

A profile of crime markets in Dakar

Ismaïla Diallo

Summary

Several criminal markets – ranging from drug trafficking to human trafficking, piracy and counterfeiting, trafficking of pharmaceuticals, cybercrime and money laundering – can be found in Dakar, Senegal. This paper profiles those criminal markets currently active in the city and its suburbs, analysing their structures, operations and transnational dimensions. The expansion of these criminal markets is a matter of considerable concern for West Africa's economic and social development. In every case, 'regardless of the criminal market ... the common denominator is always exploitation for profit. This exploitation ultimately affects the entire country: its people and institutions; its economic prosperity; and its social fabric'.

ACCORDING TO THE Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC), a criminal market 'is a network in which buyers and sellers interact to exchange goods and services for money'.¹ Criminal markets can also be defined as illicit markets.² This illicit character does not relate to the actors or the goods and services, but to the transaction itself. In every case, 'regardless of the criminal market ... the common denominator is always exploitation for profit. This exploitation ultimately affects the entire country: its people and institutions; its economic prosperity; and its social fabric'.³ Indeed, illicit markets may include transactions on illicit goods and services such as drug or counterfeit goods as

well as transactions on licit goods and services like pharmaceutical products. But in this later case, even if goods and services are licit, the transactions are not so because they take the form of a deviation of final destination. Criminal markets thus include drug trafficking, firearms trafficking, human trafficking, the trafficking of pharmaceuticals, money laundering, cybercrime, etc.

Several criminal markets, ranging from drug trafficking to human trafficking, piracy and counterfeiting, trafficking of pharmaceuticals, cybercrime and money laundering, exist in Dakar. This report profiles some of the criminal markets currently active in the city and its suburbs. After the initial identification of

these criminal markets, through literature, media reports and/or statistics from law enforcement services, information was collected and analysed to enable a better understanding of how they are structured and how they operate. Particular attention was paid to the transnational dimensions of these criminal markets. The analysis also makes a cursory examination of their implications for governance, which will be examined in greater detail in a different paper.

The markets profiled were selected because of their growing significance and/or the availability of related data. The existence as well as expansion of any criminal market is a matter of considerable concern for the region's

economic and social development. Statistics on criminal markets are limited and, when they exist, can be very difficult to access. For this reason, this report focuses on the trafficking of narcotic drugs, counterfeit pharmaceuticals, commodity piracy, cybercrime, money laundering and human trafficking. Information on these criminal markets was more readily available either from public entities dedicated to combat them or from recent comparative research.

dealers offering cones of cannabis for sale are common.

While small-scale street corner dealers keep the drugs in their pockets, buried in the sand, or hidden at dumpsites or under abandoned vehicles as they wait for customers, more serious traffickers have their own transport. Currently, motor-bicycles are the most common mode of transport used. These motor-bicycles are also good hiding places, since they each enable an average

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Narcotic drug trafficking

Cannabis trafficking

For the purposes of this report, a distinction is drawn between dealers and traffickers, based on the scale of their trade. The money the cannabis trade generates has attracted both small dealers and ‘major traffickers’. While cannabis trafficking affects many neighbourhoods, it takes place most frequently and most visibly in the more populous neighbourhoods. The most notorious are Niary-Tally, Grand-Dakar and Yoff and the suburbs of Thiaroye, Pikine and Guédiawaye. Despite the authorities’ efforts, these poorer areas are the favourite hangouts of cannabis dealers and traffickers. Drugs are also sold at all the major markets in Dakar and its suburbs.

The police report daily arrests for cannabis dealing in some of the neighbourhoods listed above. They regularly arrest ‘packet retailers’ – small dealers selling ‘cones’ (a small measure of the drug). Cannabis is sold in homes or on the street – it is an open secret that small quantities of cannabis can be bought at certain street corners. Unsolicited approaches by individual

dealer to conceal and carry 2–3kg of cannabis. Bigger traffickers use motor vehicles and canoes to transport the drugs to Dakar, especially onto and from the beaches in Bargny and Sendou. Cannabis is often landed along the 118 km-long coast of Senegal. Foirail de la Seras (the largest livestock sale yard in Dakar) is a major centre for cannabis trafficking in Dakar and most big dealers get their supplies from here. The Malian commercial road transport station in Mbao is another hotspot.

There are conflicting views on whether organised criminal networks are responsible for the trade in cannabis. When questioned on the subject, the police and gendarmerie authorities in Senegal were adamant that no organised criminal networks were active in cannabis dealing or trafficking.⁴ French Embassy officials supported this position, stating that only smugglers (conveyors) were active; no network had been dismantled in recent years. In fact, most sources were agreed that Dakar is merely a transit point and not a hub, much less the focus of networks. However, in view of the growing development of criminal markets, they feared that Dakar would soon become a hub.



CANNABIS IS OFTEN LANDED ALONG THE 118 KM-LONG COAST OF SENEGAL

The media have come to a different conclusion. In view of the number of seizures of drugs transiting Dakar, they believe networks exist in some form in the city. However, they also point out that, although there are sometimes violent confrontations among dealers and traffickers, the violence connected to cannabis is not on the same level as in Nigeria or South Africa. The use of firearms is rare.⁵

Police perception regarding the existence of organised networks may be based on a narrow definition of organised crime. It is evident that cannabis is produced in a systematic (rather than unstructured) manner, by producers who are paid to do so beforehand and to then pass on the product to buyers. The buyers arrange for the transportation of the cannabis to urban markets, where wholesalers conceal and store it until it can be distributed to dealers for retail. The absence of violence, or the limited extent of it, is not a decisive factor. Even if there is no evidence of cross-border dealing in cannabis, a comprehensive profiling

of the networks dealing in cannabis will underscore this argument.

Trafficking of hard drugs

No hard drugs are manufactured in Dakar. However, it is evident that cocaine and heroin are trafficked in and through the city. Cases heard by the Assize Court since 2008 show an increase in cocaine trafficking. The major involvement of foreign nationals in Dakar's drug industry, long suspected but hitherto only a matter of speculation, emerged in 2011. People from 13 nationalities have been implicated in international drug trafficking in the region: Cape Verdeans, South Africans, Spaniards, Argentineans, Germans, Ivoirians, Malians, Guineans, Gambians, Nigerians, Ghanaians, Bissau-Guineans and Senegalese.

For example, Franck Koma, a Nigerian national was accused of having 10 packets containing 5kg of cocaine mixed with 10kg of an unidentified white powder in his possession.⁶ The accused was also found with a Guinean passport in his name. In the same year,

Douglas Quashie, a Ghanaian national, was arrested for the possession of 4,5kg of cocaine along with a certain Aïssatou P Diallo on a pier in Dakar while disembarking from a boat that had just arrived from Ziguinchor. The prosecuting attorney had to revise the charges from international drug trafficking to the inland transportation of high-risk drugs.⁷ However, since the foreign element was not proved, the international drug trafficking charge could not be sustained.

Dakar is increasingly proving to be a transit zone in international drug trafficking. Over time, several entry points have been identified. The Léopold Sédar Senghor International Airport is a major transit hub in West Africa, while the Port of Dakar on the Atlantic is another entry point into Senegal. The third is the Gambian border in the southern part of the country. The express train from Mali provides access into Senegal that can be abused to smuggle drugs. In addition, Senegal shares a border with Guinea-Bissau, which has been implicated in

Figure 1: Cocaine flows and transit areas



Source: UNODC report on transnational organised crime in West Africa, October 2013

the smuggling of cocaine from South America to West Africa.

Reports indicate that cocaine from the Andean region of South America is procured by a combination of South American and West African traffickers. Nigerian nationals appear to dominate the latter group. It is then transported to West Africa, mostly by ship because of the larger volumes that can be carried and the ease with which interception by

convenient cover in that it affords opportunities to bring in drugs, as well as an explanation for any funds that may accrue to the operator. Some of the individuals implicated in drug trafficking through West Africa have used their dual citizenship on both sides of the Atlantic to establish routes through The Gambia that are worth billions of dollars.⁹ One of their passports is invariably for a South American or Caribbean state.

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anti-drug agencies can be avoided. In this regard, São Paulo and Salvador in Brazil are important departure points. Venezuela and the adjacent Caribbean islands of Martinique and the Dutch Antilles are also important staging points. The cocaine is landed directly on West African shores from the transporting ships or onto smaller craft such as speed boats and fishing vessels.

Some of the cocaine, estimated to amount to between 20 and 50 tonnes annually, eventually enters Dakar. The proportion of the trade transiting Senegal has not been quantified, but data on interceptions and seizures indicates 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.⁸ However, whilst this is the most important route, it is not the only route.

There are also indications that people with dual or multiple nationalities have become central to the management of the trafficking routes linking South America and West Africa since about 2000. A typical scheme is to establish and register a business in a West African state. The fishing industry provides

By far the greatest source of concern is Senegal's proximity to Guinea-Bissau, which has been characterised as Africa's 'first narco-state' because of the use of its territory to traffic drugs, mainly cocaine from South America. A United Nations (UN) study concluded that 'up to 2 200 pounds [just under 1 tonne] of cocaine was flown into Guinea-Bissau every night, and more arrived by sea. About 50 drug lords from Colombia are based in Guinea-Bissau, controlling the cocaine trade and bribing the military and politicians to protect it'.¹⁰

Piracy and counterfeiting

Piracy and counterfeiting have serious consequences not only for creativity and employment but also for the overall economy.¹¹ On the one hand, writers, musicians, manufacturers, producers and distributors are deprived of income they could legitimately make from the sale of their products. On the other hand, these crimes constitute a serious threat to creativity.

Even though piracy and counterfeiting are classified as minor offences in Senegal,¹² the international community (Interpol, World Intellectual Property

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Organisation, Global Business Leaders Alliance Against Counterfeiting [GBLAAC], International Trademark Association [INTA], International Security Management Association [ISMA], World Customs Organisation, etc.) considers them to be quite serious.¹³

In Senegal, as elsewhere, there has been a substantial increase in piracy and counterfeiting in recent years. Dakar is particularly affected, as evidenced by the seizures made by the National Brigade for Combatting Piracy and Counterfeiting. The Brigade (created by Decree No. 2006–1398 of December 2006) is headed by a Police Commissioner and attached to the General Directorate for National Security. It investigates all forms of piracy and counterfeiting, and centralises and processes statistics. Since its inception in 2007, the Brigade has seized significant quantities of pirated and counterfeit goods and arrested the perpetrators. The reported seizures are related to the following types of piracy and counterfeiting:

- Possessing and trafficking in counterfeit works of art and music
- Duplicating media (CDs, DVDs, etc.)
- Piracy of TV service bouquets (CANAL +, EXCAF and others)
- Distributing images without authorisation

- Counterfeiting literary works
- Exploiting video clubs without authorisation
- Counterfeiting bank notes

In addition to these seizures, the Brigade arrested 161 people (14 in 2009, 13 in 2010, 35 in 2011, 9 in 2012 and 90 from 1 January to 30 November 2013). Crimes related to the duplication of media and piracy of TV service bouquets occurred on numerous occasions during the period 2009–2013. However, in general, counterfeiting covers various everyday consumer products (soaps, detergents, beverages, batteries, textiles, toothpaste, razors, tea, etc.) as well as pharmaceutical products such as antibiotics, vitamins, antimalarial medicine, anti-parasitics and aphrodisiacs. According to Bara Niang, the Head of the Brigade, these products originate in China. Most of the importers are tradeswomen who import and clear the goods through Customs.¹⁴ These imports are made under less-than-container-load (LCL) regulations,¹⁵ so the crates contain various goods belonging to several people.

There are also some Nigerians who focus mainly on the duplication of media. In every case, seizures are made in major markets following victim complaints or information provided by intelligence officers. In 2013, for example, Samsung's representative in Senegal

closely cooperated with Brigade officials in identifying and arresting perpetrators, resulting in the seizure of thousands of counterfeit Samsung cellphones.

Despite these efforts to combat piracy and counterfeiting, the relevant legislation in Senegal is still incomplete and imprecise. As mentioned above, piracy and counterfeiting are classified as minor offences and as such carry lighter penalties. It is difficult to impose jail sentences due to the difficulty of establishing the habitual nature of the crime, as required by law (Article 399 of the Penal Code). The fines vary from 4 to 10 million CFA (\$8 000 to \$20 000),¹⁶ but only apply in certain cases. In addition to these penalties not being dissuasive, the Bangui Agreement does not allow the public prosecutor to initiate investigations. Piracy and counterfeiting continue to compromise economic and financial development (the estimated losses are about 8 billion CFA, or \$16 million, in the pharmaceutical sector), and have an adverse impact on public health. While giving credit for the creation of the Brigade, it would be useful if the Ministry of Justice would take advantage of the ongoing reform of the Penal Code to improve the legislation on piracy and counterfeiting. In particular, heavy penalties should be put in place to dissuade the perpetrators.

Table 1: Distribution of seizures by type of crime

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013 (Until November)
Duplicating media (CDs, DVDs, etc.)	180	1 552	4 507	895	29 483
Piracy of TV service bouquets (CANAL+, EXCAF and others)	0	0	0	0	316
Counterfeiting of literary works	88	0	2 179		381
Counterfeiting bank notes	0	0	0	0	1
Counterfeiting pharmaceuticals	0	4 987	0	349	0
Total	268	6 539	6 686	1 244	30 181

Source: National Brigade for Combatting Piracy and Counterfeiting

Trafficking of pharmaceuticals

The smuggling and trafficking of counterfeit pharmaceutical products is of increasing concern in Dakar.

Before one can sell any medicine in Senegal it is necessary to obtain a marketing authorisation. This authorisation is only granted once the product has been tested by a reference laboratory. Analysing a medicinal substance is, however, quite expensive. Traffickers therefore import medicines from neighbouring countries such as Mauritania, the Gambia and Mali. These medicines are bought from Indian and Chinese laboratories specialising in manufacturing generic drugs of various grades where the buyers can choose the quality of the basic ingredients used. For instance, the oxytetracycline found in almost all veterinary medicines is available in high-quality doses and lower ones. Generally, for the first order, which is subjected to authorisation testing, the trafficker will choose the best quality, but for subsequent orders the cheapest quality is chosen.

In the Dakar market one can find medicines that are priced across a broad range. However, some drugs manufactured in China or India, although clinically effective, have negative public health consequences. Diclofenac, for example, known as *Niokète* (Wolof for painkiller), is linked to cardiovascular problems in rural Senegal. This medication is distributed in large quantities in Dakar and up-country, despite European health authorities' cautioning against its over-use.¹⁷

Trafficking in counterfeit medicines on the black market works in three ways. First, the trafficker is supplied with the medicine through 'official' channels, either from the Central Pharmacy with the complicity of insiders, or through a pharmacist operating his own

pharmacy. For example, pharmacists were arrested in Touba during an inspection by the Pharmacy Directorate because they had ordered more than they needed with the intention of selling the surplus on the black market. Thus a pharmacist who makes a 50 per cent profit can offer 30 per cent to his retail client. Second, the trafficker brings in banned pharmaceutical products from Mauritania. Third, the trafficker imports counterfeit medicines in containers from European countries, mainly Italy¹⁸.

This profitable trafficking explains why medicine is available at the 'Ocas' (discount) market of Touba at various prices. The Ocas market also supplies the *Keur Serigne bi* (Home of the Marabout) market located in the heart of Dakar. It is a centre for illicit medicine trafficking that also houses a Koranic school. Law enforcement agents have raided the market on a number of occasions and seized counterfeit pharmaceutical products. Middlemen openly sell medicine to passers-by.

Keur Serigne bi is used by traders belonging to the Mouride religious brotherhood, which is prominent in the informal sector in Dakar and has considerable political and economic clout. Successive governments have played down the role of informal traders in the trafficking of pharmaceuticals, apparently in order not to alienate voters aligned to the brotherhood. For example, former President Abdoulaye Wade declared during the inauguration of the Touba Sandaga Commercial Centre that he was the first of the informal traders. That statement encouraged informal trade in all its forms.

Closing *Keur Serigne bi* or pulling it down without the permission of the Mouride caliph (also known as the Grand Marabout) would give the impression that the Senegalese authorities are harassing not only the brotherhood but also a Koranic school. Interference with religious

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leaders and institutions easily inflames emotions in Dakar, as evidenced by the arrest of the charismatic Cheikh Bethio Thioune on murder charges in April 2012.¹⁹

Cybercrime and related crimes

As information and communication technology develops, cybercrime is becoming one of the emerging forms of transnational crimes. In Senegal, and in particular Dakar, cases of cybercrime are increasing²⁰. This is mostly the result of the high-speed Internet connection, which makes Dakar a good host for businesses, both legal and illegal. At the same time, the ignorance of most computer users and the absence of an appropriate legal framework are matters of serious concern²¹.

Cybercrime constitutes a threat to the security of information technology networks, the security of citizens and the development of an information and communication society. The types of violations range from 419 and Internet scams to identity theft, as well as common violations such as skimming, carding and phishing. Hence, the situations examined here are those where Internet technology is subject to, mean or support for criminal activities (See 'Abdoullah Cisse, *Exploration sur la cybercriminalité et la sécurité en Afrique: État des lieux et priorités de recherche, Synthèse des rapports nationaux*, CRDI, Janvier 2011').

Before the passing of the 2008–11 Act on Cybercrime, most of the criminal operations targeted goods and services. Originally both the perpetrators and the victims were foreigners. The criminals have focused their activities on the inner suburbs of Dakar (Parcelles Assainies, Yoff, Cité Keur Khadim, etc.) where the local people often help them or are complicit themselves. To benefit from the local population's support,

foreign criminals go as far as marrying Senegalese women.²² For example, without resident status or because they want to dissimulate their activities, foreign nationals ask for local populations help to subscribe for Internet access.

In 2008, a Belgian national was taken hostage in Nord Foire, a residential area of Dakar. Hooked on the Internet, he came to Senegal with the hope of meeting a girl he had been promised by the criminals. However, just after his arrival at the airport, he was taken to a room, stripped of all his belongings and held in captivity. His family in Belgium then started to receive ransom demands. The criminals wanted €1,5 million (about 1 billion CFA). With the help of the Criminal Investigation Division (DIC), the hostage was released and one of the criminals arrested.²³

The media, particularly newspapers, often report on Internet scams in Dakar. In October 2013, *La Tribune*, a Senegalese newspaper, reported on the case of Swiss, Finnish and German would-be investors who were lured to Dakar by Nigerians with the promise of gold.²⁴ However, once in Dakar, they were taken hostage and their families received ransom demands. After a long ordeal, they were released by the police, who arrested six of the criminals.

French Embassy officials had a similar story of a Finnish national who had fallen victim to a love scam. He was also held hostage and ransom was demanded from his family by criminals, including Nigerians, who were arrested by the DIC with the collaboration of the French Embassy officials.

According to the 2011 Annual Report of the National Financial Intelligence Processing Unit (CENTIF), among the suspicious transactions reported to the judicial authorities, Internet scams are the most common (25 per cent) followed by the use of falsified documents

(19 per cent) (See Figure 2). For example, in 2011, thanks to CENTIF's request, the court issued an arrest warrant for Antonino Jomel Alberto, a national of Guinea-Bissau, and sentenced him to a two years' imprisonment with a fine of 469 217 988 CFA (\$938 436) and the confiscation of the seized amount of 34 878 607 CFA (\$69 757).

Alberto had opened an account at a local bank (the Banking Company of West Africa, or CBAO) and received Swift transfers from different countries (India, the US, Netherlands, Colombia, etc.) to the amount of 156 405 996 CFA (\$312 512) between May 2006 and September 2008, in payment for a promised 'land title'. He then systematically withdrew these amounts. He had used websites known to be used for Internet scams to defraud his victims, with the alleged complicity of a Senegalese national, who is also listed as an employee.

In contrast to the drug trafficking market where the officials and the other actors seem to disagree on the existence of crime networks, organised criminals are clearly involved in cybercrime in Dakar. This is not only because cybercrimes are committed via the network of all networks (i.e., the Internet), but also because they often involve criminals of different nationalities and established in different countries. There is thus also a transnational aspect to cybercrime.

According to an information from a press article released in 2007 and reproduced in an IDRC's report on cybercrime and security in West Africa, Senegal has an average of 82 per cent computer software piracy, in comparison with the international average of 35 per cent, representing an income loss of \$40 billion (about 20 000 billion CFA) around the world. This information was collected with regard to the situation at the time of the research conducted by an independent organisation. Also,

the results of this research indicate that most of the software used in the microcomputers are made by cybercriminals who take refuge in China and some others European, Asian and African countries. Computer software producers such as Oracle or Microsoft are suffering from this loss.

In Senegal, judicial authorities have penalised online scams in terms of the general law, since in most cases

Money laundering

In recent years there has been an increase in money laundering, mostly due to technological progress²⁶. In Senegal, two bodies publish regular reports on money laundering: the Inter-Governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA) and CENTIF. The results discussed in this section are based mainly on CENTIF's reports.

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cybercriminals receive funds through unlawful methods (fraudulent claims, accompanied by external corroboratory elements such as e-mails, attached files, sent documents, etc.).²⁵ Law No. 2008–09 of 25 January 2008 on copyright and related rights was adopted in Senegal in accordance with the new agreement revising the agreement of Bangui of 2 March 1977. This new mechanism focuses on software and databases and allows criminal judges to penalise a wider range of piracy and counterfeiting crimes.

CENTIF is a body established in terms of Executive Order No. 2004–1150 of 18 August 2004.²⁷ The various reports published by CENTIF outline illustrate the different types of money laundering encountered in Senegal. They include the laundering of proceeds from the embezzlement of public funds, violations of external transactions, drug trafficking and other forms of crime or fraud. The reports published for the financial years from 2005 to 2011 describe multiple instances of money laundering. These include violations relating to the use

CENTIF RECEIVED

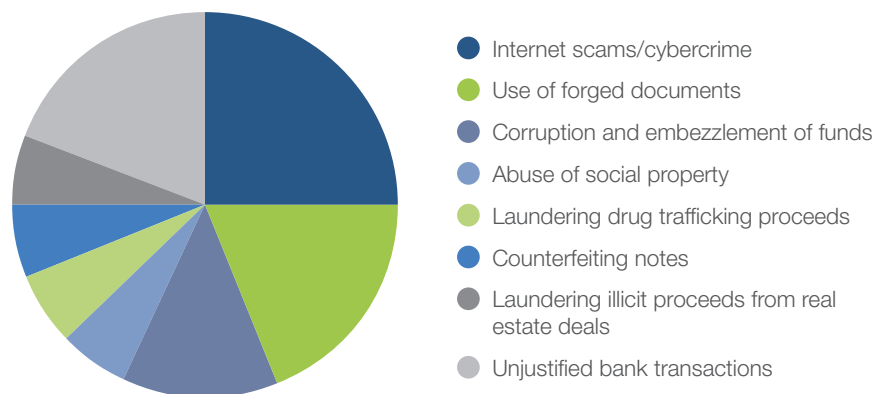
92 reports

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Figure 2: Distribution of suspected money-laundering transactions by type of violation (2011)



Source: CENTIF 2011 annual report, *Le renforcement du dispositif de lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux et le financement du terrorisme au Sénégal*

of forged documents; the corruption of public officials; international fraud involving online identity theft; the illegal transfer of funds abroad by influential people; the misuse of public funds; investment in precious stones; 'suitcase carriers'; the use of shell companies; the repatriation of funds by immigrants without an established line of business; and attempts to launder funds of dubious origin from abroad.²⁸

Reports of suspicious transactions and judicial results

CENTIF received 92 reports of suspicious transactions in 2011 against 84 in 2010, an

increase of 9,5 per cent, partly due to the growing number of institutions and persons subject to anti-money laundering or anti-terrorist financing regulations, and partly as a result of training and awareness-raising programmes. Of these reports, 17 were submitted to the judicial authorities in 2011, compared to 15 in 2010.

The processed declarations of suspicious transactions stem from operations such as bank transfers, cash transfers, international transfers, and the handing over of cheques or effects.

When analysed in terms of the stage in the money-laundering process, the

processed declarations sent to the judicial authorities show the distribution as illustrated in Figure 4.

Regarding the judicial processing of the processed declarations from 2005 to 2011 (86), 27 were issued with an order of termination, 10 of which have resulted in convictions.

The Senegalese wrestling sector is suspected to be a breeding ground for money laundering. At the time of writing, Luc Nicolai, a wrestling promoter suspected of money laundering the proceeds of cocaine trafficking, was in custody awaiting judgement on charges of criminal association, extortion and drug possession. Considering the number of young people who are attracted by the promise of riches, it would be important to take appropriate measures to clean up this sector.

Human trafficking: the 'talibés' children in Dakar

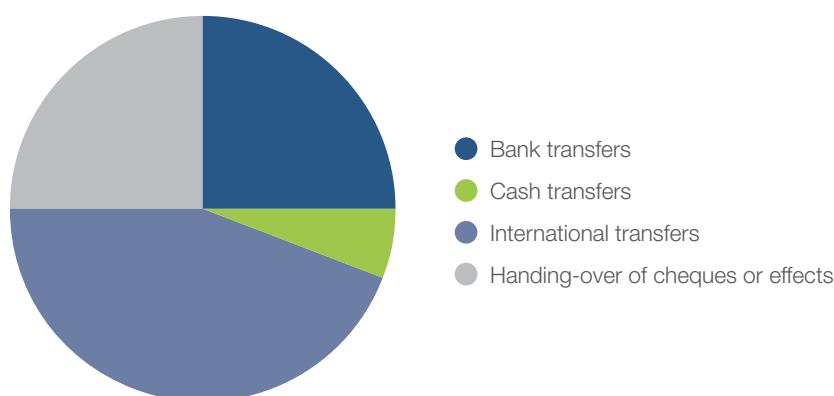
A Human Rights Watch paper published in 2010 concluded that:

At least 50 000 children attending hundreds of residential Quranic schools, or daaras, in Senegal are subjected to conditions akin to slavery and forced to endure often extreme forms of abuse, neglect, and exploitation by the teachers, or marabouts, who serve as their de facto guardians.²⁹

It also found that even though not all of the Koranic schools run such regimes, many marabouts, instead of providing for the basic needs of the children, force them to beg on the streets and bring back a set amount of money every day.

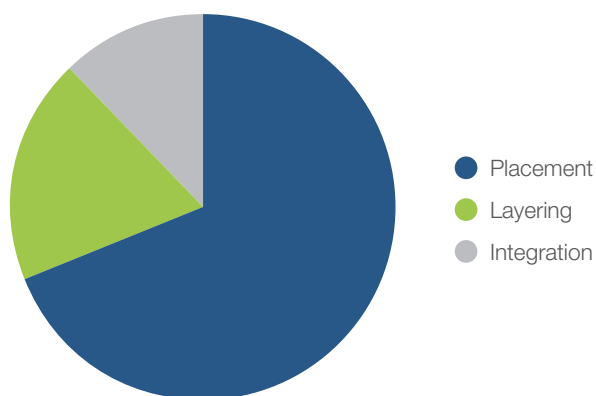
This phenomenon sees hundreds – if not thousands – of cases of child trafficking, in addition to violations of international and national laws on child servitude or slavery, and worse forms of child labour. Paradoxically, is becoming more widespread in urban areas, especially in

Figure 3: Distribution of suspicious transactions by type of transaction (2011)



Source: CENTIF 2011 annual report, Le renforcement du dispositif de lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux et le financement du terrorisme au Sénégal

Figure 4: Distribution of money-laundering instances by stage



Source: CENTIF 2011 annual report, Le renforcement du dispositif de lutte contre le blanchiment de capitaux et le financement du terrorisme au Sénégal

Dakar and its suburbs, where the daaras are located and operate. Most of the children concerned, commonly known as ‘talibés’, come from neighbouring Guinea-Bissau. In a 2007 quantitative study on child beggars in Dakar was done by the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the International Labour Organization and the World Bank. Detailed records are also kept by SOS Talibé Children (SOS Crianças Talibés) of children returned to Guinea-Bissau after running away from daaras in Senegal.³⁰ The transnational nature of the crime is thus well established.

The following points will be covered when analysing the functioning of daaras:

- Underlying motivation
- Profile of the children (victims)
- Profile of the implicated marabouts

Underlying motivation

The Senegalese population is about 95 per cent Muslim, with Sufism being the prevalent form of Islam. In Sufism, it is mandatory to learn the holy texts and follow the teachings and example of a personal spiritual guide. Children, especially boys, are sent to Koranic

schools led by marabouts. In addition to teaching the talibés to memorise the Koran, marabouts become their spiritual guides and are in charge of their overall education. Koranic schools are also supposed to teach talibés humility.

In most cases, the children are left in the care of their marabouts for several years without any contact with their family and no means of support. To ensure that their basic needs were met, it became accepted practice for talibés to work in the fields during the harvest. They would have to beg only if that did not provide for their upkeep. However, in Dakar subsistence involves expenses beyond food, as rent also comes into play. Moreover, there is a belief that ‘suffering and working for the marabout is part of being an almudo [a begging talibé] and that Allah will greatly reward both the almudo and his parents’.³¹ Unfortunately, today begging has become a profitable business for marabouts, in contradiction to the principles of Islam.

Profile of the talibés

The talibés in Dakar are usually boys between the ages of 3 and 15, living far

from their families with their marabouts. However, there are some talibés who are over the age of 15. The older boys act as assistants to the marabouts. Noticeable for being barefoot and unkempt, talibés typically spend hours on the streets begging for money or food. As mentioned above, a significant proportion (40 per cent) of them come from neighbouring countries, mainly Guinea-Bissau.

Profile of implicated marabouts

‘Hundreds of marabouts in Senegal have been accused of subjecting talibés living under their de facto guardianship to conditions akin to slavery.’³² Not only are talibés forced to beg on the streets for up to 10 hours a day, but they are also often subjected to physical and psychological abuse. At the same time, these marabouts fail to provide for the talibés’ basic needs (food, accommodation, healthcare, shelter, etc.) despite having raised the resources.

Conclusion

This report shows that several criminal markets are active in Dakar. The profile

Table 2: Convictions emanating from processed declarations

Convicted person	Nature of crime	Sentence	Comments
Antonio Jomel Alberto	Scam/money laundering	2 years’ imprisonment	He also received a fine of 469 217 988 CFA and the 34 878 607 CFA seized was confiscated
Benjamin Kayode Aluede	Money laundering	3 years’ imprisonment	He also received a fine of 72 870 000 CFA, his property was confiscated, and he was forbidden from issuing cheques for a year
Djibril Diouf	Money laundering	3 years’ imprisonment	He was also fined 398 760 000 CFA (about \$797 520) and his movable and immovable property up to the amount of the fine was seized
John Githeghi and John Ezead Obi	Money laundering	3 years’ imprisonment	Githeghi also received a fine of 468 000 000 CFA (about \$936 000), was forbidden from issuing cheques for a year and saw the confiscation of his property up to the amount of the fine
Marguerite Kaloka	Criminal association/ money laundering	3 years’ imprisonment	She also received a fine of 3 billion CFA (about \$6 million), and saw money in her bank accounts, immovable property and one vehicle seized

Source: National Brigade for Combating Piracy and Counterfeiting

Table 3: Proceeds from forced child begging (sums demanded by marabouts in a representative daara in Dakar)

Location	Number of talibés	Daily quota per talibé	Weekly total expected from talibés	Marabouts' annual demanded total
Dakar	~60	On Fridays: 1 000 CFA Other days: 300 CFA Every day: 2kg rice, 20 morsels of sugar	168 000 CFA (\$365); 840kg rice, worth 336 000 CFA (\$730); 8 400 morsels of sugar, worth 28 000 CFA (\$61)	27 664 000 CFA (about \$60 000)

Source: Human Rights Watch, *Off the Backs of the Children, Forced Begging and Other Abuses against Talibés in Senegal*, April 2010

sheds light on the existing criminal markets and how they operate. Beyond this data, it would be useful to identify the criminals, and analyse the relationships among them and between them and other actors such as government officials, etc.

In the next stage of the analysis, the criminal networks behind the identified markets will be examined and their transnational nature highlighted. The manner in which their activities have an impact on urban governance in Dakar will also be investigated. In each case, based on the results of this work, some recommendations will be made on improving urban governance in Dakar.

Notes

- 1 Criminal Intelligence Service Canada (CISC), *Integrated Threat Assessment Methodology*, April 2007.
- 2 See Mickaël R. Roudaut, *Marchés criminels. Un acteur global*, 2010.
- 3 CISC, *Annual Report on Organized Crime in Canada*, 2005.
- 4 Extract from an interview with Inspector Chimère Ba, O CRTIS.
- 5 Extract from an interview with Commissioner Camara, Head of Urban Security in Dakar, statement confirmed by Tamsir Diakhaté, Divisional Commissioner, former Commissioner at Central Police Headquarters in Dakar, and by General Niang of the Senegalese Gendarmerie.
- 6 See Dakar Assize Court Judgment No. 12, 2nd session of 16 November 2009, Regional court 'hors classe' of Dakar.
- 7 See Assize Court Judgment No. 6 of 01/03/2011, the State versus Douglas Quashie and Aïssatou Pathé Diallo, charged with criminal conspiracy and international cocaine trafficking Regional court 'hors classe' of Dakar.
- 8 See the general discussion of routes through West Africa on the African Narco News blog, <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/08/west-african-cocaine-routes-to-europe.html>, October 18, 2013.
- 9 See <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/10/inside-1-billion-west-african-cocaine.html>, October 18, 2013.
- 10 UN 2012 cited in African Narco News, Inside a \$1 billion West African cocaine cartel, <http://african-business.blogspot.com/2013/10/inside-1-billion-west-african-cocaine.html>, October 18, 2013.
- 11 Extract from an interview with Mr Balla Niang, the Chief of the National Brigade for Combating Piracy and Counterfeiting.
- 12 Articles 397 & 398 of the law No 65-60 of 21 July 1965 laying down the Penal Code of Senegal.
- 13 The First Global Congress to Combat Counterfeiting was held at the World Customs Organisation (WCO) Headquarters in Brussels, 25–26 May 2004. Organised by the WCO and Interpol with the co-operation of the Global Business Leaders Alliance Against Counterfeiting (GBLAAC), this congress received the support of the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO).
- 14 Extract from an interview with Mr Balla Niang, the Chief of the National Brigade for Combating Piracy and Counterfeiting.
- 15 See law No 2014-10 of 28 February 2014 laying down the Customs Code of Senegal.
- 16 For the purposes of this report, \$1 = 500 CFA.
- 17 See, for instance, Commonly used painkiller 'should be banned over heart risk', *The Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/health/healthnews/9866239/Commonly-used-painkiller-should-be-banned-over-heart-risk.html>, (accessed 16 November 2013).
- 18 Lucaïn Walbadet, *Etude de la distribution et de la qualité des médicaments vétérinaires au Sénégal: cas des régions de Dakar, Kaolack et Thiès*, Doctoral dissertation defended July 18, 2007.
- 19 See Adam Nossiter, *Murder case against a sheik tests Senegal's new president*, *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/20/world/africa/murder-case-against-cheikh-bethio-thioune-tests-senegal-s-new-government.html?_r=0, (November 16, 2013).
- 20 Extract from an interview with Papa Gueye, Head of the Special Brigade for Combatting Cybercrime in Senegal.
- 21 Abdoullah Cisse, *Exploration sur la cybercriminalité et la sécurité en Afrique: État des lieux et priorités de recherche, Synthèse des rapports nationaux*, CRDI, Janvier 2011.
- 22 Extract from an interview with Papa Gueye, Head of the Special Brigade for Combatting Cybercrime in Senegal.
- 23 See also TAK 1 Senegal, <http://tak.00221.info/blog/accoche-par-internet-un-gogo-prise-en-otage>, November 27, 2013.
- 24 See Actu24, <http://www.actu24.net/interview/article/prise-d-otages-la-dic-met-fin-aux>, November 27, 2013.
- 25 Abdoullah Cisse, *Exploration sur la cybercriminalité et la sécurité en Afrique: État des lieux et priorités de recherche, Synthèse des rapports nationaux*, IDRC, January 2011.
- 26 See CENTIF, the National Financial Intelligence Unit, annual reports
- 27 See Government Gazette 6187 of 16 October 2004.
- 28 See CENTIF's 2011 Report.
- 29 *'Off the backs of the children': Forced begging and other abuses against Talibés in Senegal*, Human Rights Watch, New York, 2010.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 See Paul Hunt, *Children's rights in West Africa: the case of the Gambian almudós*, *Human Rights Quarterly* (1993), 505.
- 32 *'Off the backs of the children': Forced begging and other abuses against Talibés in Senegal*, Human Rights Watch, New York, 2010.

About the author

Ismaila Diallo is a tax and properties inspector, and has been working for the public administration of Senegal since 2005. He led the Research Bureau of the General Tax Administration from 2009 to 2014, before being appointed as Technical Adviser at the Ministry of Economy and Finance. Ismaila is pursuing a joint PhD programme in economics from the University of Auvergne and the Centre for Studies and Research on International Development in France.

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ISS Pretoria

Block C, Brooklyn Court,
361 Veale Street
New Muckleneuk,
Pretoria, South Africa
Tel: +27 12 346 9500
Fax: +27 12 460 0998
pretoria@issafrica.org

ISS Addis Ababa

5th Floor, Get House
Building, Africa Avenue,
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 11 515 6320
Fax: +251 11 515 6449
addisababa@issafrica.org

ISS Dakar

4th Floor, Immeuble Atryum
Route de Ouakam,
Dakar, Senegal
Tel: +221 33 860 3304/42
Fax: +221 33 860 3343
dakar@issafrica.org

ISS Nairobi

Braeside Gardens,
off Muthangari Road
Lavington, Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 20 266 7208
Fax: +254 20 266 7198
nairobi@issafrica.org

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