

STREETNET

Case Study on: Informal Traders

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July 2012

List of abbreviations

ANSD:	National Agency of Statistics and Demography
AOF:	French West Africa
ASMA:	National Agency for the Settlement of Informal Workers
WB:	World Bank
ILO:	International Labour Office
C.E.S:	Economic and Social Council
CFA:	African Financial Confederation
CE:	Classes of Primary School for 7-8 year olds
CM:	Classes of Primary School for 10-12 year olds
CIST:	International Conference on Labour Statistics (ICLS)
CRDFP:	Regional and Departmental Centres of Professional Training
CNES:	National Confederation of Senegalese Employers?
CNTS:	National Confederation of Workers of Senegal
COCOGES:	Collective of Women Traders of Economic Grouping of Senegal
DPS:	Directorate of Forecasts and Statistics
ESAM:	Household Social Survey
ECOPOLE:	Popular Economy
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
FAMATS:	Federation of Associations of Senegal's Informal Traders
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
NGO:	Non Governmental Organization
SME:	Small and Medium Enterprise
PDS:	Senegalese Demographic Party
HLM:	Dwelling with Moderate Rental
RASI:	Consolidation of Actors of the Informal Sector

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Presentation of Senegal

Senegal is a Sahelian country situated at the westernmost of the African continent. It is bordered in the North by the Republic of Mauritania, in East by the Republic of Mali, in West by the Atlantic Ocean and in South by Guinea Bissau.

It covers an area of 196,722 km² with an enclave of 10,300 km on both sides constituting the Republic of Gambia in the Senegalese territory.

The Senegalese demographics are very similar to those of other sub-Saharan African countries with a high population growth rate of 2.7% per year. The population has grown from 3,000,000 inhabitants in 1960 to 9,524,000 inhabitants in 2000 and to 12 million inhabitants in 2007 with an average density of 48 inhabitants per km². The high human population densities are concentrated in urban centres and in the West where the major economic and religious activities such as Dakar, Kaolack, Diourbel, Fatick bring together 65% of the total population in an area representing 18% of the country according to the Directorate of Forecasts and Statistics.

As for the ethnic composition, three ethnic groups are predominant in Senegal: the Wolof and the Lebu (45.0%), the Pular (25.2%) and the Serer (13.8%), totaling 84% of people of Senegal. They are followed in order of importance by the Diola (5%), the Manding and the Sossi (3.9%) which are the main ethnic groups in the South and the Soninke (less than 2%) in the North. Other Senegalese ethnic groups combined represent less than 5.0% of the population according to the report of ESAM III.

From the administrative and economic point of view, Senegal's administrative architecture consists of local authorities who are: the region, the municipality, and the rural authority. Each region has departments, sub-prefectures and rural authorities with the exception of Dakar and Thies, which have 19 and three district municipalities respectively.

The region, the municipality and the rural authority are endowed with legal and financial autonomy with 9 transferred competencies namely estates, environment and natural resource management, population health and social action, youth sports and recreation, culture, education, planning, country planning, town planning and housing. All these administrative entities receive transfers and support funds each year from the State.

From the economic point of view, the performance of economic policies initiated by international financial institutions, i.e. the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), underpinned by a series of acute crises (structural adjustment plan, the New Agricultural Policies, the open market system, the trans-nationalisation of financial capital and the devaluation of the franc (CFA)) have not provided answers to the poverty situation of many Senegalese people. Instead, they have worsened the impoverishment of Senegalese families who continue to experience significant socioeconomic and multifaceted problems. Thus, it appears from the data of the socio-economic household survey (ESAM II of 1995) that 57% of households or 65% of the Senegalese population live below the poverty line. With

regard to poverty, it is more common in rural areas. 57.5% of rural households are poor against one in three households in the urban region of Dakar and 43.3% in other cities in the country according to the results of the 1995 study of ESAM II.

Furthermore, the primary sector, which includes agriculture, fisheries, livestock farming and trade and which involves more than 60% of the labour force, contributes only 17.7% of the national wealth.

As regards the secondary sector, its contribution to the creation of national wealth is estimated at 20%. Its growth rate has increased from 6.4% in 1998 to 8.5% in 2000 according to the Directorate of Forecast and Statistics (DPS).

Accelerated development of the informal sector in cities shows the precariousness of employment. According to forecasts by ANDS for 2012, the unemployment rate in urban areas will be 12.9%. In Dakar region, it will be 18.6% which will lead to poor social performance because young people who are less than 20 years old represent over 60% of the population.

It should be noted that a significant number of educated persons did not complete the cycle started, including primary education. The **CE2** and **CM2** are too often synonymous with dropout. After giving-up their education, most of them join the informal sector which plays an important role in the Senegalese economy. It encompasses all the odd jobs and activities of production, processing, transport, trade and services. It is also the refuge of those excluded from the formal system which is very difficult to access because they require skills, qualification and regulation. Many Senegalese are involved in various activities of the informal sector to cope with unemployment, to help their families or to learn handicraft. The informal sector covers virtually all areas of economic activity. Indeed, the informal sector is the lifeblood of the Senegalese economy. It represents 60% of gross domestic product and 60% of the labour force works in this area according to the USAID study of 1998. According to data from the ANDS study of 2008, 83% of workers surveyed are active in the informal private sector against 10% in the formal private. The public sector is also not left out, it accounts only 7% of working Dakar residents.

However, we note that Informal trading is the engine of the informal economy; it is the main provider of employment in Dakar. Indeed still according to the same study, of the four major lines of activities, we note that *trade* employs 46.5%, *industry* 30.6%, *services* 21.3 % and *fishing* 1.6%.

Presentation of the city of Dakar

The Dakar region is located in the Cape Verde peninsula and covers an area of 550 km² or 0.28% of the country. It lies between 17° 10 and 17° 32 longitude West, 14° 53 and 14° latitude North.

It is bordered in the East by the Region of Thies and by the Atlantic Ocean in its North, West and South parts. Dakar used to be the capital of the AOF.

Administratively, the region is subdivided into:

- 4 departments: Dakar, Pikine Guediawaye Rufisque.
- 4 cities: Dakar, Pikine Guediawaye Rufisque
- 3 municipalities: Bargny, Diamniado, Sébikotane.
- 43 local municipalities, two rural municipalities (Sangalkam and Jenne) with about fifty villages.

Dakar, which is the political and economic capital of Senegal, is home to many international organisations and houses all directional structures of the country.

Its high economic and demographic concentration makes it an important business centre. Dakar is also an important cultural and human crucible. It is the main opening to the outside through its port and airport of International reputation.

By 31st December, 2004, the population of the city of Dakar was estimated at 1,009,256 inhabitants with a natural growth rate of 2.4% (ANDS, 2005). According to the distribution of population by age group, women of childbearing age represent 24% while the population over 15 years is estimated at 57%.

Because of its position as the nerve centre of the capital of Senegal, the department of Dakar is preferred by migrants from other regions but also by external migrants.

Presentation of Dakar Plateau local municipality

Dakar Plateau is one of 19 local municipalities of the city of Dakar. This is the most modern area of the capital, located in the South of the Cape Verde peninsula, facing the island of Goree.

Reminder on the purpose of the case study

The purpose of the case study is to learn more about how informal traders in different countries negotiate at local government level, for example with municipal authorities.

Research methodology

The methodology of this research was based on two complementary axes: literature review and qualitative investigation of the various associations representing traders in local markets and local communities.

To achieve the objectives of this study, besides analysing the context that results from the literature review, we mainly used a qualitative method with the goal of better defining the forms of organisation, challenges, trading practices with public and local authorities.

The Informal Sector in Senegal

Senegal, like most developing countries, is characterised by a large informal sector. The 1-2-3 survey conducted by the National Agency of Statistics and Demography (ANSD) in 2003 estimated the value of its goods and service at CFA 508.8 billion and estimated that it created

365.3 billion CFA in value added, or 10.7% of GDP. Almost 56% of this amount comes from commercial activities. Also, ANSD found that, on average, each household in Dakar makes all or a portion of its revenue by conducting an informal production unit. So, because of its economic position, it plays the role of socio-economic regulator in the population. It is a stabiliser of social peace and an economic regulator.

In the trade sub-sector in Dakar, the former Mayor of Dakar, Pape Diop, said that in 2008 there were about 50,000 informal traders in the capital. Because they work mostly in an unorganised fashion, these traders pose some major problems (congestion, occupational health, etc.) for the city of Dakar. Regarding places where they come from, we found that they come from different regions of Senegal. Thus, there are many from the regions of Thies (22.8%), Ziguinchor (13.8%), Kaolack (13.5% and Diourbel (12.4%).

Informal trading is, for a certain category of the labour force, a means of labour force engagement, a survival strategy based on need and a source of additional income. According to the economic monitoring study of the Dakar Chamber of Commerce in 2009, informal trading is considered by some players as a stepping stone to becoming a big business or to emigrate to Europe and many young people have made it thanks to this activity. But the way to go to reach this stage is strewn with obstacles. Indeed, traders are singled out and treated as law breakers because they do not have any specific status justifying the exercise of their activities and are not legally recognised. Therefore considering its many harassments, the work of the informal trader is one of the most difficult and very uncertain.

Informal traders can stay for days carrying the weight of their goods and walk hundreds of metres every day while enduring the sun and the fatigue.

In addition, informal traders have difficulties in accessing certain facilities due to their high rent fees. Indeed, in the vicinity of Sandaga to hire a canteen varies between FCFA 100,000 for one of 1 m² and FCFA 200,000 for one of 2m² plus a deposit of FCFA 450,000 is required. Informal traders prefer to invade the streets where they pay only FCFA 150 in daily fees. But while it is clear that informal traders are facing difficulties, they nonetheless pose enormous problems for residents of the city of Dakar and for small and medium-sized businesses. In reality, goods sold by informal traders are composed mainly of products not recommended by the accelerated growth strategy (SCA) such as textiles imported from outside the country at the expense of domestic companies, said Abdoulaye Faye who is in charge of the information desk and formality in the Ministry of Commerce. Despite the dynamism and the number of people who are involved in it, the State of Senegal receives only 2.2% of the value added of the informal sector, mainly in the form of license fees, but also local levies, registration fees and leases. Today there is a shortfall for the State of Senegal of nearly 100 billion Francs CFA per year because of the occupation of public space which impacts on urban mobility according to the Directorate of Forecast and Statistics of the Ministry of Economy and Finance. Its mode of organisation and operation does not offer to the state and local governments the possibility to get more levies and taxes.

However, informal trading in Dakar constitute the livelihood of about 50,000 people most of whom are young people (under 26 years); they represent about 33.1% of informal workers, their average age is 33.6 years according to the latest survey 123 phase 2 of the ANDS.

Most often sheltered by makeshift installations, which deprive them of access to key public services (water, electricity), we found that the spatial situation of Dakar's informal traders is not one of the best.

The working conditions of informal traders.

The majority of informal traders have very precarious working conditions; most of them have wooden tables and plastic off-cuts which serve as mats to expose their merchandise. They are generally exposed to the sun. This not so rosy situation strengthens the conviction of informal traders whose most important worry is their "survival" and is at the same time a means of lobbying the state and local authorities to address their situation.

For them this precarious situation is also the basis for struggle. Some said this to us **"We can not leave this place until the authorities find an ideal place for us"** says this trader that we have met at Grand-Yoff market. He then continued by saying: **"Every day the authorities of this country give billions wildly"**. Meanwhile, he says, **"Senegalese people continue to suffer."**

However, it should be noted that not everyone is in the same situation with regards to working conditions. Indeed for the past three years, some local governments have started a beautification program or redesign of traders' stalls which are located on the roadside and sidewalks with funding from private companies operating in the field. Thus, some of them have acquired more modern, safer and more attractive stalls. But it is important to acknowledge that only few communities have initiated such actions in their area. Those who started this programme have done only few stalls. It is important also to note that apart from communities across the city of Dakar who engaged in the redesign, other communities have not invested in this area. The photography and the decor of markets are picturesque. This marketing momentum could have been a success if municipalities had funded it. But the cost of stalls is not usually within reach of informal traders because they feel that the price, which is between FCFA 700,000 and 800,000 for stalls and between FCFA 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 for the kiosks, is very high; these amounts are usually paid in one go. Some informal traders who are in HLM market have built their own canteens with their Mayor's approval.

The number of traders increases day by day because of the increasing number of young people leaving the countryside for the city. Municipalities can play a very effective role as far as youth unemployment is concerned, by creating small and equipped spaces for them. Some of them have told us this **"I started my business with a capital of 5,000 francs that I have multiplied by five a month after, that was about 3 to 5 years ago. Now I have more than 500,000 francs on my shelves. "**

The different forms of organisation among traders

There are several forms of groupings amongst informal traders, namely the Daras (grouping for religious purposes) and the associations that are fully recognised by the government according to the law of 1901 on requirements for the creation of associations. The registration

procedure for any form of non-profit association is very simple. To be effective, its office bearers who apply to the authority state the purpose of the association. After that, a morality survey is conducted by the police on office bearers. The goal is to find out whether they have ever been convicted in the past and have a good reputation in their neighbourhood. After several months of investigation, the vice squad gives a technical report to the hierarchy. If its report is positive, the registration is granted by the Ministry of Interior who issues an acknowledgment of receipt which allows the association to hold meetings and apply for in-kind or cash support to authorities or partners.

In order to deal with state and municipal authorities, traders have all understood that an association must have official recognition in order to rightfully claim rights to trade or to exercise an activity even though it is well known that street trading is prohibited in Senegal. Thus, each association is led by the Chairperson, deputy Chairperson, Treasurer, General Secretary and Assistants.

Today between the city of Dakar and local municipalities of HLM and Castors there are more than 15 traders' associations legally registered and more than twenty that are grouped together as an association that has more than just the mission of defending the interests of traders. Among these we find, for instance, groupings of people from the same area.

This flowering is mainly caused on one hand by the fact that the previous government wanted to politicise groupings and make them an electoral base but on the other hand the newcomers on the pavements composed mainly of young people have also felt the need to fight for their own survival and therefore created their own association. But it should also be noted that some older ones did not want to include them because of their disposition and their young age enabled them to be mobile on sidewalks. In their quest to receive facilities from the government, many associations have fallen into the political game which has caused division among them. A president of an association strongly decried it by saying "**They divided us by forcing us to join their party, "Everything they promised was not done."**

Aware of the adverse consequences of the division, traders have reorganised themselves and on 14th June 2010, they created the Federation of Informal Traders of Senegal – FAMATS - so they could better demand their rights. At the time of its creation, FAMATS included 26 associations all located in Dakar with their main objective being to defend the interests of traders who are located between the city centre, the department of Pikine and Guediawaye. Today, FAMATS has more than 40 associations spread between Dakar and other regions. So, in each Senegal market, the federation has a representative whose mission is to report information to the central office to enable them to lobby if something goes wrong.

We must recognise that this federation is not a substitute for grassroots movements or associations that already exist in different markets and regions of Dakar. It should be noted that the aim of FAMATS is to defend traders' interests by speaking with one voice.

The general situation of informal traders

The "life" of informal traders in Dakar can be divided into two periods, as follows.

The period 1 which is characterised by the high tension between 2007 and 2009

In November 2007, the occupation of streets was characterised by the then President of the republic Abdoulaye Wade, as being illegal and unacceptable and he asked competent authorities to take decisions to release their hold over public spaces. The Governor of Dakar then mobilised bulldozers and the police began, without notice, to chase informal traders and to demolish canteens and souks located on the roadsides.

Informal traders violently and angrily protested by destroying everything in their path (cars, shops, public buildings, etc.). The 22 and 23 November 2007 were days characterised by riots in the major streets of Dakar, which resulted in a lot of damage and the police arrested over 200 people.

The Senegalese authorities decided to reverse their position when faced with the determination of informal traders to continue with their demands for the pursuit of their trading activity on roadsides. That is when the then Senator-Mayor of Dakar Pape Diop authorised "traders to return to their place on public roads provided that they do not obstruct the traffic"

Aware of the magnitude of the problem and the ineffectiveness of the use of force to solve it, Senegalese authorities envisaged alternative solutions along the lines of finding a compromise with traders.

It is in this perspective that on May 2, 2009 the President of the Republic together with the Minister of Commerce, the Prime Minister, his advisors and the Director of the Agency for SME Development met Mr. Moulaye SECK President of the Synergy of traders for the Development (SYMAD) who was accompanied by four other leaders of traders' associations.

During this discussion, Mr. Seck, who spoke on behalf of all representative organisations based in the local municipality of Dakar-Plateau, proposed possible solutions to reduce the increase of the number of traders and to free public roadsides. The proposed possible solutions were: Funding of micro projects on agriculture, establishment of norms for the installation of stalls in the arteries of the city of Dakar, the creation of relocation sites in the Plateau local municipality, in the suburbs and in the regions. In his proposal, he also stressed with insistence the need for the establishment of a framework for consultation and dialogue between the Mayor of the city of Dakar and the Ministry of Commerce. He noted the fact that the Ministry of Commerce had started to show some interest in traders' problems and that there was a need to avoid conflicts of jurisdiction which would have negative repercussions on traders. The President who had to listen to them declared his surprise at the proposals made by the delegation. So, at the end of the meeting, he instructed the Prime Minister that most informal traders could be trained in the production sector. It must be remembered that all these proposals were only about traders of the city of Dakar.

It should be stressed, however, that the ambition of the President of the Republic was not feasible because there was no sectoral study conducted on informal traders located in the city of Dakar. The figures provided by the Mayor Pape Diop were an extrapolation from the municipal revenues. In addition, the Mayor had not put this investment in his budget.

In addition, the Economic and Social Council (CES), which is a consultative assembly of public authorities with expertise in economic, social and cultural fields, as part of its first ordinary session invited the Minister of Commerce who announced the operation of eviction and relocation of informal traders who were active in the streets of Dakar. This operation would cost the State of Senegal more than three billion CFA. All the promises made in respect of relocation did not take place in 2009.

In addition, for his part, Mr. Pape DIOP, former Mayor of Dakar, in partnership with the Movement of Artisans of Senegal (MADS) which is a private company active in the construction of canteens and buildings for the beautification and improvement of working conditions in the markets, promised to avail 10,000 canteens to informal traders in the capital by the end of 2009 for their activities. It should be noted that these actions of relocation were not provided for in the budget of the Ministry of Commerce. However the SME Development Agency which operates under the Ministry of Commerce, had a line item in its budget called "support to informal sector" that was intended for training and support for the creation of small projects for women groupings for all regions.

The interference of Dakar city council in the programme of these traders was due to the fact that the Mayor of Dakar was also the President of the Senate (second highest position in the State of Senegal after the President of the Republic) and the number two of the ruling party, the PDS. Due to his position, he instructed his technical department to execute the technical project of the Head of State. In fact, he just captured ideas without having a good understanding of the problem.

But this promise remained idle for several reasons; partly because the budget that was set aside by the Ministry of Finance for the Ministry of Commerce was not disbursed but also the fact that the Mayor who took up the project had not yet found a site to prepare for the relocation of traders. In addition, on 22nd March 2009 there was a political change in the city council with the arrival of M. Khalifa SALL who was from the opposition. The Senegalese opposition won almost all local government elections including that of Dakar city council. Its position was very strategic because of the size of its budget and its scope which extends from Dakar to Rufisque. Dakar city council participates in defining and orienting the political direction and of investment in all local municipalities which are part of it.

The arrival of Mayor Khalifa SALL introduced the second period for the informal sector for street traders in Dakar.

One of the first actions of the new Mayor was the use of police to evict informal traders from Thilène market in December 2009. His decision to clear the sidewalks of the city of Dakar found them all well prepared. The result was violent exchanges between traders and law enforcement agents.

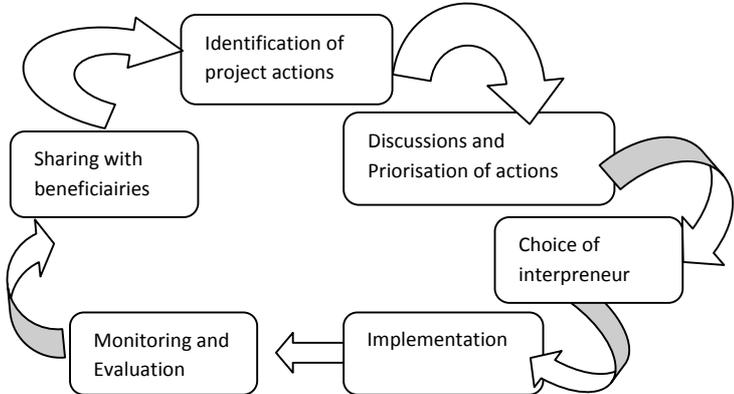
Aware that the use of force is not a solution, authorities of the city of Dakar changed their strategy. In January 2010, Mayor Khalifa SALL reiterated his determination to go ahead with the clearing of roads in the capital which were occupied by informal traders. He however promised to concerned traders that they would be relocated by his institution within 3, 4 or 5 months, in the worst cases scenario, this would be achieved in 6, 7 or 8 months depending on the estimates of MADS which was the company responsible for the implementation of the construction project. These promises were made during the meeting that the Mayor of Dakar

and his team had with all actors operating in its area i.e. those who are in charge of health structures, traders’ associations, neighbourhood leaders, sport and cultural associations, organisations for women empowerment, religious associations. Traders were represented by their different associations.

The new team of the city council then initiated the outlines of its first traders’ relocation project. Several rounds of consultations between the Mayor of the city of Dakar and traders were held in the city hall. Initial meetings between traders and officials of the city of Dakar were attended by representatives of all 26 associations. In the interest of efficiency and for rapid decision making, the directorate of Halls and Markets as well as the 2nd deputy Mayor decided to reduce the number of representatives at the various meetings. In consultation with the 26 associations, the number was reduced to 8 people. Among this group of eight, 7 came mostly from groupings created from associations whose primary mission is to defend the interests of informal traders. The seven came from the following groupings: FAMATS: 2, SYMAD: 2, RAZI: 1, Dakar Young traders association: 1, COCOGES: 1. In addition, the municipal team, based on the proposal from the associations, co-opted Senior Ndiaga DIOP who is a highly respected trader in Dakar.

The choice of the number of representatives was made according to the weight of representativeness. All these groupings were based in the city of Dakar, but did not all have the same objective regarding the relocation of informal traders of the city of Dakar. The main reason was that the City Council desired to communicate with all those who were traders in general. Among the group of 8 only FAMATS, the Dakar young traders association and the SYMAD were organisations that were fighting for the improvement of informal traders’ conditions. As for the Collective of Women Traders of Economic Grouping of Senegal (COCOGES), it was a division of the Association of Employers through the National Confederation of Employers of Senegal (CNES). RASI (Coalition of Actors of the Informal Sector) was in all categories of the informal sector. From the standpoint of geographic location, we note that apart FAMATS, which had members in several markets in Dakar and in the regions, all other groupings had a limited scope between the city of Dakar and the centenary avenues. It should also be noted that items on the agenda which have not reached consensus during meetings between the group of 8 and the technical team of the city council, are not adopted; they are discussed again in the following meeting. So from 2011, the group of 8 organised weekly meetings with the city council to track the progress made on planned activities.

The city council changed its communication strategy; it developed an innovative participatory approach with traders. This approach can be represented as follows in the table below:



The participatory model implemented by the city council is defined in the following six steps namely:

Step 1: Identification: The city council puts trader-related line items in its budget.

Step 2: Discussion: This is the meeting between the concerned groups and the services of the city council aimed at setting up priorities in terms of actions to be undertaken during the budget year.

Step 3: Selection of Contractor: The coalition of traders defines the criteria for the choice of the contractor and the modalities for the examination of technical and financial aspects.

Step 4: Execution: This concerns the implementation of actions on the ground.

Step 5: Monitoring and Evaluation: Both parties follow the progress of the project.

Step 6: Monitoring and Evaluation: The two groups together carry out Monitoring and Evaluation

Step 7: Sharing with Beneficiaries: Any ideas on projects or actions to be undertaken by the city council for traders are discussed. Both parties together prioritise all actions to be implemented.

The participatory spirit of the city council is very much appreciated by traders, among them some have declared, "**This was the first time since I started trading on the streets in Dakar, that I sit down with city council officials to talk about the improvement of my working conditions.**"

Regarding the operative mode for relaying the information to members, associations have divided the geographical area where they practice their trade into sectors. In each sector, there is a representative who conveys the information. Thus, after each meeting organised with the city council or any other entity, all traders get all relevant information about it. It must be said that this is often facilitated by the fact that traders hold regular meetings among themselves in their work area. The tontine system which is very developed among them is the union belt.

These meetings have enabled the city council and the different traders' associations to draw up a programme for improving working conditions. This comprehensive programme is aimed at relocating more than 2,000 people in the Dakar Plateau local municipality. In the following days the city council bought a plot of 2747 m² for over one billion CFA and initiated negotiations about another much bigger site in the same municipality in order to achieve the objectives of relocation and of decongestion of streets.

In the momentum of its new participatory strategy, the city council funded a seminar for the group of 8 with the purpose of defining the criteria for the invitation to tender for the construction of the new site and the conditions for the distribution of canteens and stalls.

So, after several meetings among them, traders analysed the invitation to tender and chose the contractor who would build the new site for relocation situated in the Plateau local municipality more specifically in Petersen. Some of these traders told us: **"The city council has really let us do our project," "In reality it is us who are piloting this project with the support of Mayor Khalifa Sall."** To support the project, the city council provided traders with a savings and credit cooperative for the city of Dakar. They opened savings accounts to acquire canteens or stalls. Through this project, the city council offered to traders the possibility to save 25% of the cost of the canteen or stalls, the remainder being payable over three years. Traders who had already paid their proportionate share even had the opportunity to choose their canteen number on the contractor's plan. These conditions of facilitation had never been done before for informal traders.

This new kind of partnership marked the beginning of a competition between the state and Dakar city council. We should remember that the city of Dakar was managed by the opposition who won almost all local government elections in 2009.

The government, wanting to use informal traders in their electoral game, blocked the project of the city of Dakar by not paying its endowment fund. The endowment fund is the budget transferred by the government to local governments to enable them to make investments in addition to their own income. It is important to remember that the policy of decentralisation gives full autonomy to Mayors to undertake community investments in their geographic area.

In addition, the political leaders of the ruling party (PDS) created committees to support the President of the Republic for his re-election from the very first round of elections. In this vein, some organisations became committees of PDS. The presidents of some associations even organised meetings of support and made public statements in support of President Abdoulaye Wade. As a result, the traders' movement whose objective is to defend their trading activities, split into three camps, the supporters of the ruling party, the apolitical and supporters of the opposition. This whole situation encountered by traders was intensified with the advent of the National Agency for the Settlement of Informal Traders (ASMA). Four months ahead of the presidential elections, the battle to recover the city of Dakar was engaged on all fronts and traders were among the groups to recover because of their number and location, in that they live mostly on the outskirts of Dakar.

Still in its tracks of political recovery to gain votes of informal traders who are after all thousands of people, the Presidency of the Republic created at the end of 2011 the National Agency for the Settlement of Senegalese Informal Traders (ASMA) whose mission is to identify and relocate informal traders. Its activities cover the whole country.

By creating ASMA, they created a legal paradox between the decree no. 76,018 prohibiting informal trading and the Agency. Indeed according to the decree no. 76,018 of 16th January 1976, made under Law no. 67.50 of 29 November 1976, as amended, public authorities consider the practice of informal trading as a crime. Thus the law condemns the guilty to:

- o An imprisonment for 1 month to 2 years
- o A fine of FCFA 10 000 to 100 000
- o An opportunity to prosecute the offender in the act in accordance with the Code of Criminal Procedure.

The Decree no. 76,018 of 16 January 1976 aims to avoid congestion in certain public places of cities by beggars, lepers, and informal traders. This text prohibits the practice of informal trading in order to halt the proliferation of informal traders and in general, of all those who, under cover of a business activity which is seemingly inoffensive, in fact form an army of traders in stolen goods, of pickpockets and other vagabonds.

According to the decree no. 76,018 traders are considered criminals. The State of Senegal should have first repealed the Decree no. 76,018 before creating ASMA. By law, all that ASMA is doing is illegal.

In analysing the incorporation of ASMA into the presidency and not into the Ministry of Trade, it is easily understandable that the aim of creating the agency, even though it is commendable because it can take care of the informal sector, was much more political than social. Besides all its flaws, support for the improvement of traders' conditions is a good thing because it opens up lines of thought for their better management.

In view of these two approaches, it is clear that the state and the Dakar city council have a common objective of creating better conditions for growth of informal traders through the creation of official channels. In addition, they also seek to channel informal trading. This channeling will allow on one hand the streets of the city illegally occupied by informal traders to be freed and secondly, it will enable the tax authorities of the city council to collect more daily levies. Indeed, currently many traders can get around city officials responsible for the collection of daily levies.

Relationship with institutions

With regards to relations about "negotiations" between public and local authorities with traders' associations, we note that there are two kinds of approaches, which are:

The approach 1 it is a prescriptive or top-down approach, done by the state structures through ASMA. In all meetings that ASMA has organised with traders' associations, the latter have had no possibility to change some of their actions or decisions. Meetings are rather opportunities for provision of information. In addition, we note that there is no traders' association or federation in ASMA Board of Directors. Even if there are actions already underway, the scope would have been better if they were fully involved in decision making process.

The approach 2, which is participatory, is done by local authorities. The approach is new and recent, and started following the political change of March 2009. It was developed mainly by opposition city councils. Municipal teams who had to implement actions towards informal traders have done so after several meetings with them.

This new approach is caused by the fact that the majority of local municipalities are now under the management of the opposition but also because the lessons of the 2007 riots are still in the minds of Senegalese people who did not appreciate the State methods of using the police to evict informal traders. **"They do not give us work but they want to push us to steal. No, we refused that by showing that we are a force but also that we are part of the people."**

Almost all newly elected leaders from the last local government elections of 2009 have undertaken participatory approaches in their actions. In addition, they also need money to meet basic investments and commitments that they have made in their respective geographical areas. In the various communities that we visited, no administrative body has statistics only for hawkers and informal traders in general. However, those who are in charge of the issue in city councils have noted that there is a significant increase in revenues from daily levies, which can be explained on one hand by the fact that there are almost no evictions anymore in that some are becoming settled in places where they used to do business, and on another hand there are seasonal newcomers in markets especially during the dry season when there are no farming activities.

Today the relationship between traders and local authorities is no longer confrontational since the last elections in 2009. **"We are now partners with the Mayor of Dakar"** one trader told us. We are also seeing participatory initiatives for the development taken by traders; this is the case in cities like Touba located at 180 km from Dakar, where it is the traders' association (estimated at more than 1,000 people) who initiated the collection of their own annual fee which is paid to the rural authority (equivalent of city council) to enable it to meet its multiple needs. As part of occupational health, they organise every Friday, a general cleaning of the central market and its surroundings. This is a very innovative approach in that it is the traders who determine their ability to pay and support the local authority at the same time. **"It is in our best interest to support our rural authority; many of us do not have deep pockets. This trade helps us to cater for our daily expenses"**.

This strategy of listening has even improved the level of understanding between traders' associations and local authorities. As an example, we can cite:

- ✓ In Dakar at Petersen site, informal traders in collaboration with the municipal police have identified areas where traders must not display their merchandises. Two "police officers" ensure the strict application of the measure.
- ✓ In the local municipality of Patte d'Oie, the new Mayor organised a meeting with informal traders. He proposed to them the redesign of stalls and a consultation in case of problems which are within his jurisdiction. This took place about four months after

his appointment on 22nd March, 2009. Since then, there have been no evictions which were previously very common in this area. The city council effectively redesigned some stalls which pleased some traders who are now under better working conditions. It should be noted that after this meeting, traders operating in this area scrupulously respected the ban on displaying their goods in prohibited areas. The traders' office plays the role of police. It should be noted that there is no written document between the two parties but tacit agreements. Finally, it is important to note that the Patte d'Oie municipality is part of local government entities won by the opposition following the municipal election of March 22, 2009.

- ✓ In Mbour, there is consensus between the Mayor and informal traders for the use of greenfield site called "market Diaobé" for the regrouping and settling of several traders in the municipality.
- ✓ In Thies, in 2008, the Mayor of the city issued a decree increasing the rent fees of the canteens from FCFA 2500 to 10 000 per month. Traders realised that by paying the lease of the canteens and the municipal levy for ten years, they poured over a billion CFA into the coffers of the municipality. But during the same period, the municipality did not make an investment of more than two million in the market. The traders subsequently refused to respect the municipal decree which was finally removed.

Regarding relationship among businesses that have canteens or shops and informal traders, they were very confrontational but they are now working smoothly because the new informal traders are well informed about administrative laws. Indeed, no bylaw prohibits the installation of stalls in front of a store; it is just a matter of respecting the distance of 3 metres between the door of the shop and the stalls. The understanding is better now because most businesspeople have their own parents or brothers in the group of informal traders who trade around markets or in the arteries of the city. Added to this is that many informal traders do their bulk purchases from these businesses that are their principal suppliers.

Positive results achieved by traders through their struggle

Depending on the site, we can note the various positive results that traders have achieved that improve their working conditions.

Despite the legal provisions on informal trading which have remained unchanged for the past 35 years, there was the creation of the Agency for the settlement of informal traders (ASMA). It enables traders to have at least one interlocutor at the level of public authorities to raise their problems and initiate real actions for the development of the informal trading sector, although it must be acknowledged that its functioning especially with regards to decision-making still needs to be improved for better efficiency of its actions on the ground. With ASMA being an agency attached to the Presidency of the Republic, it is certain that these multiple problems reach the Head of State who, despite the support of another political line, is very positive for the informal trading sector.

With ASMA, they include:

- ✓ The surety support that ASMA has established at the level of the micro credit institutions of Dakar to facilitate the credit guarantee sought by traders. So far 450 traders' cases have been supported. In addition, ASMA also subsidises 30% of the amount of each loan; more than 15 million francs have enabled some of them to acquire canteens or to strengthen their working capital. Although the number is still very small, it is already a form of partnership, of which the results are already very profitable for those who have never obtained such benefits from credit institutions despite their social nature.
- ✓ The capacity building component in managing and organising for traders which unfortunately was not implemented because of regime changes during elections.
- ✓ Identification and obtaining another site for the relocation of 4000 traders located in the city of Dakar. This site in addition to the one of the city council will enable relocation of a large number of traders.

It is important to note that all these actions that are currently being implemented by ASMA are the outcome of study days organised by traders in 2009 with the support of the NGO ENDA Tiers Monde through its cell ENDA ECOPOLE which responded positively to the request for funding for these study days as part of its programme of fighting poverty. It must be noted that the current site which will enable the relocation of some of informal traders, belonged to ENDA. It was there that the previous offices of ENDA ECOPOLE were located. The site was sold to the Dakar city council.

With local authorities, they include:

- ✓ Participatory mode of decision making on all aspects concerning the improvement of working conditions (occupational safety, facilitation for obtaining canteens and stalls, etc.) of informal traders.
- ✓ The assistance (credit line, democratic management for obtaining canteens and stalls, simplified modalities for obtaining canteens, etc.) received for the relocation of over 1000 traders in the inner city.
- ✓ The authorisation granted by the local municipality of HLM to market traders of the same municipality to install stalls with their own funding on free spaces of the municipal road surrounding the market.
- ✓ The agreement in principle between the local municipality of la Patte d'Oie and the coalition of traders for collaborative management of all the problems that can occur in their daily activities.
- ✓ The collaboration between the volunteers who work for Dakar city council in the context of urban mobility and traders who are at Petersen to avoid congestion on the public road.
- ✓ The determination of the amount of the annual levy to be paid by informal traders in Touba to the rural authority to support the institution to pay for its various expenses.

Negative factors affecting traders

The development of traders has certainly known changes since the events of 2007 but it still has more issues that can have negative impact on their activities.

Among them there are:

- ✓ The Law No. 76018 of 16 January 1976 on the prohibition of informal trading which has not been repealed despite the change of attitude of the authorities towards the informal sector.
- ✓ The multiplicity of associations; there are currently 40 associations in the Dakar region. To this, we should add the politicisation of some associations. For a better efficiency in negotiations and demands, all associations should operate under the banner of FAMATS. This is not the case since some associations negotiate directly with ASMA due to their proximity with the current government.
- ✓ The relocation actions are still limited only to traders of the city of Dakar while those in the suburban markets also desire to have their conditions improved.

Selected good practices

This description of good practices will focus on the process of formation of FAMATS, its implementation procedure, lessons learned, learnings drawn from practice and the recommendations for its development.

The need to speak with one voice, to share information in each market and to promote the interests of informal traders was the reason that forced various associations to unite around FAMATS. For its creation, all associations with the exception of one that had political overtones came together. At the end of this meeting, a committee was formed and representatives in markets were appointed afterwards as volunteers. In each market, there is a representative whose mission is to share information on their difficulties with public and local authorities in their area.

By this act, associations support each other in case of difficulties and the committee has information on all markets. We must still recognise that FAMATS has no budget and no office. Associations which are members of FAMATS still keep their autonomy of action. Meetings between office bearers are held only if necessary; each member bears the costs related to transportation and others. This is also reflected in the functioning of FAMATS.

As part of this experience, the procedure for its creation was done according to the following approach:

- Creation of a small group of informants;
- Explanation tours in Dakar markets and in some regions;
- Organisation of the launch of the Federation;

- General meeting/election of office bearers and representatives.

Lessons drawn from FAMATS:

- FAMATS which brings together virtually all traders' associations can validly negotiate all issues related to working conditions which is the main issue in traders' struggle.
- The absence of a permanent staff for FAMATS who would deal with daily management, monitoring decisions and meetings with municipalities. Today, the chairperson and all other office bearers are informal traders; their family responsibilities mean that they cannot close their shops for several days to take care of administrative aspects of their organisation for instance or to monitor activities in other regions. They are volunteers and volunteerism has its limits.
- The lack of a strategic plan document at FAMATS is a handicap for this organisation which aims to strongly support sector development.

Lessons learnt

The study on Informal traders enabled us to draw the following lessons:

Among Informal traders:

Positive aspects:

- ✓ A desire to change their status, to move from the situation of informal trader to become a stationed trader owning canteens for a more profitable business.
- ✓ The understanding that there is a need of unity in order to confront the public authority; this is what led to the grouping of associations into the federation.
- ✓ A beginning of a reflection about ways to increase their profit through the possibility of establishing a traders' purchasing centre to reduce the cost of supply of their goods. Indeed, some presidents believe that by combining their means and the support of some partners, they can go to China for example, buy their goods and redistribute them at a lower cost to members. Through this, they will make more profits and will create conditions for their own development.

Negative aspects:

- ✓ Social aspects such as social protection and training are not yet a priority for informal traders.

Among authorities:

Positive aspects:

- ✓ A beginning of change in the strategy to look after traders through permanent meetings,

- ✓ A prospective thinking underway for the development of the sector with the creation of ASMA;
- ✓ Some local authorities are increasingly interested in traders' working conditions

Negative aspect:

- ✓ Failure to repeal the Act n° 76.018 of 16 January 1976 since the Government of Senegal has created a policy of decentralisation and ASMA.

Recommendations

To propel the development of street vendors, we suggest the following recommendations for development partners:

- To support FAMATS to establish a functional office with a permanent staff for the daily management and monitoring of all actions.
- To support FAMATS in developing its strategic plan for development of the street trade sector.
- To build the capacity of associations in negotiation and advocacy techniques to better propel the changes underway at the ASMA.
- To support thw association to define a communication plan in respect of all local authorities nationally.
- To support the National Confederation of Workers of Senegal (CNTS) to organise associations and expand unionisation.
- To support CNTS in collaboration with associations to organise large-scale advocacy for the repeal of the law 76 018.

Conclusion

Informal trading is now a phenomenon that can no longer be ignored in Senegal due to the number of persons who are active but especially its role of social stabiliser. Its impact on the social and economic life of the population is well demonstrated. However, despite its economic importance, public authorities have shown great determination to end the problem of informal trading. However faced with a fierce opposition from traders determined to continue their livelihood activities, attitudes towards them have since evolved. Thus, state institutions have set up a structure to support the new political line and start discussions for its development. Besides that, there are also municipalities which are developing highly innovative strategies to support the sector by implementing a strategy based on a participatory dialogue.

These attitudes could not have evolved if traders' associations had not taken their destiny in their onw hands by creating spaces for coming together and discussions to facilitate the struggle for the improvement of their working condition. To achieve their goal, various movements have combined their strategy by creating a federation of associations. However, despite good progress in federating, there are still actions to conduct both in respect of

political powers and their own organisations to strongly support their development. These actions include, for example the repeal of Decree No. 76,018 of 16 January, 1976, and strengthening the organisational and managerial capacity of grassroots organisations.

ANNEXURES

List of persons interviewed and literature reviewed

1. List of persons interviewed.

Khadim BABOU, Chairperson of informal traders of Petersen

Serigne Modou GUEYE, Chairperson of informal traders in the market of Castors

Birame TOURE, Chairperson of informal traders of Nabil Choucair Grand Yoff

Assane THIAM, Chairperson of informal traders of HLM market "WA NAHWI" and
Chairperson of the FAMATS

Moustapha THIAM, Chairperson of informal traders of TOUBA ocass

Mame Balla DIOUF, Dakar Young traders association

Mame FALL, Chairperson of informal traders of MBOUR

Annie DIOUF, Secretary General of the FAMATS and Chairlady of the National Organisation
of women stall traders (ONFECOMAT)

Assane FALL, Director General of MADS

Amath GAYE, Technical Director of ASMA

Emmanuel DIONE, ENDA ECOPOLE

Fatou Bintou YAFFA, CNTS

Mr Gueye , 1st Deputy Mayor of the city of Dakar

Mr Pap Ababacar SECK, 2nd Deputy Mayor of the city of Dakar

Mr Moulaye SECK, Chairperson of SYSMAD

Mr A SOW, Secretary General of the SYSMAD

Mr Pape Soulye SECK, Chairperson of informal traders of Tilène market

2. List of books consulted

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