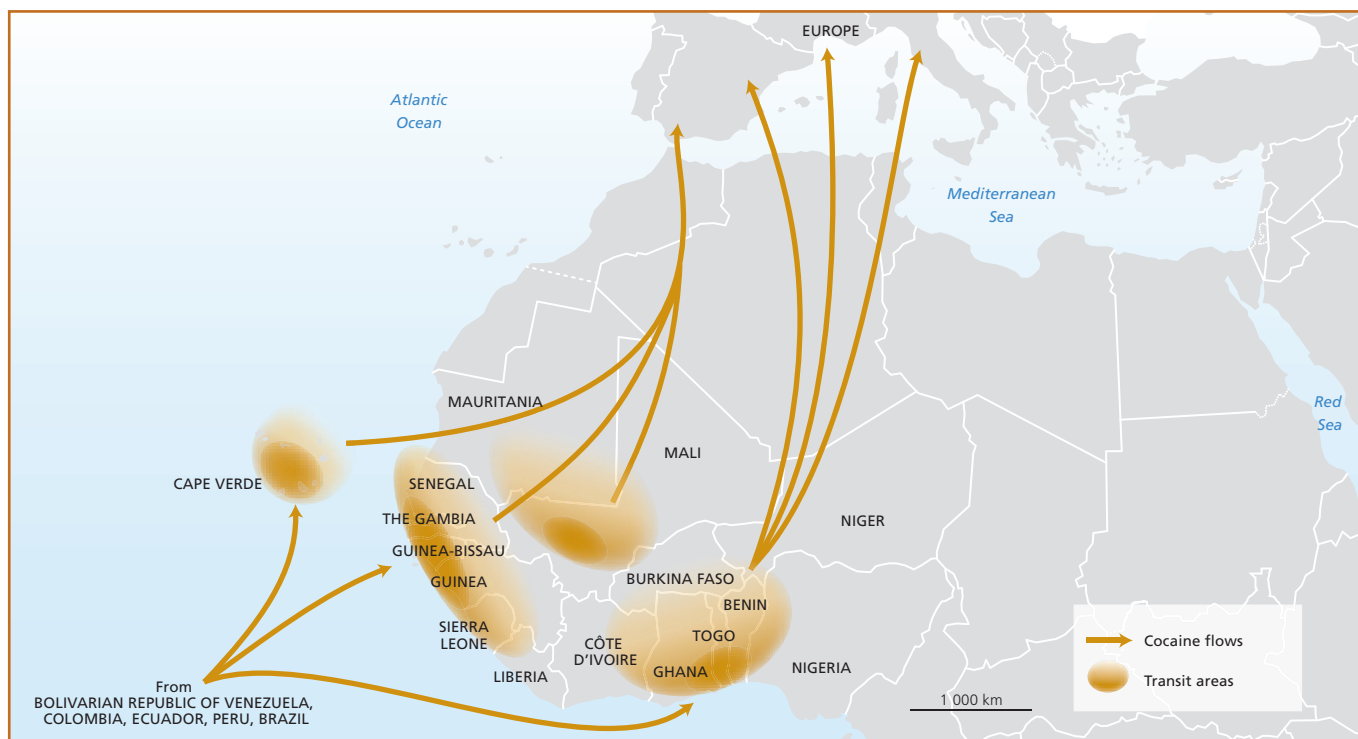


Figure 1: Cocaine trafficking routes through West Africa

Source: UNODC Report on transnational organised crime in West Africa—October 2013

is procured by a consortium of South American and West African traffickers. Nigerian nationals appear to dominate these groups. The cocaine is then transported to West Africa, predominantly by ship as this permits larger volumes to be carried and interception by anti-drug agencies avoided with ease. Sao Paulo and Salvador in Brazil are important departure points. Venezuela and the Caribbean islands of Martinique and the

seizures indicates, however, that the three most regularly targeted countries are Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea-Bissau. When the cocaine is destined for Europe it is transported across the Sahara to the shores of Morocco.²⁰ There are indications that individuals with dual or multiple nationalities have become central to the management of the trafficking routes that link South America and West Africa. Their growing significance has emerged

both sides of the Atlantic to establish routes through the Gambia that are worth billions of dollars.²¹

By far the greatest source of concern is the proximity of Senegal to Guinea-Bissau, a country that has been characterised as Africa's 'first narco-state'. Among the reasons for this uncharitable description is the use of its territory to traffic drugs, mainly cocaine, from South America. A United Nations study concluded that 'up to 2 200 pounds of cocaine was flown into Guinea-Bissau every night, and more arrived by sea. As many as 50 drug lords from Colombia are based in Guinea-Bissau, controlling the cocaine trade and bribing the military and politicians to protect it.'²² Of particular significance is the influence of such trade on the functioning of the fledgling institutions of state. It has been described as follows:²³

'Through the drug trade, certain senior officials, both in the military and civilian sectors, have been able to amass unprecedented wealth and influence, making them less beholden

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Dutch Antilles are also significant staging points. The cocaine is landed on West African shores from the ships direct or by using smaller craft, such as speed boats and fishing vessels. The coastline between Dakar and Saly is littered with landing points for speed boats.

Some of the cocaine, estimated to total between 20 t and 50 t annually, eventually enters Dakar. The proportion of the trade transiting through Senegal has not been quantified. Data on interceptions and

since the turn of this century. One of the nationalities held is invariably that of a South American or Caribbean country.

A typical scheme is to establish and register a business in a West African state. The fishing industry provides a convenient cover since it affords the opportunity to bring in drugs and a trade with which to explain any funds that may accrue to the operator. Some of the individuals implicated in drug trafficking through West Africa have used their legal presence on

to the constraints of their offices, other institutions, or the political system. Their decisions are opportunistic, based on personal interests, and arbitrary. Meanwhile, power shifts have become more frequent and violent given the huge amounts of money involved in the drug trade relative to the economy. This transcends previous patterns of corruption and patronage in Guinea-Bissau, which required a certain degree of inter-elite or cross-institutional support. Drug trafficking has provided both the means and motive to sidestep the state, and it has sparked its own fierce competition. It has weakened the state as a whole, as institutions are co-opted.'

The scenario described approximates what may also be called 'criminal governance'.

Isabella Atechhking Leke, a Cameroon national working in Dakar as a cleaner, was arrested in the 'Arrivals' section of Dakar Airport by agents of the Central Bureau for Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking (OCRTIS). In a urine test she tested positive for cocaine and a subsequent X-ray showed the presence of 65 drug pellets in her abdomen. She claimed to have been transporting the drugs for a fee of €3 000. On that occasion she was in transit from Brazil to Cameroon, the final destination of the cocaine. Other cases indicate the growing role of women as couriers. According to OCRTIS data, Senegalese women initially only played secondary roles, usually working for a fee as couriers for major drug dealers. Since the 1980s, however, women have taken on more prominent roles within large networks. The 1 943 women arrested around the country for drug use and trafficking during the decade leading up to 2010 demonstrates the magnitude of the problem in Senegal.

The heavy involvement of foreign nationals in Dakar's drug industry, long suspected

but hitherto often a matter of speculation, fully emerged in 2011. Nationals from 13 countries were implicated in international drug trafficking arrests, namely Cape Verdeans, South Africans, Spaniards, Argentineans, Germans, Ivorians, Malians, Guineans, Gambians, Nigerians, Ghanaians, Bissau-Guineans and Senegalese. Criminal elements have also been found to hold positions in the most unlikely organisations. In 2009 the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) drew attention to the involvement of certain marabouts, Muslim religious leaders and teachers in West Africa, in the trafficking of drugs.²⁴

The smuggling and trafficking of counterfeit pharmaceutical products, mostly medicines, is of increasing concern

Trafficking of pharmaceuticals

The smuggling and trafficking of counterfeit pharmaceutical products, mostly medicines, is of increasing concern in Dakar. Such medicines are distributed in large quantities in Dakar and the country as a whole. It is necessary to obtain a marketing authorisation before any medicines may be sold in Senegal. Authorisation is only granted once products have been tested by a reference laboratory. However, analysing a medical substance is very expensive. Traffickers therefore smuggle counterfeit medicines from neighbouring countries such as Mauritania, the Gambia and Mali.

The illegal medicines are procured from Indian and Chinese laboratories specialising in the manufacture of generic drugs. The drug importer is offered a choice among different qualities of basic ingredients. For instance, oxytetracycline compound found in virtually all veterinary medicines is available in different qualities. Generally, for the first order to be subjected to authorisation testing,

the importer will choose the best quality. For subsequent orders a dishonest importer (such as a trafficker) will opt for cheaper quality drugs, which may be dangerous to health. The Dakar market contains medicines that are priced across a broad range. Some drugs manufactured in China or India, though clinically effective, have destructive public health consequences. For example, Diclofenac, which is known as *Niokète* in the Wolof language (meaning painkiller) is linked to a high rate of cardiovascular problems that are being experienced in rural areas in Senegal. These medicines are distributed in large quantities in Dakar

and upcountry. Although Diclofenac is facing heavy criticism in Europe, it is popular in rural Senegal.²⁵

Trafficking in counterfeit medicines on the parallel market occurs in three ways, as follows:

1. The trafficker is supplied with the medicines through official channels, either from the Central Pharmacy with the complicity of insiders, or through a pharmacist operating his own pharmacy. This was substantiated when pharmacists who had ordered more medicines than they required were caught in neighbouring Touba during a government inspection. Their obvious intention was to sell the surplus on the parallel market. A pharmacist who enjoys a 50 per cent profit can offer a 30 per cent commission to his retail client.
2. The trafficker brings in pharmaceutical products banned in Senegal from Mauritania.
3. The trafficker imports counterfeit medicines in containers from European countries, mainly Italy.

The profitable nature of trafficking in counterfeit pharmaceuticals explains why there are all types of medicines on the Ocas or 'discount' market of Touba at a range of prices. The market also supplies the Keur Serigne bi (home of the marabout) market located in the centre of Dakar. This centre for illicit medicine trafficking also houses a Koranic school. Those who go Keur Serigne bi looking for cheap medicines have no idea about the

three segments, namely production, transportation/distribution and selling.

No evidence has yet been found for the production of hard drugs in Dakar. However, completed investigations and legal case histories indicate that, in conjunction with their foreign counterparts, Senegalese traffickers are increasingly involved in the trafficking of cocaine and heroin. Dakar is a destination as well as transit point for

(occasionally using mules), by road and by sea.

Many inmates in the women's prisons of Liberté VI in Dakar and Rufisque have been incarcerated for drug-related activities. Senegalese women are also serving prison sentences in other countries. One of these is serving a prison term in Brazil's Sao Paulo for carrying 18 kg of cocaine, while another was arrested in the same country for having 5,6 kg of cocaine on her. Senegalese women carrying cocaine have been arrested at Casablanca airport while in transit to Europe. A Senegalese woman married to a Romanian was wanted in 2008 by the agents of the OCRTIS in a case involving 5 t of cocaine. Round about the same time, another Senegalese woman was arrested with 8 t of hashish²⁹.

Drugs are also smuggled on board the train between Senegal and Mali and on trucks travelling between Mali and Dakar to collect goods from the Dakar port. The Bissau-Banjul-Dakar route carries some of the cocaine from South America.

The only drug that appears to have a strong consumer market in Dakar is cannabis. However, it should be noted that cocaine and heroine, which used to be considered the drugs of the rich and privileged, are now being used by some of Dakar's youth. Drug addicts are often young, aged between 12 and 29. Drug-related crime, according to data provided by the penal correction services, has reached an alarming level. Most crimes tend to result either from drug abuse or trafficking with the offences committed including theft, assault, murder, rape, physical and verbal violence, and disturbance of the peace.

While there are insufficient indicators of Dakar being a drug trafficking hub, anecdotal evidence indicates that there is an interest in using the city for the channelling of drugs to other parts of

No evidence has yet been found for the production of hard drugs in Dakar

risks they are taking. Law enforcement agents have raided the market on a number of occasions and seized counterfeit pharmaceutical products, but middlemen continue to sell medicines openly to passersby nearby.

Keur Serigne bi is occupied by traders belonging to the dynamic Mouride religious brotherhood, which is prominent in the informal sector in Dakar. The brotherhood is known to command considerable political and economic clout. Successive governments have played down the illicit sale of pharmaceuticals, apparently not to alienate voters aligned to the brotherhood. In fact, former President Abdoulaye Wade declared during the inauguration of the Touba Sandaga Commercial Centre that he himself was a primary informal trader. That statement will have encouraged informal trade in all its forms. Closing or pulling down Keur Serigne bi without the permission of the Khalife Général de Touba might inflame emotions in Dakar. The market houses a religious school.²⁶

The impact of trafficking on governance

To highlight the impact of drug trafficking on host environments, the initial step is to recognise the segmented nature of the drug trade. It is structured into

these drugs. The largest seizure to date yielded 2 475 kg of cocaine in June 2012 from a deserted yacht just off the coast of Dakar and a hideout near the city. In 2013, British customs seized a consignment containing 168 kg of cocaine at Tilbury in transit from Dakar to Belgium.

It is evident that locals are involved in the transportation of drugs from Dakar to Europe for a fee that is paid in euros or dollars. The methods in use include the swallowing of balls of drugs, concealment in false-bottomed suitcases and transportation in liquid form.²⁷ A relatively novel method is to conceal the drugs in imported commodities such as electronic goods and even confectionery. The latter practice goes hand-in-hand with bogus marriages between young Senegalese women and European men. This strategy comprises several stages, which begins with a foreign trafficker settling down in a residential neighbourhood of Dakar where he starts a small business selling products such as cosmetics and electronic equipment imported from Europe or the USA. In the second stage, he 'marries' a Senegalese woman in order to integrate into the community. In the third stage, the couple establish a company that imports goods that have drugs concealed in them.²⁸ The drugs are finally smuggled out by air

the world. The networks responsible for bringing drugs to Dakar are obviously keen to ensure the success of their ventures. This brings about an interaction with public institutions. Both legitimate and illicit business entrepreneurs tend to want to influence agencies of government, political institutions and other businesses. In the case of organised crime, the intention is to incapacitate such institutions or, if that cannot be achieved, exploit or co-opt them and usurp their functions. The aspiration to dominate or exploit is not one-sided, as some commentators have observed:³⁰

‘There are many examples where political and other state institutions have taken full advantage of their positions, often co-opting organised criminal groups as a means to meet their own political and financial interests. This political-criminal nexus continues to deepen, assisted on the one hand by the dynamic and adaptive nature of criminal networks and their ability to operate and manoeuvre between physical and cyber space, and on the other by the waning legitimacy of state and political institutions across the globe.’

The collusive arrangements involving crime networks and state functionaries in Guinea-Bissau have been profiled above. In a sense, it is understandable that drug trafficking conducted via a poverty-stricken, non-consuming territory could bring about such a situation. An additional factor that could support a drift in that direction is the absence of

transparency and accountability in the funding of political parties and electoral candidates. As with legitimate business entrepreneurs, drug traffickers consider it in their interests to invest in politics. But good governance entails more than the responsible, accountable administration of public affairs. It also connotes the fair and sustainable administration of resources.³¹ The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance includes the provision of sustainable economic opportunity as a key pillar by which to measure governance.³²

At this stage of the study, evidence of the influence of drug trafficking on policing is merely anecdotal

Drug trafficking requires the management of the risks of interception and interruption by public authorities, if necessary by corrupting the system. It may also require the establishment of a foothold along smuggling routes by providing amenities, goods and services to communities or key individuals. There are numerous examples of both forms of risk management by illicit organisations from other parts of Africa³³ and from South America.³⁴

Drug trafficking cannot prosper without the collusion of officials in strategic positions, notable in the customs department. At the time of writing, a case in Dakar involving the collusion of two customs officers with some businessmen in the hotel industry and a Senegalese wrestling tycoon was pending. No case involving the complicity of a prominent politician has been reported.

At this stage of the study, evidence of the influence of drug trafficking on policing in Dakar is merely anecdotal, even though high-ranking law enforcement officer Abdoulaye Niang, who headed up OCRTIS, was implicated in the theft and re-sale of drugs seized by the police during his tenure. He was suspended in July 2013 but, after a judicial process, he has been cleared.³⁵ In a subsequent development, a police agent working at the Central Bureau for Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking (OCRTIS) was arrested as he was about to recycle and sell

cocaine pellets to a well known Nigerian trafficker in Dakar. The suspect agent accused some of his colleagues of complicity in the practice of selling seized drugs back to criminals.

A point occasionally raised is the significance of visa-free access to West African nationals for drug trafficking and other criminality in Dakar. There are perceptions that unrestricted access has allowed foreign criminal networks to do business in Dakar without affording the authorities sufficient opportunity to vet them. This argument may be valid if one considers the ease with which some questionable international persons are able to acquire the right to move freely across West Africa by gaining the nationality of an ECOWAS member state. The Gambia and, it is believed, Guinea Bissau as well, make it possible to obtain their passports at a cost of €100.

Notes

- 1 See <http://www.notre-planete.info/terre/outils/distances.php> (accessed June, 2012).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 See the '28th map of Senegal's maritime coastline, from Cape Verde to the Island of Gorée' in 'Adanson's unpublished maps of Senegal', Fig. 5, p. 98, National Archives of Senegal and France.
- 4 See Seck, Assane, *West-African Metropolis*, Mémoires de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire 85, IFAN-Dakar 1970, p. 285 and onwards.
- 5 Ndao, Momar, *Supply services in Dakar from 1914 to 1945*, [city?]: L'Harmattan, 2009, p. 9; also see Rural-urban migration and Urbanisation in Senegal, Paris: Orstrom's Records and Publications, 1977.
- 6 See *The Economic and Social Status of the Dakar Region*, Dakar: National Agency for Demography and Statistics, 2006, p. 16; also see The Dakar Job Market: employment, unemployment and working conditions in Greater Dakar, Results of phase 1 of the survey 1-2-3, DPS, May 2004.
- 7 Ibid., 18.
- 8 Declaration by the Minister of Interior, General Pathé Seck, during the burning ceremony of seized drugs on the occasion of International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking on 26 June 2013.
- 9 The Mbeubeusse dump receives 1 300 t of garbage daily from the Senegalese capital.
- 10 The Gendarmerie of Rufisque and an interview with the Police Commissioner of Pikine, Ndiara Sène.
- 11 Inter-ministerial Committee against Drugs.
- 12 Interview with the police.
- 13 Ganila is the trade mark of a high quality 'bazin riche' fabric. The cannabis of the same name is appreciated because of its high quality and the amount of money it can generate.
- 14 Inter-ministerial Committee against Drugs
- 15 Interviews conducted by Boubacar Diarisso in March and April 2013.
- 16 Interview with Inspector Chimère Ba, OCRTIS
- 17 Interview with Commissioner Camara, Head of Urban Security in Dakar. The statement was confirmed by Tamsir Diakhaté, Divisional Commissioner and former Commissioner at the Central Police Headquarters in Dakar, and by General Abdoulaye Niang of the Senegalese Gendarmerie.
- 18 See Dakar Assize Court Judgment No. 12, 2nd session of 16 November 2009)
- 19 (See Assize Court Judgment No. 6 of 1 March 2011, the State versus Douglas Quashie and Aïssatou Pathé Diallo).
- 20 See the general discussion of routes through West Africa on the African Narco News blog, available at <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/08/west-african-cocaine-routes-to-europe.html> (accessed 30 September 2013).
- 21 See <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/10/inside-1-billion-west-african-cocaine.html> (accessed October, 2013).
- 22 UN 2012 cited at <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/10/inside-1-billion-west-african-cocaine.html> (accessed October, 2013).
- 23 O'Regan D & Thompson, P. Advancing stability and reconciliation in Guinea-Bissau: lessons from Africa's first narco-State. 2013. Washington, DC: Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 21.
- 24 See <http://www.visiobooks.com/news/Societe/>
- 25 See, for instance, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/health/healthnews/9866239/>
- 26 Commonly-used-painkiller-should-be-banned-over-heart-risk.html (accessed 16 November 2013)
- 26 Perceived interference with religious leaders and institutions is regarded as sensitive., as illustrated when the charismatic Cheikh Bethio Thioune was arrested on murder charges in April 2012. See http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/20/world/africa/murder-case-against-cheikh-bethio-thioune-tests-senegals-new-government.html?_r=0 (accessed November 2012).
- 27 Information provided by the Senegalese customs department.
- 28 Interview with Special Divisional Commissioner, Abdoulaye Niang, op. cit. General Niang was subsequently accused of complicity in drug trafficking.
- 29 Interview with the Director General of Police of Senegal, Special Divisional Commissioner of Police and former Director of OCRTIS, Abdoulaye Niang.
- 30 Doherty (2001); Glenny (2009) Helgesen (2009) **[please insert full references]**
- 31 (Standing 2008)
- 32 Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance published annually and available at www.moibrahimfoundation.org.
- 33 For example, the Cape flats in South Africa.
- 34 Cano I, Violence and Organised Crime in Brazil, 2013, Berlin: Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 179–188.
- 35 The arrest was prompted by statements from a Nigerian drug trafficker that senior police officers had colluded in his activities and sold seized cocaine worth \$100 000. See media report at <http://www.africareview.com/News/Senegal-police-in-a-pickle-over-link-with-Nigerian-drug-lord/-/979180/1918744/-/lio722/-/index.html> (accessed July 18, 2013)



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