

Trinity College Trinity College Digital Repository

Senior Theses and Projects

Student Works

Spring 2015

A City in the Making: An Analysis of the Built Environment, Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Pikine, Senegal

Salima Etoke

Trinity College, Hartford, CT, Salima.Etoke@trincoll.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Etoke, Salima, "A City in the Making: An Analysis of the Built Environment, Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Pikine, Senegal".
Senior Theses, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 2015.
Trinity College Digital Repository, <http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/theses/492>

A City in the Making: An Analysis of the Built Environment, Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Pikine, Senegal

By Salima Etoke

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies of Trinity College.
April 29, 2015

Acknowledgments

This thesis wouldn't be possible without the help of many people. I want to take a moment to thank them!

- ❖ In Senegal, I would like to thank:
 - The staff and professors at CIEE for their support during my time abroad.
 - Professor Ndior, Professor Diallo and Professor Kane for helping me make contacts.
 - My host family and their willingness to let me stay during the summer.
 - The family of Abdoul Sy for welcoming me into their home.
 - The participants who were willing to share their experiences in Pikine.
 - Serigne Mansour Tall and Professor Ndiouga Benga for their interviews on urban development in Dakar.
 - The students on my program and local Senegalese who I met.
 - Hamidou Ba, my translator and whose workaholic tendencies allowed me to explore Pikine for my fieldwork.

- ❖ At Trinity, I would like to thank:
 - The Faculty and the Political Science Departments for making my stay in Senegal possible. I wouldn't have imagined doing fieldwork in another country without the grants I received
 - Dean Chen and Professor Myers for introducing me to Urban Studies and cities. It was their work that led me to study abroad in Senegal. I am thankful for their guidance with this project.
 - Professor Kamola and Professor Maxwell for their help on my thesis for Political Science.
 - Professor Humphreys and her guidance in the French Department. Without her encouragement, I would have doubted my ability to conduct research in French
 - Chaplain Read, Megan O'Brien and the Chapel Community for creating a safe space on campus.

- ❖ Friends and Family, I would like to thank:
 - My parents. Thank you for the sacrifices you've made for me to be here today.
 - My sisters. Thank you for your love and support.
 - George Denkey for the enlightened discussions about Africa, this thesis and the struggles that come with thinking that writing 60 pages is a good idea.
 - Judy and Roland Johnson for all their help during my time in Hartford.
 - Sara Lee for being my study buddy at 155 Allen Place.

Abstract

The Dakar Metropolitan area is a vast area containing the capital city of Senegal, Dakar and the four departments or administrative zones of Dakar, Pikine, Guédiawaye and Rufisque. Dakar is the economic, cultural and political center of the country. Its location and opportunities draws migrants every year from the rural areas. Finding a high cost of living, migrants settle into the suburbs while adding pressure to a system already facing rapid urbanization and failing infrastructure. Through a mixed method analysis of primary data composed of questionnaires, interviews and observations, this case study of Pikine seeks to understand the built environment and lived experiences of residents in the “banlieue” or “suburb” of Dakar and the process by which people differentiate between Pikine and Dakar. This analysis responds to this question: Is Pikine a city that’s increasingly independent and shaping its own destiny or is it still heavily defined by its identity as “une banlieue” of Dakar? The conclusion of the study is that Pikine is a suburb by urban form and functionality, which is defined by the failing built environment, an area lacking employment opportunities and one where the residents are victims of misconceptions about crime and danger. In contrast, the communities within Pikine envision themselves as a city; offering opportunities for everyone and serving as a model for other cities in Senegal.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework	6
Chapter 2: Urban Development in the Dakar Region	12
Chapter 3: Methodology	16
Chapter 4: Findings: Built Environment.....	22
Chapter 5: Findings: Lived Experiences.....	39
Chapter 6: Findings: Perceptions of Pikine	48
Conclusion	63
Bibliography	66
Appendix.....	71

Introduction

In 2000, the UN estimated that half of the world's population was living in cities and expected it to surpass sixty percent by 2050.¹ With the rise of globalization, people are concerned with cities and the opportunities that they offer. Global cities like New York, Shanghai and Paris are the center of the connected world where “knowledge-intensive industries such as technology and finance thrive on the clustering of workers who share ideas and expertise.”² Apart from these cities, those in the developing world in Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia are urbanizing at rapid rates. These are cities where millions of people are living without access to sanitation or clean water; they depend on the informal economy; there isn't equal access to education; and issues of environmental sustainability are on the rise.³ These cities are sites of growing inequality between families that have benefited from economic growth and those who struggle to meet their daily needs.⁴

African cities are an interesting mix. They range from Kinshasa, which is the second largest city in the world where French is spoken; to Cairo, Egypt, which was home to the Egyptian Revolution in 2011; to Dakar, Senegal, a city where history meets modernity and religion. Cities in Africa are sites of mixture of the colonial history where they were shaped to fulfill the need of the colonizers and modernity, where the connection between people in cities and the outside world influences what's happening in these spaces. As the UN Habitat reports, “Africa is in the midst of simultaneously unfolding major transitions in its demography, economy, politics, technological

¹Laros, M., & Jones, F. (2014). *The state of African cities 2014: re-imagining sustainable urban transitions*. Nairobi, Kenya: UN Habitat, 9; Ghosh, S. (2013, May 16). Sustainable Urbanisation – Challenges in the 21st Century (Discussion Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.consultancyafrica.com>.

²Space and the City. (2015, April 4). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.

³Archer, K. (2013). *The city: the basics*. New York City, New York: Routledge, 1.

⁴The Great Divide: Social Inequality in a fast growing Africa. (2012, May 25). *Afritorial*. Retrieved from <http://afritorial.com>

development and environments.”⁵ These cities are facing growth and challenges associated with urbanization as people leave the countryside seeking opportunities in the urban areas. They are spaces where governance is being worked out and appropriate parties must find solutions to these concerns. The future depends on how residents, leaders and other parties will become engaged in addressing these problems.

As an Urban Studies student, I knew the stereotypes about African cities. They were sites of chaos, disorder and some instances; they wouldn't be classified as cities because of our understanding of urban development. They are chaotic spaces where cars, buses, animals and people share the same roads. They are disorganized because the lack of a grid system makes navigation difficult. African cities don't seem to interest tourists to the same extent that London, Prague or Paris do. With the knowledge of these stereotypes and living as a Congolese-American in the US, I decided to spend six months in Dakar, Senegal.

When I lived in Dakar, I had the perfect occasion to be in a major African city and forced to question everything I had learned about cities. I had an interesting time because as an American, I was privileged and given certain opportunities. I lived in Sacré-Cœur 3, a neighborhood of middle class families with their villas and paved roads. I was informed that residents didn't rely on public transportation and either used taxis or their own cars. Every Friday I traveled to Yeumbeul, a suburb outside of Dakar. The roundtrip took four hours when it should have lasted an hour. My host family failed to understand why an American would leave the sanctuary of Dakar and go to places that some Senegalese didn't visit. Once here, I was reminded by the residents that I was in the “banlieue” or the French term for suburb. When I decided to conduct research, I wanted to focus on the “suburb” part that people made a distinction about. I wanted to figure out why everyone

⁵ Laros and Jones, 9.

felt the need to remind me that I had left the city, which was Dakar and ventured out to the suburbs, where those with the right minds weren't willing to go.

Up to this point, I was aware of the alternate theories of urbanization in Africa and the scholars who articulated that the theories developed for urban studies were about the West. These scholars state that new theories must be created to explain the phenomenon occurring in cities across Africa; the contribution of African cities to the discipline; and the complex history of these cities.⁶ According to AbdouMaliq Simone, "... we will never really appreciate what an accumulated history of urban Africa has to offer our knowledge about cities in general unless we find a way to get beyond the enormous problems and challenges."⁷ Garth Myers argues that "the first step toward any alternative vision lies therefore in the recognition that African cities are quite different from one another in patterns, processes, forms and functions."⁸ I knew that African cities belonged to the national and the international; they are places where tradition meets modernity; and lastly, they tell the story of the African people and their interactions within the urban environment. I couldn't argue the same about suburbanization and suburbs within Africa.

At the beginning of my research, I wanted to examine the social disparities in the built environment and lived experiences between individuals in the city of Dakar and those in the surrounding suburbs of Yeumbeul and Pikine. Dakar is the economic, cultural and political center of Senegal. The Mayor, Khalifa Sall described it as the "beating heart of Senegal."⁹ Its location and opportunities draws migrants every year from the rural areas.¹⁰ Finding a high cost of living, migrants settle into the suburbs while adding

⁶ See Simone (2004) and Myers (2011).

⁷ Simone, A. (2004). *For the city yet to come. Changing African life in four cities*. London, UK : Duke University Press, 16.

⁸ Myers, G. A. (2011). *African cities: Alternative visions of urban theory and practice* (p. 256). Zed Books Limited, 7.

⁹ A Planet of Suburbs. (2014, December 7). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

pressure to a system already facing rapid urbanization and failing infrastructure. I wanted to address the urban policies that have created a distinction between the core, “en ville” and the periphery, “la banlieue.” What explains the differences in the built environment between Dakar and Pikine? What effects have urban policies have on creating the distinction between the core, “en ville” and the periphery, “la banlieue”? These two questions were going to play a central role in my investigation. In the first part, I planned to speak with residents about conditions. I would then access secondary data that explained the differences between the Dakar and Pikine.

The focus of my thesis progressed along with my research. Ultimately, Pikine became the case study for analyzing the built environment and lived conditions of an African suburb and then, providing characteristics that differentiate the suburb from the city. I revised my research question to be: Is Pikine a city that’s increasingly independent and shaping its own destiny or is it still heavily defined by its identity as “une banlieue” of Dakar? In addressing this question, I would analyze the literature review on suburbs, specifically in Africa. I was concerned with understanding how the residents perceived the differences between the city and the suburb and how they made this distinction. This analysis would focus on whether Pikine has become its own city; with its own problems and therefore this label as a “suburb” is an indication of its urban development in relation to Dakar and less about its present and future identities.

The first chapter offers the theoretical framework on suburbanization and suburbs. It highlights the ambiguity in defining suburb, its characteristics and functionality. Chapter two follows with a background chapter on the urban development of the Dakar metropolitan area. I discuss my methodology in chapter 3 for my fieldwork between May and July 2014 in Pikine. It provides the rationale for choosing Pikine as a case study and then employing questionnaires, interviews and observations. The results from my

research are found in the next three chapters. Chapter 4 analyzes the responses on the built environment. Chapter 5 presents the living conditions of the residents of Pikine and how the individuals, community members and local leaders respond to these problems. Chapter 6 shows how residents of Pikine are perceived by the residents of Dakar; what the residents understand to be the difference between the city and the suburb; and lastly, the future envisioned by its residents.

The conclusion of the study is that Pikine is a suburb by urban form and functionality, which is defined by the failing built environment, an area lacking employment opportunities and one where the residents are victims of misconceptions about crime and danger. In contrast, the communities within Pikine envision themselves as a city; offering opportunities for everyone and serving as a model for other cities in Senegal.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

While research on Pikine was fueled by an interest in African cities and urbanization, the theoretical framework that best situates Pikine is the process of suburbanization and the concept of suburb or “banlieue.” This chapter presents the literature review on these theories and how studies have investigated suburbs, mostly in the Western Hemisphere. It will highlight how these theories shape our understanding of the relationship between a city and its suburbs and some of the emerging works on African suburbs.

Defining Urbanization and Suburbanization

As stated in the introduction, 50% of the world’s population lives in cities. In the developing world, countries are experiencing the movement from the villages to the rural areas at such higher rates than before. “The shift in population from countryside to cities across the world is often called the ‘great urbanization’”¹¹ Research on urbanization has begun analyzing its consequences on cities, the environment, poverty, gender relations, policy making and urban planning.¹² This research has also shown that urbanization has impacted cities and their residents differently. With the movement of people comes the added responsibility and strain on infrastructures facing difficulties to provide for everyone. Since all the residents cannot settle into the city or the core because of the expenses, they are settling in the outer areas.

Urbanization and suburbanization are occurring simultaneously as cities cannot accommodate everyone who wants to settle there. *The Economist* finds that “in developed

¹¹ “The planet of suburbs,” 2.

¹² See Gilbert & Gugler (1982); McCarthy & Knox (2005); McGee (1971).

and developing worlds, outskirts are growing faster than cores. This is not the great urbanisation. It is the great suburbanisation.”¹³ The Dictionary of Sociology defines suburbanization as “... the process by which cities expand peripherally, initially by out-migration of population and economic activity from dense urban cores, to less dense contiguous settlements.”¹⁴

Research on Suburbs

The American model of suburbs is recognized and studied around the world. Suburbanization took place after WWII and shaped the American urban landscape. This was a result of many factors. Suburbs were homes to those who fled the inner-cities and the challenges they presented. They were a result of “white flight” or the fleeing by white families as Blacks migrated from the South and began seeking opportunities in cities.¹⁵ Transportation, including the development of a highway system, made it easier to live outside the city and to commute between the suburb and the city. Lastly, suburbs developed as the government passed legislation that allowed some people to be able to afford housing in the suburbs.

Suburbs also bring to mind the French suburb, which is known as “la banlieue.” Those surrounding Paris cannot be simply categorized as hosting a certain type of people. Some of the Parisian suburbs have wealthy communities while others feature large percentages of the lower class. Tissot declares that “‘banlieues’ have become the symbol of a bleak urban environment, deviant youth and segregated minorities, whereas ‘suburb’ in the United States designates quiet, wealthy areas, with nice, large houses and white

¹³ “The Planet of suburbs,” 2.

¹⁴ Marshall, G. "Suburbanization." A Dictionary of Sociology. 1998. Retrieved April 27, 2015 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-suburbanization.html>.

¹⁵ Grubb, W. N. (1982). The flight to the suburbs of population and employment, 1960–1970. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 11(3), 348-367.

middle- or upper-class families.”¹⁶ From my own experiences in Paris, there’s a change in the built environment as you travel between the Paris and the suburbs. The uniformity in the buildings gives away to the rising projects housing the groups that settled in France in the 1980s. These suburbs were sites of unrest in 2005 when the youths and polices clashed among grievances. Tissot asserts that “the problem of ‘banlieues’ was defined as a problem posed by immigrants, and more precisely by their supposedly insurmountable cultural and religious differences.”¹⁷ In other conversations, I learned that the residents in the suburbs face difficulties in commuting because they have to travel into the city to take trains heading towards the other suburbs. On my study away program during the fall of 2013, we were reminded to be careful on the RER or the suburban trains as there were problems and a greater possibility of being pickpocketed.

Suburbs exist outside of the Western hemisphere and they take different forms. Some are similar to the ones in the US with middle class families while others host the lower classes. Vaughan argues that “the idea of the suburb as the place where the waste of the city (both human and otherwise) is disposed of is not without basis in fact, as dirty trades such as leather tanning and institutions, including hospitals for the mentally ill and prisons, have traditionally been located beyond the urban periphery.”¹⁸ In reality, suburbs range from shanty towns and slums to high-rises, car orientated places that are looking to the West as an example.¹⁹

Despite the fact that suburbs are found throughout the world, there remains some ambiguity in the research. Vaughan states that “beyond the most perfunctory level of

¹⁶ Tissot, S. (2008). " French suburbs": A New Problem or a New Approach to Social Exclusion?. Working Paper Series, (160), 00-00, 7.

¹⁷ Ibid, 5.

¹⁸ Vaughan, L., Griffiths, S., Haklay, M. M., & Jones, C. K. E. (2009). Do the suburbs exist? Discovering complexity and specificity in suburban built form. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(4), 475-488, 9.

¹⁹ “A Suburban World.” (2014, December 06). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.

definition, it is far from clear as to what this term actually means or indeed, whether it can be thought to possess meaning at all.²⁰ This citation shows that there is diversity within the research that analyzes the different forms and definitions that scholars and researchers use to discuss suburbs. Forsyth explains that some scholars define suburbs based on the physical and built environment, functionality, social or cultural characteristics.²¹ This variety illustrates that not all suburbs are similar and that they must be understood and categorized depending on the country and city being studied. In the American case, the residential homes are often uniformed and built as single detached homes. McManus defends that there's an agreement on the location of suburbs: they are found on the outside of the city.²² Another point mentioned is the fact that suburbs serve different functions which have been greatly influenced by globalization.²³ Some serve as dormitories where people go to spend the night. Other suburbs host major service sector or technological jobs because they provided incentives for companies to settle there.²⁴

Other than defining suburbs and their functions and built environment, studies on suburbs have also analyzed issues of governance and the relationships between cities and suburbs.²⁵ The issue of governance comes up as different actors ranging from residents, developers and government officials at the local and county levels all have an impact on suburbs. It provides the discussion of who determines the responsibility of meeting the basic needs of people in communities from urban planning to providing services. The

²⁰ Ibid, 1.

²¹ Forsyth, A. (2012). Defining suburbs. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 27(3), 270-281, 4.

²² McManus, R., & Ethington, P. J. (2007). Suburbs in transition: new approaches to suburban history. *Urban History*, 34(02), 317-337.

²³ Schnore, L. F. (1956). The functions of metropolitan suburbs. *American journal of Sociology*, 61(5), 453-458.

²⁴ Harris, C. D. (1943). Suburbs. *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1), 1-13.

²⁵ Ekers, M., Hamel, P., & Keil, R. (2012). Governing suburbia: modalities and mechanisms of suburban governance. *Regional Studies*, 46(3), 405-422.

question asked is whether suburbs are autonomous and able to govern themselves or if they are part of a regional government.²⁶

Research on African Suburbs

Research on suburbs and suburbanization in the West has influenced the studies on African suburbs. One of the challenges encountered by the researchers is in the use of the word. The English word, suburb, doesn't translate well for every country. In the African context, scholars have turned to French or Portuguese terms to describe this phenomenon.²⁷ Despite accounting for these differences, they have found that what is seen as city, suburb or hinterlands can't easily be separated. A studying looking at urban spaces in Luanda using the Portuguese terms finds that "historical processes of urban development and change within Angolan cities make it very difficult to delineate clear boundaries between cidade and bairro or baixa and musseque."²⁸ Some of these studies on African suburbs have analyzed the lived experiences of people in these areas, looking at governance and informality. Mabin mentions that "suburbs in African cities offer alternative sites, outside the city centre and its imagined cultural hegemony, for thinking about how African urban residents live their lives and make meaning."²⁹

Conclusion

In placing my research in this theoretical framework, I am following the recommendations of scholars who argue that there's a gap in knowledge about African

²⁶ See Dreier, Mollenkopf & Swanstrom (2012); Mitchell-Weaver, Miller, & Deal (2000).

²⁷ Mabin, A., Butcher, S., & Bloch, R. (2013). Peripheries, suburbanisms and change in sub-Saharan African cities. *Social Dynamics*, 39(2), 167-190, 5.

²⁸ Sandra Roque (2011) Cidade and bairro: classification, constitution and experience of urban space in Angola, *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, 37:3, 332-348, 5

²⁹ Mabin, "Peripheries," 16.

suburbs. Simone and Abdoul have conducted recent fieldwork on informality in Pikine.³⁰ The studies looking at the built environment and lived experiences of residents of Pikine date back to the 1970s and 1980s.³¹ Vernière's in-depth qualitative study analyzes the spatial growth of the suburbs of Dakar, providing great details about the early residents of Pikine.³² Sow makes reference to Vernière and examines whether Pikine has become its own city or if it remains a suburb. She studies the built environment and lived experiences of residents, finding that "at the time, it was an area with an urban potential, but was separated from the capital geographically, economically and socially."³³ This research and analysis allows me to investigate the characteristics of a modern African suburb and to see how the responses have changed from these earlier studies. In 1983, Sow argued that "more and more, Pikine is tending to become a city within the city, in so far as it gradually secrets its own social tradition, its own history."³⁴ In my own study, I investigate similar questions, coming with different results that will be explained in chapters four through six. All these earlier studies provide the background to understand the complexities of suburbs and suburbanization. They also serve a similar function of showing that: "... what is currently happening at the periphery of African cities sheds a new light on an urban process that is observed all around the world."³⁵

³⁰ See Simone (2004) ; Abdoul (2005)

³¹ See Vernière (1973); Sow (1983)

³² Vernière, M. (1973). Campagne, ville, bidonville, banlieue: migrations intra-urbaines vers Dagoudane-Pikine, ville nouvelle de Dakar-Sénégal. *Cahiers des sciences humaines*, 10(2/3), 217-243.

³³ Sow, F. (1983). Pikine, Senegal: a reading of a contemporary African city. Reading the contemporary African city. Singapore: *Concept Media/Aga Khan Award for Architecture*, 45-60, 4.

³⁴ Ibid, 15.

³⁵ Buire, C. (2014). Suburbanisms in Africa? Spatial Growth and Social Transformation in New Urban Peripheries: Introduction to the Cluster. *African Studies*, 73(2), 241-244,3.

Chapter 2: Urban Development of the Dakar Metropolitan Area

Introduction

After providing the theoretical framework, this chapter will discuss the urban development of the Dakar metropolitan area. It provides the necessary background information on the urban geography of Dakar and Pikine. It allows me to situate the area of study and gives the reader context for understanding this urban area and the phenomenon of urbanization and suburbanization. Lastly, this discussion will highlight the differences in the development of the departments in the region that lead to Dakar becoming the capital and Pikine being a suburb.

The Dakar Metropolitan Area

Dakar is the capital city of Senegal, located in West Africa. It's the furthest west on the African continent in the Cap-Vert peninsula. The Dakar Metropolitan area or the Dakar region is a vast area made up of four departments: Dakar, Pikine, Guédiawaye and Rufisque.³⁶ It has 0.3% of the land of Senegal, yet hosts 3 million or 25% of Senegal's population.³⁷ It is estimated that Dakar will have a population of 5 million within a decade.³⁸ The Dakar region is one of fourteen administrative regions within Senegal, which are headed by a regional council with distinct political and administrative powers. These fourteen regions are sub-divided into arrondissements or districts, which are headed by a prefect who is appointed by the government. In the cities, arrondissements are further divided into communes while in the rural areas; they are divided into rural communities. These have city councils and mayors who are directly elected by the

³⁶ See Appendix I, Figure 1

³⁷ Ghosh, S. (2013, May 16). Sustainable Urbanisation – Challenges in the 21st Century (Discussion Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.consultancyafrica.com>.

³⁸ Cessou, S. (2014, November). Dakar, boom city. *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Retrieved from <http://mondediplo.com/2014/11/16dakar>.

people. To summarize, the region of Dakar has four departments, which are further broken down into districts and communes. The people elect members at the regional and commune level.

Dakar: The Capital City Filled with Opportunities

Dakar has many functions within Senegal and the metropolitan area. It serves as the political capital, featuring the Presidential Palace, the National Assembly, and other ministries and their offices located near the tip of the peninsula. It also hosts many embassies and consular offices throughout the city. Dakar serves as the economic capital, with banks, businesses and other economic opportunities. “The city is the site for 80% of the national economic activities....”³⁹ Along the beach of Hann, we find factories manufacturing products to be exported while others are consumed locally. The Leopold Senghor airport is conveniently located in the city. Taking La Corniche, a major road cuts the distance between the airport and downtown to twenty minutes. There is currently works on a newer airport outside the city. Dakar is also the social and cultural capital of Senegal. There are major universities. There are cultural centers, museums, and other amenities.

Urban development of the Metropolitan Area

The Cap-Vert peninsula has a long history dating back to the 15th century when it was settled by the Lebou people. Later in 1536, the Portuguese gained control of island of Gorée, which was used to export slaves. Gorée would switch between the Portuguese, Dutch, English and eventually, the French. The slave trade continued to play a major role until it was abolished in France in 1848. Once this occurred, the French turned their

³⁹ Ibid, 2.

attention to farming peanuts on the mainland. Saint-Louis served as the capital of their empire. Rufisque had an active port that allowed for the transportation of the produce. In 1902, Dakar became the capital of French West Africa, serving a strategic location as a peninsula with access to a port. Colonization served as the vehicle that shaped the city of Dakar and its importance in the country and region.⁴⁰ The French settled near the tip of the peninsula to what is referred to as the Plateau, constructing homes and government offices. They were also responsible for creating other buildings that are still standing today. Similar to other cities with a colonial past, the local people were forced to occupy different spaces in the city. They were housed in the Médina, separated from the Plateau. One factor worth noting is that native populations in Dakar, Rufisque, the Island of Gorée and Saint-Louis received French citizenship, had access to education, found employment in the modern economy and were participants in political affairs.⁴¹ As the native population grew, they needed to be relocated. The first groups settled in different parts of Dakar before being pushed into what became Pikine.

The Development of the Department of Pikine

The department of Pikine has direct connections to the city of Dakar. Here is where the overpopulated masses that could no longer fit into Dakar were sent in the early 1950s. According to Serigne Mansour Tall, Pikine was created when people were forced to move here by the government from Dakar.⁴² Spaliviero asserts that “a displacement of families away from the inner city neighbourhoods was decided by the colonial state: they

⁴⁰ Gellar, S. (1982). *Senegal: an African nation between Islam and the West*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 8.

⁴² Tall, Serigne Mansour. Personal Interview. Dakar: July 15, 2014.

were truly ‘evictions’ framed within urban planning projects.”⁴³ This area lacked the proper infrastructures like roads, electricity, markets and schools to accommodate this new population. Though some basic functions were missing, this part of Pikine would become the “planned” part of the city with some urban planning taking place. The second wave of habitants occurred during the 1970s when the drought in other parts of Senegal forced a rural to urban migration with these groups settling into the suburbs.⁴⁴

Guédiawaye, which is a department within the area, was created as a commuter town for Dakar in the 1950s. It was part of the department of Pikine until the mid -2000s.

Conclusion

This brief history of the urban development of the Dakar metropolitan area shows that Dakar owes its success to the French and their efforts to turn it into the capital of the French West Africa. Their development created the infrastructure that the city needed and coupled with urbanization rates after independence, Dakar became the “beating heart of Senegal.”⁴⁵ On the other hand, the suburbs in the region are not as successful. Rufisque played a greater role in Senegal during colonization when its ports were used for the shipping of peanuts. Pikine and Guédiawaye were created to host the masses of people who were no longer accepted in the capital city. What we find is that this history and urban development shaped the built environment and lived experiences of those in the suburbs today.

⁴³ Spaliviero, R. (2010, April 14). “Dakar's Cine-suburb: Young people create a cine-club in Pikine.” Buala. Retrieved from <http://www.buala.org/en/afroscreen/dakars-cine-suburb-young-people-create-a-cine-club-in-pikine>.

⁴⁴ Maheu, A. (2012). Urbanization and Flood Vulnerability in a Peri-Urban Neighbourhood of Dakar, Senegal: How can Participatory GIS Contribute to Flood Management?. In *Climate Change and the Sustainable Use of Water Resources* (pp. 185-207). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

⁴⁵ “A Planet of Suburbs”

Chapter 3: Methodology

Pikine: A Case Study

The four months in Senegal as a student allowed me to visit the “suburbs” of Dakar on multiple occasions and to decide on Pikine as a case study. These experiences ranged from an internship in Yeumbeul every Friday; an investigation in my development practicum course in Pikine; and a field trip with our professor who was a historian. When I decided to analyze the conditions and lived experiences of those in suburbs within the African context, I settled on Pikine for multiple reasons. The Dakar metropolitan area is vast and covers a large area. Just as it wouldn’t be possible to cover all of the suburbs of LA in this study, the same holds true for Dakar. Pikine served as a case study because it allowed me to explore these issues and then to generalize about other suburbs in Dakar and Africa. I chose four neighborhoods within Pikine to conduct research from the end of May to July 2014. I conducted research in the commune d’arrondissements or districts of Pikine East, West and North.⁴⁶ I worked with Hamidou Ba, who is Senegalese, grew up in Pikine and who had built a network of contacts within the area and agreed to serve as my translator. My project is composed of primary research of mixed methodology including questionnaires, interviews and observations.

Observations

⁴⁶ See Appendix I, Figure 2

Since an important component to my research was to understand the urban form and the interactions of people within the environment, I spent many hours doing observations in Pikine, with and without Hamidou. The first week, I was guided on a tour of Pikine North and South by the translator for 4-5 hours per day. We walked through different neighborhoods, discussing the built environment and other relevant points while introducing me to people in the community. We stopped at different institutions for conversations with people working there. During this time, we visited two markets; one was a very popular fish market and the other was the largest fruit market in the Dakar Metropolitan area. The second week, the translator left to go to Saint Louis for a teaching opportunity and I proceeded to do more observations on my own. I revisited the same areas we had visited, creating a map with popular landmarks and mapping out the main neighborhoods since I didn't anticipate finding a map with street names. I toured different parts, making notes in my journal about the built environment and the activities happening in the city. The objective of these observations was situating myself in the area of fieldwork and matching the theories with the urban form. These observations are presented at the beginning of the chapter on the built environment before providing my findings from the questionnaires.⁴⁷

Questionnaires

Questionnaires were the primary way of collecting data from the residents of Pikine.⁴⁸ This questionnaire was created with assistance from Hamidou and teachers in the area who understood the goal of my research. Their perspective allowed me to collect data while being sensitive to the Senegalese culture. It was written in French, but we administrated it in French or Wolof depending on the participants. The questionnaire had

⁴⁷ See Appendix II for the field notes

⁴⁸ See Appendix V for the questionnaires used in this analysis

28 questions, divided into three sections; general information, access to service and conditions in Pikine. Except for the questions at the beginning which were multiple choices, we left the questions open-ended allowing them freedom.

In the first section, we asked background information about the person to understand if they were raised in Pikine, why they lived in the area, who they lived with and the type of work they do. These answers were not an important component of my analysis, but rather provided general information about residents. After these questions, I focused on the built environment by asking about access to services. The variables for this included transportation/mobility, electricity, water, sewer system, hospitals, roads, spaces of leisure and education. These were formatted as open ended questions to allow residents to speak about the quality of these services as well as their experiences over the years. The last set of questions focused on the conditions in Pikine and the individual, community and government responses. Lastly, I asked the residents to comment on the perception of the suburbs held by city residents, their viewpoint on the differences between Dakar and Pikine and the future they image for Pikine.

At the beginning, I wanted to do a random sample size of 30-50 questionnaires with an equal participation of men and women. After running into some difficulties of not finding people who wanted to answer our questions, we turned to a snowball sample. Hamidou is from Pikine and currently lives there. He's conducted research for his own purpose and had connections with people in the neighborhood. Through his contacts, we would approach people to conduct the questionnaire and then ask them for names of potential participants. We also continued to work with those in the streets of Pikine who were interested in their sharing their viewpoints. Through this combination, I walked away with 33 questionnaires.

We conducted these questionnaires on Mondays through Fridays in the late mornings through early evening. We were finding people who were at their business or doing work and whose time was very valuable to us. During the month of July, it was also Ramadan, a very important religious holiday for Muslims in Senegal. Our questionnaires lasted between 12 minutes and thirty minutes. If the questionnaire was being conducted in Wolof, Hamidou would translate for me in French. If they were done in French, I didn't need any translations. I asked for permission to record the answers to the questionnaires and it was granted for all but one.

Once I returned to the US, I transcribed and translated the questionnaire. Data analysis was composed of coding for major themes on the questions of built environment, lived experiences and the differences between the city and Dakar. I also analyzed the quantitative responses for the 28 respondents who described the quality and access to services. Along with the major themes from their experiences, these numbers provide an angle to the dire situation of the infrastructure. The data obtained from these questionnaires play a major role in supporting my arguments.

Interviews

Interviews played a smaller role in my project since the questionnaires and secondary data was going to address my questions. I conducted two formal interviews with Serigne Mansour Tall at the UN Habitat asking him questions about African cities, the case of Pikine and urban planning.⁴⁹ I also conducted an interview with Professor Ndiouga Benga at the local university. These interviews lasted about 20 minutes. In these interviews, I asked about the history of Pikine and Dakar, urban planning in Africa and major problems facing urban areas in the 21st century. These interviews were conducted

⁴⁹ See Appendix IV for the transcription of the interview with Serigne Mansour Tall

in English and French depending on the comfort level with the English language. I transcribed, translated these interviews and analyzed the data looking for major themes. They provide background information on Pikine and an understanding of the challenges facing cities and suburbs in Africa from a historian and an urban planner. These interviews give a context to the responses from the residents. The other interviews were more informal and conversations with residents that moved beyond what was covered on the questionnaire. They were with local people who had time to sit and discuss their understanding of a “banlieue,” and the contribution of the Pikinois to the rest of Senegal.

Limitations

This project was student driven and so in this section, I would like to discuss the limitations in my project. To begin with, there was a diversity of languages. I was in Senegal to study French, but my coursework and prior experiences allowed me to conduct research in my non-native language without difficulties. My Wolof was non-existent except for the greetings and basic sentences. Not speaking Wolof could mean that I only got the translations and there were things I didn't pick up on or social norms that I didn't understand. When I started transcribing and translating the interviews, sometimes they were going through one translation and other times they were going from Wolof to French to English. There are words and specific phrases that can be lost in this process.

Other than not speaking Wolof, I was paired with a translator because I was a foreign woman conducting research in Pikine. When I contacted the local professors, they advised that I get a translator who was male because of the reputation of the area. I also noticed that as a woman, I was treated differently by men. There were times they would greet Hamidou by shaking his hand but wouldn't do the same for me. Some would nod in my direction and others would act as if I wasn't there. I also noticed during the data

collection process that we were speaking to more men and women. It wasn't necessarily a bias; it was simply the fact that women were harder to find in public spaces. I was concerned that we could be missing an opportunity to know their issues in Pikine. I was able to communicate this dilemma with the translator and address this problem. As women made up 52% of the Senegalese population, it was crucial that they were represented in the sample. Gender played a role in how people perceived me and getting access to women, but it doesn't seem to have impacted the responses to the questionnaire.

Lastly, I would like to make a note about our data collecting process and the limitations with it. We did try random sampling in Pikine but ran into some difficulties before the translator recommended making changes. By the advice of the translator who has conducted research in Pikine before, he recommended not going to random people since many of them have not been educated. We started with people he knew in the community and asked them for recommendations. We continued to reach out to a random sample, but for the most part, we were talking with people in Pikine who had some level of education and could understand the questions we were asking.

Chapter 4: The Built Environment in Pikine

Introduction

Thirty minutes outside of Dakar when the roads aren't congested is the suburb of Pikine. During my stay, I was constantly reminded that people there lead lives that contrasted with those in the city. The first part of my research was to understand the differences in urban form between the city and the suburb. I conducted questionnaires with a group of questions looking at the built environment. The built environment is defined as "the human-made space in which people live, work, and recreate on a day-to-day basis."⁵⁰ Any place, urban or rural, needs certain components of the built environment to function in order to offer its residents a quality of life. Prior research on urbanization in the developing world finds that:

Because of the debt crisis and foreign exchange shortages, maintaining existing infrastructure is difficult to say nothing of providing services to new areas of the city. As a result, planned sites are often so minimally serviced that they are nearly indistinguishable from unplanned ones.⁵¹

In this investigation, I asked, "What is the built environment in Pikine, a suburb of Dakar? How does it differ from that in the city? The variables I used in this analysis include transportation, electricity, water, sewer system, hospitals, roads, spaces of leisure and education. In this chapter, I argue that the built environment of Pikine, unlike the city, shows an area that lacks the basic infrastructure that residents desire, but that some progress within the last 2-3 years has resulted in changes in how residents receive access to services.

⁵⁰ Roof, K; Oleru N. (2008). "Public Health: Seattle and King County's Push for the Built Environment." *J Environ Health* 71: 24-27.

⁵¹ Park, T., Greenberg, J., Nell, E., Marsh, S., Baro, M., & Mjahed, M. (2003). Research on Urbanization in the Developing World: New Directions. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 10(2), 69-94, 7.

Observations

Before analyzing the results from the questionnaires, I would like to begin with observations about Pikine from my fieldwork. Upon arriving from Dakar via public transportation, I began to notice the urban life in a different fashion. All the buses pass through Bounty Pikine, meaning “the doors of Pikine.”⁵² This area has a variety of activities. A narrow road with buses on both sides, market stalls selling products from beignets to soccer memorabilia and the movement of pedestrians welcome me. In this place, I encounter two gas stations with police and guards nearby, keeping the traffic moving. There are long lines of the public transportation that run from Dakar, pass through Pikine and continue to the other “suburbs.” Others are making the return journey. I hear the noises and honking of the TATAs, the *car rapides* with the assistant on the back yelling destinations and the Dakar Dem Dikk, the long buses that seemed crowded every time of the day.⁵³ Among all of this, chariots are driving around, sharing the road with cars as police officers try to maintain order. At this opening, the public transportation has three choices, marking the directions of where they headed and making a note about the main roads. The three main roads in Pikine are Icotaf, Tally Boubess and Tally Boumak. If we follow the road on the right, we are on Icotaf and right before it crosses into Guédiawaye, we run into another gas station which serves as a bus station. There, I notice the commotion as people in Pikine seem constantly on the move.

During other visits, I observe the life of residents through the different markets. The Syndicate market features the best fruits within all of Senegal.⁵⁴ Mangoes are purchased by a bag for nearly a dollar whereas in Dakar, you get one mango for the same

⁵² Ba, Hamidou. Personal Interview. 19 June 2014.

⁵³ See Appendix III, Figure 1

⁵⁴ Ba, Hamidou. Personal Interview. 25 June 2014.

price. Argenti explains that “the Syndicate is a fruit market with about 200 wholesalers and over 1, 500 sub-wholesalers; it handles about 260,000 tonnes per year.”⁵⁵ As I see the variety of mangoes, I also notice that the trucks are blocking off most of the street; restricting cars to a one way and making it difficult for pedestrians to cross. The roads are also covered with the juices from the fruit. Another day, I visit the fish market in Pikine, allowing me to see how people make their livelihood. The trucks come in very early in the morning and before long, everyone is in business. I see some of the biggest fish I have ever seen in my life and I am reminded that fish is a staple in the Senegalese diet. These observations allow me to see how people make their livelihood within this community.

Throughout my fieldwork experience, we are bombarded by sand, the never-ending amount of sand that follows us everywhere as we observed and then conducted the questionnaires and interviews. The big roads and lack of sidewalks, except on the three main roads, don’t make walking any easier. Some areas don’t have sand and instead, there are pools of stagnant water. Some of these pools are in the houses that seem deserted, while others are small piles in the roads. I am warned to come back during the rainy season to see what Pikine becomes. As we walk throughout these communities, I see buildings, mosques, schools, and I hear the call to prayer.⁵⁶ This is all Pikine. This was the reality for the Pikinois that I experienced the two months I conducted research. These observations offer a glimpse into the built environment and infrastructures that I observed and were then explained by the response from the respondents.

Built Environment

Transportation

⁵⁵ Argenti, O. (Ed.). (2000). Food into cities: selected papers (No. 143). Food & Agriculture Org, 11.

⁵⁶ See Appendix III, Figure 4

Mobility is an important point of departure since people are on the move, whether in Pikine or between the surrounding areas and a discussion on the form it takes offers commentary on the infrastructure. Unlike the suburbs in the US which are associated with driving and commuting between the city and suburbs, the story of Pikine offers another narrative. The two modes of transportation for the residents we spoke with were the TATAs and the *car rapides*. The TATAs are buses run by the private company, AFTU and each bus has its own route.⁵⁷ The *car rapides* are part of the “transport en commun,” a popular means of transportation within the Dakar metropolitan area.⁵⁸ Their routes aren’t advertised and are instead announced by the assistants who hang on the back. The consensus among those who used the TATAs was that they were more reliable and did not make frequent stops like the *car rapides*. Despite their names, the “fast cars” or *car rapides* stop nearly at every block and are often crowded. They are also popular among residents because they are the cheapest way of mobility for families with limited income. The TATAs are used because they run more often than the Dakar Dem Dikk, which are run by the city. Ndiaga Ndiayes, which are another form of public transportation, were used by some of the participants but less frequently. Walking was seen as another form of transportation and was used occasionally by those whose destination was near their homes. Cars or motorcycles were used by a few participants; mostly when they could afford to purchase the gas. Overall, the consensus seems to be that Pikine offers transportation allowing people to navigate within the metropolitan area.

Electricity

A major component of living in an urban environment is having access to a power source and being able to work and carry out functions that require the use of electricity.

⁵⁷ AFTU stands for the Association de Financement des Professionnels du Transport Urbain.

⁵⁸ Simone, 36.

Even my experiences in Dakar allowed me to see that the city experienced power outages and that most neighborhoods went without power at some point during the month. In this part of the questionnaire, I asked the residents to comment on the quality of electricity.

A quantitative analysis of the results with a sample size of twenty eight reveals that the residents of Pikine see electricity as a basic function that's lacking. Seventeen respondents thought the electricity in Pikine was not good, seven believed it was fair or satisfactory, two residents commented on how it was good and two responses were missing. These numbers clearly show that people have access to electricity that is less than preferred, which is problematic for any city or suburb that wants to meet the needs of the residents.

As for the themes that developed within this free response form of the questionnaire, there were many that spoke to the quality. Residents were quick to point out that "they were victims of power outages."⁵⁹ While others mentioned that, "electricity is less than desirable."⁶⁰ They noted that they suffered from power outages or unloading because of the increased demand for electricity and the state's inability to supply this need. One theme that developed was that this problem increased during the major holidays when families needed electricity to finish their preparations. Another area of concern was the uneven division of electricity. Certain areas of Pikine are completely without power and had to find other ways of supplying it. The last concern by the residents was the price associated with electricity in their neighborhoods. It was expensive for them and they mentioned that even when the power was cut, it wasn't factored into their bill. This meant that they ended up paying for services that they weren't receiving. Aside from listing the problems, residents mentioned the

⁵⁹ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 21 July 2014.

⁶⁰ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 1 July 2014.

improvements. Within the last 2-3 years, there were major developments that now allowed people to lose power for a couple of hours, rather than going whole days. The greater instability with the power source created anxiety for the residents because some days were fine while other days were not. People were never able to predict when the power outages would occur.

Water

Having access to clean water is crucial to meeting the basic needs of human life. From cooking to drinking to doing laundry, water is an essential component to the urban life and not having access to water poses a lot of problems. There was less variations within the residents' responses regarding the water in their neighborhood, unlike electricity. Most of the residents noted that the water in their homes was satisfactory or good.

As with electricity, there were themes that developed. Residents declared that within the last 2-3 years, the water service within Pikine has greatly improved. They were quick to say that running water was no longer a problem and that most neighborhoods had access to it. There were one or two blocks that didn't have access to running water and had to buy it from the other neighborhoods. The biggest concern for the residents was the quality of the water that they were receiving. Apparently, the color often changed. While they were told that it was potable, there were instances where it had to be filtered. Lastly, whereas electricity experienced power outages frequently, water was more stable and the water cuts that occurred were due to major work being done to the equipment. According to the World Factbook, "Water and electricity infrastructure coverage rates in Dakar are estimated to be near 90% ..., but access to these networked services proves to be more

difficult in certain zones.”⁶¹ The suburbs are the zones where residents face difficulties in receiving proper coverage for water and electricity.

Sewer system

My goal of asking about the sewer system was to understand the built environment and to see its quality in Pikine. Urban areas need to have the ability to evacuate used water and waste in a manner that doesn't negatively affect the environment or the people. One of my questions asked the residents how they saw the sewer system within their neighborhood, referring to draining rain water to evacuating waste.

Pikine suffers from a lack of infrastructure or features those of low quality and the sewer system is in this category. Asking about how waste from toilets was dealt with and what happened during the rainy season produced interesting discussions. The quantitative data shows that twenty respondents believed that the sewer system was not good, two thought it was good and three responses were missing. In this case, both electricity and sewer system are two functions that are missing and the state is unable to deliver on.

The themes developed reflected the quantitative data. The most popular response among the residents was to ask “what sewer system?”⁶² From their experiences, canalization or pipes had been started, but never finished or simply forgotten. In other zones, this process was never started, forcing people to find other solutions for dealing with these problems. Some residents have septic tanks that must be hauled away by private companies. In certain neighborhoods, residents have organized to collect funds for these projects.⁶³ In other cases, the used water is dumped in the road alongside everything

⁶¹ Hungerford, H. (2013). Material Impacts of Hip-Hop on Urban Development in Dakar: The Case of Eaux Secours. In *Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis*, 2, 193-200, 3.

⁶² Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 09 July 2014.

⁶³ Ibid.

else. My research was done during the dry season so I had no difficulties with the rainy season and the complications it brings. I was warned by Hamidou and other residents to return to see the effects of flooding. “During the rainy season in August, these two overpopulated suburbs are flooded, and residents and the local authorities have to pump out the stagnant water, increasing the risk of malaria and cholera.”⁶⁴ These neighborhoods are severely affected because they do not have the means for evacuating the water. Hufstader explains that “it doesn’t take much rain to create a flood in Pikine. It’s a low-lying city just outside Senegal’s capital Dakar. The water table is near the surface, there are pockets of marshy areas, and the city lacks adequate drainage systems, so if it really rains hard, a flood is inevitable.”⁶⁵ As I stated in the observations, I could see the results of these floods in the deserted houses where water had collected and residents were forced to relocate.⁶⁶ Residents stated that efforts were being made at the government level and that within the last 2-3 years, some changes took place.

Hospitals

Urban environment have to provide the infrastructures that the people need for employment, housing as well health. In this regard, the state must play an important role in treating the needs of people in communities when it comes to their health. In the case of Pikine, I discussed with the residents about the number of hospitals and the clinics they can visit with their health problems and the quality of these services.

As with the quantitative data on electricity and the sewer system, the question on hospitals showed that the needs of people aren’t being met. Sixteen people commented on

⁶⁴Cessou, “Dakar, boom city,” 3.

⁶⁵ Hufstader, C. (2011, May 18). Saving Lives 24/7: Flood response in Senegal. Oxfam America. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/saving-lives-247-flood-response-in-senegal>, 1.

⁶⁶ See Appendix III, Figure 2

how the hospitals were not good and that the problems were greater than the benefits; four responses were fair meaning that the hospitals were neither good nor bad; five thought the hospitals were good and met the needs of the people; and 3 responses were missing.

Within the open ended questions, some themes began to develop that further explained the quantitative data. Two themes that are related are the number of hospitals and the question of who has access to these hospitals. Pikine is a suburb of a million people with a population that continues to grow and problems that are always present.⁶⁷ The two main hospitals in Pikine are Dominique and the Hospital of Thiaroye. There are smaller centers that provide other services like a maternity ward. One resident stated that “we don’t have enough hospitals. The access is not for everyone. If you come from a family without means, then you aren’t able to get treatment.”⁶⁸ Another resident introduced a similar argument: “We, as in Pikine, say that we were forgotten in the case of health... There are only 2 hospitals here, these two hospitals run correctly, but they are places that are really expensive for “une banlieue dakaroise” with poverty, employment...”⁶⁹

The discussion of access also raises the concern over the cost associated with treatments. As the second quote by the resident indicates, there’s a disconnect between the urban reality of the “suburbs of Dakar” and the costs of treatment that most families in this area cannot afford. Other problems encountered by the residents were that hospitals would run out of supplies and ask the sick to provide for them; and the welcome desk was seen as unwelcoming because those without funding had to find ways to bargain for the

⁶⁷ Spaliviero, “Dakar's Cine-suburb.”

⁶⁸ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 01 July 2014.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 08 July 2014.

treatment they needed. A third resident sums up the problem with hospitals: “Hospitals are also sick.”⁷⁰ They are lacking and when they exist, they are incapable of meeting the demands of the population of Pikine. Health care is not only a problem in Pikine; it also manifests itself in other parts of the country. Parks finds that “the privatization of health care, for example, in Senegal has meant that some 60 percent of the population cannot afford regular health care...”⁷¹

Enough space for the kids to play?

Cities and suburbs do not only provide institutions to fulfill necessary functions such as work and housing, they also work on creating public spaces. These are spaces which allow for further interactions for members living in communities. “Public space, if organized properly, offers the potential for social communion by allowing us to lift our gaze from the daily grind, and as a result, increase our disposition towards the other.”⁷² In order to ask about public spaces, I focused on the kids and their access to spaces to play sports or hang out with friends. This question allowed for a yes or no response. The quantitative data reveals that twenty-five people responded no meaning there isn’t enough space for the kids to play, two said yes and one response was missing. It was through the commentary that I understood their responses and the alternative solutions.

The themes in the discussion centered on these two points about the lack of space and the creative solutions. One resident mentioned that “we rarely see space set aside for kids to play, not just in Pikine but also in Senegal.”⁷³ The problem posed is that leisure spaces for children was lacking in the urban development around the country and not just

⁷⁰ Ibid. 21 July 2014.

⁷¹ Park et al., “Research on Urbanization,” 7.

⁷² Amin, A. (2008). Collective culture and urban public space. *City*, 12(1), 5-24.

⁷³ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 08 July 2014.

in Pikine. Another resident noted: “Official space? No. Is there space for kids to play? Not in the way that you described. It’s the youth themselves who search for space or who find the space.”⁷⁴ This point made here is that the urban design never designated official places for parks or other spaces where community members can come together for leisure. As a response, the youth found mosques, schools and other buildings with open spaces for their activities. A third resident commented that “the locality is trying to find places for kids, but there is a little space for the kids to be able to have spaces to play.”⁷⁵ Similar arguments were made by Serigne Mansour Tall who empathized that African cities lack urban planning and municipalities are now trying to regulate things after people have settled.⁷⁶ As the population continues to grow and spaces are taken up, it’s becoming harder for these communities to designate public spaces.

Roads- How are the roads?

Roads make it possible for transportation and the mobility of the population. In the case of Pikine, we’ve already discovered that people travel within the metropolitan area through public transportation. Roads also show the ability of leaders to construct these infrastructures and keep them up-to date. In asking this open-ended question, I was interested in seeing what the quality of the roads was.

The themes developed are in line with the observations I made. A resident professed that “Pikine doesn’t have roads. There are two or three roads: Icotaf, Tally Boubess and Tally Boumak. There are hours that to go from Marché Zinc, it takes hours to do that. If the trucks are there to drop stuff off, it makes it difficult to get around.”⁷⁷ As

⁷⁴ Ibid. 09 July 2014.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 01 July 2014.

⁷⁶ Tall, Serigne Mansour.

⁷⁷ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 04 July 2014.

a result, there were traffic jams on the roads in the morning when people were heading out to Dakar and in the evening when they returned. These three roads also influenced the bus routes and the three options possible when continuing from Bounty Pikine and heading to the suburbs.

As for the quality, one resident stated, “The main roads are paved. Before that, it was only the main roads that were paved, but now some of the side roads that are also paved.”⁷⁸ In my observations, there are a small number of side roads that are paved. Most of Pikine is sand. As we noted about the efforts at the government level to improve infrastructure in the suburbs: “There are the principal roads. After 2002, there are the secondary roads created after the 3rd president. These were roads that are really large, houses that pass in front of the house. These are roads that were created to make the principal routes less congested.”⁷⁹ Despite these efforts, Pikine suffers from congestion that is not overcome by the creation of these small roads.

Continuing with the quality of the roads, we find that the roads are not straight; their size differs depending on the zone in Pikine. Some of the roads are very large and could be divided into multiple ones, while others are very smaller and serve more as passageways.⁸⁰ This case seems similar to the instable nature of electricity where some areas have better access to roads, while in some other areas, there is nothing. The roads are described as dirty by the local people because of the sand, which comes from the unpaved roads and the dirt that people throw outside their homes.⁸¹ They aren’t only throwing their garbage, but as I mentioned in the section on the sewer system, waste water is also thrown in the roads. The roads have become the garbage cans. Overall, the

⁷⁸ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 2 July 2014.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 09 July 2014.

⁸⁰ See Appendix III, Figure 3

⁸¹ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 09 July 2014.

consensus is that there aren't enough roads in Pikine and that the current roads need to be maintained.

Education

In this section, I am going to analyze the education system in Pikine and the conditions of the infrastructures related to education. Education has been advocated as the means for combating poverty and for providing communities the means for doing better.⁸² This doesn't just apply to the United States, but also to Senegal and Pikine. In asking this open ended question, my goal was to discover what state the education system in Pikine finds itself and its challenges and successes. In the second part, I will comment on the themes developed.

The qualitative data allows me to see how people ranked the system in place. Seventeen respondents said the education system was not good, five responded as fair, 1 responded as good and five responses were missing. The one individual who thought it was good said the system needed no changes and it functioned well. Those who saw it as fair recognized the changes that had taken place within the Senegalese education system and appreciated them. At the same time, they recognized that there's work to be done. The last category of responses saw the educational system as a complete failure and didn't have positive comments to offer. From the infrastructure to the quality of the education, these residents saw a major problem with the system.

One of the first concerns was with the infrastructure or the lack thereof. The department of Pikine doesn't have a high school, but Guédiawaye, the department next door has one. It was explained to me that students attend elementary and middle school within the area before being forced to go elsewhere for high school. Residents cited

⁸² Annan, K.A. (2000). We, the peoples of the United Nations in the 21st Century. United Nations, New York, 22.

examples of students making the long journey to Dakar to receive the education that they needed. Aside from not having a high school, residents cited that there aren't enough schools in general. There are cases of 100 or more students within a class. Students attend schools in two shifts; some doing four hours in the morning and others coming in the afternoon.⁸³ They find themselves being educated for half the time that they should be learning. Simone explains that in some parts of Pikine, 40% of students do not attend the public schools because they can't afford the fees.⁸⁴ More schools, especially a high school, need to be constructed to address these issues.

Resources were also missing in the educationally system. One teacher noted that, "The educational system is difficult. Signs of poverty are there..."⁸⁵ In his experience, kids wouldn't have a pen or a pencil when they came to class. Since parents were occupied with providing the basic needs for their families, they didn't have the time or energy to dedicate to their kids. Even the simplest act of sending homework home didn't translate into any actions from the parents because they were trying to find the next meal. Another point the residents emphasized was that education happens outside the classroom. Parents need to take responsibility for their kids and educate them beyond what the education system can do. When parents do not spend time teaching their kids and giving them the tools they need for behaving properly and for interacting with other people, it causes problems.

Another concern with education was the quality of the teaching and what the kids were learning. The consensus among those I spoke with was that the quality of education in Pikine is very low. This is attributed to the lower quality of teachers and the material they are using. One claim made was that "we don't have a system specific for Senegal or

⁸³ Simone, 31.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 01 July 2014.

Africa. Education should be tailored to the different regions, but we are missing the documentation to do that. They copy for what comes from elsewhere like from Europe.”⁸⁶ This teacher had taught in Senegal for 23 years. He highlighted a major problem that the kids were learning about other people but never about themselves. Through a combination of the curriculum and not having proper documents, kids were learning, but the quality of their education could be improved.

Similar to the lack of leisure spaces, education isn't a problem specific to the area, but rather something that needed to be handled at the national level. A resident emphasized that “before, now, we have a lot of worry concerning education in Pikine. It's a problem that bothers all of Senegal.”⁸⁷ This argument is interesting because it connects the local to the national and the reality that was shared by other municipalities throughout the country. Along with this issue comes a note that strikes stand in the way of advancing education in Senegal. They are common and interfere with the learning that these students need.

Lastly, I would like to end this chapter by acknowledging some of the progress that has taken place. A major change is that parents have more choices than ever for their kids.⁸⁸ The number of private and public schools available to kids has increased. Parents are able to make decisions and if they have the means they do not have to stick with the public schools. In doing so, the private institutions offer better quality in education because they are charging additional fees and can afford to manage their class sizes. Aside from this change, another one has been in the leadership at the government level. One resident notes that “the core is more engaged and motivated. It's moving. There are

⁸⁶ Ibid. 09 July 2014.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 04 July 2014.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 04 July 2014.

more activities, there's development."⁸⁹ This development could refer to changes within the curriculum to stop copying from the West and start teaching material that is relevant to Africa. The consensus among the residents is that the education system in Pikine needs a tremendously amount of help because "not only are schools deteriorating, but the rising costs of schooling coupled with falling real wages are forcing children out of schools and into labor markets"⁹⁰

Conclusion

In this section, my purpose was to answer the question: what is the built environment in the suburb of Pikine and how it differed from Dakar? My observations allowed me to distinguish that there was a difference between the city of Dakar and its infrastructure and that which we found in Pikine. I was interested in finding out about the built environment in Pikine through the questionnaire. In doing so, I characterized built environment by these categories: transportation, electricity, water, sewer system, educational system, hospitals, public space and the roads. In some cases, the quantitative data reveals that the basic functions of a city or suburbs are lacking and it's the residents who suffer from this.

The qualitative nature of the responses allowed the residents to highlight the conditions of the infrastructures within their home. I discovered that public transportation is the best mode of travel and that a car culture hasn't developed. Electricity is an area that has seen tremendous change within the last 2-3 years. Although residents still suffer from power outages on a weekly basis, it's not as debilitating as before. Water is a low concern for the Pikinois though it's not necessarily potable. The sewer system is simply missing. This leads to the floods that Pikine is known for and for people to throw away

⁸⁹ Ibid. 02 July 2014.

⁹⁰ Park et al., "Research on Urbanization," 7.

their trash in the roads. The educational system has also seen improvements. The hospitals and roads need tremendous help so that those who live there can benefit from them. Public spaces don't exist and it's something to take into consideration as kids are lacking spaces for games.

To summarize, Pikine is simply missing the basic functions that cities require to assure a quality of life for its residents. Simone argues that “Pikine confronts severe problems of sanitation, unemployment, and a substantial lack of infrastructure and basic services.”⁹¹ While looking at the characteristics I presented, Pikine reveals itself to be a suburb by urban form. Its location on the periphery and lack of access to services which Dakar couldn't function without as the economic, social and cultural capital of Senegal, only highlights this fact. My conclusion through the example of Pikine is that a suburb has a built environment that's significantly lacking or at least under-developed when compared to the main city in the metropolitan area. In the next chapter, I will discuss the living conditions within Pikine.

⁹¹ Simone, 32.

Chapter 5: Lived Experiences of the Pikinois

Introduction

The built environment in Pikine already exposed some of the challenges that residents face in living their daily lives. In this section, I will analyze the lived experiences of the residents to discover the major points of challenges. In the earlier chapter, I developed the argument that the built environment within a suburb in Africa is significantly lacking compared to the city. This analysis allowed me to discover that certain conditions couldn't exist in the city as it tried to attract outsiders, but thirty minutes away, they develop. Pikine as a suburb has “the problems of peri-urban areas [which] are similar to those of low-income urban settlements: limited access to water and sanitation, waste accumulation, concentration of poverty, etc.”⁹² This section is divided into several sections: the challenges residents face in the suburbs, what explains these challenges and what is missing to improve the quality of life. In the second section, I analyze the issue of involvement of the government, the population and individuals in dealing with this issue. This study shows that Pikine doesn't have a separate function of its own, meaning that it has retained a close relationship with Dakar. As a result, the problems in Pikine related to unemployment, poverty and insecurity are exasperated and the residents feel forgotten as if their problems are being properly handled.

Challenges facing Pikine

When I was formulating the questionnaire with the translator, I told them that I was interested in asking the residents about some of the problems in their neighborhoods. Rather than asking this question in general, he suggested that I ask the residents about their problems since it would allow them to elaborate on their conditions and what they

⁹² Maheu, “Urbanization and Flood,” 2.

perceived to be the pressing issues that needed attention. The discussion presents the problems, the roots of these problems and the actions being taken to bring solutions.

While looking at the twenty-eight responses, the major problems are: delinquency/ poverty; education; insecurity; a lack of open space; and unemployment which is linked to a lack of function. Some of these problems are connected to the built environment I discussed, but for the most part, these responses reveal the complexity of a place like Pikine and the reality of people in the suburbs.

One of the main problems in Pikine and other parts of Senegal is poverty. Poverty is the result of many factors especially for African countries. Pikine is no different in that poverty exists and it touches the lives of many families in the neighborhood. A result of this poverty or lack of money is delinquency. One resident captured this relationship: “Poverty, it’s a handicap for people everywhere. It’s what leads to delinquency, in the large of the term. It refers to everyone not just teenagers. When you don’t have anything, you are forced to find things in the roads.”⁹³ What they meant is that people, grownups and young people, are forced to the roads to try and make a living. Every day, they are searching for a way to meet their basic needs, knowing that if they don’t, they will be hungry. While poverty doesn’t explain all forms of delinquency, it explains why people are willing to engage in petty crimes like aggression, stealing and pick pocketing where under normal circumstances, this wouldn’t be the case.

As I stated in the earlier chapter, education is perceived as another major problem within Senegal, Pikine and all of Africa. As mentioned, Pikine is missing the infrastructures and resources that would allow kids to receive the best education possible. “Education is a problem in Pikine. There are kids who study in the morning, others in the

⁹³ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 04 July 2014.

afternoon. Even to do it, you need money. It's the double shift meaning the kids have more distraction."⁹⁴ More schools need to be built; more teachers need to be hired to decrease of 100-200 students classrooms; and lastly, the curriculum needs to be improved to meet the needs of these students. Education is not only defined by learning in the classroom, it was also described as the learning that occurs outside the classroom but within society. Some residents mentioned that some Pikinois haven't received the proper education. For example, they cited that those with the proper training in health would not dump used water in the streets without concerns of contamination. Education in this sense means working with these communities to be educated inside and outside of the classroom.

A third area of concern for the residents was insecurity. Delinquency is a common problem in Pikine because of the level of poverty. Insecurity has also become a problem. Some residents attributed this insecurity to the lack of police presence within the neighborhood until recently. Not having a police force nearby meant people could commit crimes without the involvement of the police. Insecurity can also be traced to the lack of electricity in public spaces. As described earlier, power outages and unloading are a problem within Pikine and the electricity can only be classified as unstable. As Jane Jacobs discussed, "The bedrock attribute of a successful city district is that a person must feel personally safe and secure on the street among all these strangers."⁹⁵ In this case, the lack of lighting on the streets leads to people stay inside at night and darkness gives the perfect opportunity for those who commit crimes to pass through unseen. All these factors lead to the increase fear regarding security.

⁹⁴ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 03 July 2014.

⁹⁵ Jacobs, Jane. (2010). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (Eds.), *The Blackwell City Reader* (273-277). Oxford, UK : John Wiley & Sons.

A lack of open space was another common problem for the residents. In my questionnaire, I asked about kids and whether they had access to spaces of leisure. The first explanation for this phenomenon was that Pikine is suffering from a population boom meaning that there's less space for buildings. The boom has meant that there aren't spaces of leisure for the children or other groups in the community. When I discussed this topic with Serigne Mansour Tall, he attributed it to the lack of urban planning; explaining that Pikine is a place where people came and settled in and no formal plan was created to accommodate this population.⁹⁶ Illegal development in Pikine has led to more people settling into an area that was never meant to host them all. As Pikine continues to develop, it's going to have to tackle this issue of open spaces.

The last major problem I would like to discuss is that Pikine doesn't have a function which has greatly affected the employment opportunities for its residents. Dakar is a primate city in Senegal with access to economic, social and political resources. It explains why the Dakar metropolitan area takes up 0.3% of the land yet hosts 3 million people.⁹⁷ As a primate city, Dakar offers the employment opportunities with 80% of the national economic activities taking place there.⁹⁸ The residents said that they don't have factories in Pikine. This means that in order to find jobs, those in the suburbs must make the daily commute between Dakar and Pikine, sometimes with no contract and working on a day by day basis. Since employment opportunities are limited in Pikine, we find ourselves with a case of poverty and an easy path to delinquency. One resident captured the essence of the problem: "Everyone will say it; the problem in Pikine is poverty.

⁹⁶ Tall, Serigne Mansour.

⁹⁷ Ghosh, "Sustainable Urbanisation," 2

⁹⁸ Ibid.

There's no work. Person doesn't work. Young people don't work. There are no offices. There isn't work."⁹⁹

The informal sector plays an important role in meeting the demands of the people who are unable to be incorporated by the formal sector. People in Dakar and Pikine make their living through the informal sector, but in Dakar, there's more access to the formal sector and stable work. Ghosh explains that "as most of the urban migrants from rural areas are uneducated/unskilled, they end up working in the informal sector, which accounts for 93% of all new jobs and 61% of urban employment in Africa."¹⁰⁰ Abdoul asserts that "beyond the multiplicity of individual or collective income-generating strategies, informal economy is a mechanism to connect the local to the global."¹⁰¹

What's would improve the quality of Life?

The next sets of questions asked the residents to explain what factors account for the difficulties they face within Pikine or what was missing to improve the quality of life. These responses are interesting because some of the problems described are the factors that explain the other difficulties. After coding for themes, the five causes of the problems I discussed in the first section of this paper are: poverty, the lack of a high school, the state and its disengagement, the leadership at the local level and finally, the lack of infrastructures. While poverty, the lack of a high school in Pikine and lack of infrastructures are themselves problems and the roots of other problems, I will not examine them further because of the descriptions in the earlier sections. In the following section, I will focus on the state and its disengagement and the local leadership as factors that explain the major challenges faced by residents in Pikine.

⁹⁹ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 09 July 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Ghosh, "Sustainable urbanisation," 9.

¹⁰¹ Abdoul, 255-256.

State Involvement

Residents were clear that what are missing from improving their quality of life are the state and its response to the current problems. On one hand, residents argued that the state is not involved enough, leaving for people already facing difficulties having to address their own issues. A resident noted that "with the disengagement of the state and leaving it all to the parents, they are not able to meet all these needs...The state needs to accompany the population with concrete ideas so that the conditions of life will improve."¹⁰² The residents also wanted to call on the state to not forget the suburbs and to realize that their engagement in Pikine was as important as the engagement within the city of Dakar. On the other hand, other residents argued that the residents of Pikine demand too much from the state. Those leaving the rural areas, heading to the city to look for opportunities are expecting a certain type of life. When things don't go as well, they blame the state. One resident explained that "the population waits for many things from the state, but the population needs to be involved since their destiny is in their own hands."¹⁰³ I will expand on this further when I discuss the different actors who are regulating the problems in Pikine.

Another factor that was cited as missing and therefore not playing a role in improving the conditions of life in Pikine is the leadership at the local level. Currently, local leadership comes out during the election period to make promises about the accomplishments they are going to make to ease the difficulties of the people. Once they are elected, they disappear. Residents articulated that they need a new leadership: "It needs someone who is engaged, who understands all the dimensions of the problems of Pikine and who wants to fix them and is only here for Pikine to regulate these

¹⁰² Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 4 July 2014.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 01 July 2014.

problems.”¹⁰⁴ Another component that could be improved is: “... the passion or will of the elected leaders. This is what is missing, the will of elected leaders but also the initiatives to get things done.”¹⁰⁵ Relating back to comments about the state level, local leadership would engage with the state and the population in Pikine to advocate on their behalf and to begin addressing the daily struggles of the Pikinois. Ultimately, the populations are looking for leaders who are going to get involved and who are going to make it their mission that the conditions of Pikine improve.

What is being done to address these issues?

Going back to what’s being done at the state level to address these issues, only eight respondents thought that the government was involved in fixing the problems in Pikine. They cited examples of projects they had seen. For example, a police station was added to the neighborhood. Apparently, residents had been complaining of crimes happening in the area and the government responded. The local people saw this action as positive and proof that the state was trying to be influential in the area. The twenty other respondents believed the government was not involved in fixing the problems of Pikine. They personally hadn’t seen anything taking place or initiatives that were happening. Maheu argues that “the uneven distribution of services and political power are also indicative of exclusionary practices and can be considered spatial manifestations of marginalization.”¹⁰⁶ Combined with the earlier statements about the lack of state involvement, the Pikinois are troubled by what they see as favoritism towards Dakar, leaving out the rest of the metropolitan area.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 21 July 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 09 July 2014.

¹⁰⁶ Maheu, “Urbanization and Flood Vulnerability,” 15.

In the earlier statement, the local populations were criticized in some sense for being too dependent on the state, but other conversations revealed that the people are involved in addressing their own problems. Abdoul highlights that “as the matter of fact, state disengagement imposed by international finance institutions and bilateral donors laid the public space open to formidable development of associations, which are increasingly becoming professional in local development actions.”¹⁰⁷ This is mainly accomplished by forming associations for those interested in certain areas. For example, there are women groups working on development issues, micro-credit and creating activities that generate income. There are movements, some political, that have mobilized the local Pikinois to address certain topics. The youths are also involved in addressing problems that their communities face. “As substantially delinked and with few prospects, youth in Dakar have developed a significant history of taking matters into their own hands.”¹⁰⁸ Other activities take place at the neighborhood level or among colleagues. Families on the same block might contribute funds for electricity in public areas or a truck to collect sewage. Some of the teachers I spoke with dedicated extra hours to help students who were struggling. They also cited examples of collecting funds for those who were in need or to cover costs for education that were not paid for by the state. Each individual and families are involved in finding ways to make a living despite their own conditions. It's through these approaches that the populations within Pikine take actions.

Conclusion

After examining the built environment within Pikine in the previous chapter, I looked at the lived experiences of the residents and the challenges they face. I listed the top five challenges as described in the questionnaires and then explained what caused

¹⁰⁷ Abdoul, 250.

¹⁰⁸ Simone, 33.

these problems. Cases like poverty, lack of infrastructure and education were all problems but also factors that explained other problems. Two new ideas discussed were the lack of engagement by the state and the local leadership that failed to contribute any meaningful change to the system. In the last part of the section, I described the responses to whether the government was fixing the problems in Dakar and then cited the few examples seen as state involvement. In this same section, I discovered that people are engaged in associations and groups and other individual efforts to make change, while they feel that the government is not doing enough to fix the issues in Pikine.

When I examined the conditions in Pikine, I discovered that the main concern is poverty, which is linked to unemployment and which is connected to the lack of factories in Pikine. These are all linked to the fact that Dakar has a definite role and hosts all the opportunities while Pikine doesn't. This and the lack of involvement by the government are some reasons why the populations of Pikine face the problems they do, unlike those in Dakar. As long as these concerns exist and there's no mechanism for addressing unemployment and poverty, Pikine will exist in the shadow of Dakar and will continue to offer no opportunities for its residents, except for further problems. In the next chapter, I will analyze details about how those that don't live in the suburbs see the Pikine, the differences between Dakar and Pikine as told by the residents and the future that people image for their communities.

Chapter 5: Differentiating between City and Suburb

Introduction

In the earlier sections, I argued that Pikine is a suburb of Dakar because of the urban form that clearly marks Dakar as a city and the areas surrounding it as suburbs. Pikine is a suburb that fails to provide some basic functions of a city or suburb. Residents cite that there's improvement with services to electricity and water, but that the sewer system is nonexistence and insecurity continues to be a major issue. Continuing with the argument that Pikine is a suburb of Dakar because it is outside the urban core and people are missing access to essential services, this next part of the project analyzes how outsiders view "la banlieue," or suburb, how the residents of Pikine perceive the difference between Dakar and Pikine and lastly, the future envisioned by the Pikinois for their communities.

How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?"

This next section will analyze how those who don't live in Pikine see the "banlieue," specifically their opinion of Pikine. I was interested in seeing how they frame their argument as to what Pikine is and what it offers as outsiders. In this section, I have framed their arguments as the preconceived notions of the built environment; the type of people who live there; and lastly, functionality of the area. All of these factors combine to produce a negative image of the suburbs, less about its functionality and built environment and more about the quality of people who live in the suburbs..

In the West, we have a better way of identifying suburbs and we can give mental pictures of what constitutes a suburb. As highlighted in the literature review, suburbs in the US are seen as places for middle class families with their single, detached homes. In

France, “la banlieue” offers negative images of the 2005 riots and the immigrant communities that do not have the same access to opportunities as those in the city. In Dakar’s case, suburbs seem defined by their location on the outskirts of the city and the difficult lives that the residents face. In terms of the physical descriptions, those who don’t live in the suburbs had some interesting descriptions that show their preconceived notions about the built environment of Pikine. They perceive it as full of disorder and chaos. One resident explained that, “I will say that it brings fear. They are afraid of the word, ‘banlieue.’ La banlieue is dirty.” The form that the chaos and disorder takes wasn’t explained, but it was made clear that the chaos and disorder associated with urban life was present in Pikine. Making a comment to the built environment, the nonresidents of the suburbs, see Pikine as dirty. They constitute that the environment and the conditions in Pikine like the sand makes it dirtier than the city.

The second sets of commentary that people who don’t live in the suburbs have about the suburbs deals with the preconceived notions about the residents of Pikine. This identity as a suburb of Dakar goes further than the built environment and urban form and it deals with the people who live there versus the type of people who live in the city. In Senegal, who are those living in the suburbs? How are they perceived by the Senegalese? One resident noted that “when you tell people that you come from Pikine, they have a suspicion of you even though Pikinois are not savages, they aren’t barbarians, and they are just people.”¹⁰⁹ Another resident explained that “they say that ‘la banlieue’ is made up of people who are delinquents, people who are badly civilized, people who fight, less than nothing.”¹¹⁰ Those living in the suburbs are often associated with la lutte, or traditional wrestling, which is popular throughout Senegal. This connotation is negative since with

¹⁰⁹ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 21 July 2014.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 9 July 2014.

wrestling comes delinquency, loud noises and other problems associated with popular sporting events.¹¹¹

It seems that Pikine has received this image as “dirty, chaotic, disorder” and its residents are seen as being different from those in Dakar and they are portrayed negatively. They are characterized as criminals, uncivilized and not being equally with those in Dakar because they are much better than those from the suburbs. To be from the suburbs is to be part of a group of people who are not seen as having good character, but rather those who engage in questionable activity.

The last sets of commentary about those who don't live in Pikine and how they see Pikine is based on their preconceived notion of what happens in the suburbs and how this activity is different from that in the city. One resident noted that outsiders “had a negative vision de Pikine, thinking that there was insecurity; it's insecurity that reigns, a place with bandits, with prostitutions, with drugs...”¹¹² Again, the residents and their activities are characterized as vice and unlike anything that takes place in the city. It seems like those in the suburbs are engaged in illegal activities, creating a sense of insecurity. To the non-residents, to live in the suburb is to be surrounded by insecurity because the residents are only concerned with prostitution and drugs and not necessarily with leading a regular life. Pikine has also been given the image of loud noises from the religious chanting and other activities taking place. It portrays a place that never sleeps because there is constant movement.

In section, I have explained how the non-residents of Pikine and the suburbs view “la banlieue” or the suburbs. I have commented on how people have preconceived notions

¹¹¹ Ibid. 4 July 2014.

¹¹² Ibid. 01 July 2014.

about the built environment, the people and the functionality of the suburbs. All of these impressions are negative and they are working to reinforce this idea that a certain type of person lives in Pikine, they are engaged in certain activities that wouldn't be found in Dakar and as a result, there's a sense of insecurity. To summarize, according to non-residents, the suburbs that I left Dakar for were made up of the working class who lived in a dirty place and engage in activities like drugs and prostitution and as a result, people were unable to live there in peace and security.

What is the difference between Dakar and Pikine?

As I have stated, there's diversity in defining suburbs and their functionality. In this thesis, I examined the built environment and lived experiences of a place called a suburb. I followed this analysis with an examination of non-residents of Pikine and the suburbs and their preconceived notions about the suburbs. In this section, I will analyze how the residents of Pikine view the difference between suburb and city. In this case, I will answer the question of the difference between Dakar and Pikine from the perspectives of those who live and understand the area.

My investigation on the differences between Dakar and Pikine is classified in these categories: way of life is different, structure- built environment, opportunities/functionality/luxury, Time- Dakar is old, Pikine is new and no comparison. One thing I would point out is that urban form is not the only determining factor of what makes a city versus what makes a suburb. It's not simply about a city being a part of the urban core and the places outside the urban core being the suburbs. It's also about the functions of these places, the people living there and the history. Combine these factors; we get an understanding of what makes a suburb versus what makes a city. In this case, these points offer commentary on what it would take for Pikine to leave behind its association as a

suburb of Dakar and become its own city capable of providing for the needs of its population.

The first response that stood out to me is that the difference between Dakar and Pikine or the city and its suburb is that the modes of living are not the same. One resident mentioned that “the difference between the city and the suburb is that the way of life is different.”¹¹³ Another resident offered commentary about this issue: “The city is calmer than Pikine. You see children hanging in the roads while in the city, each person stays in their house.”¹¹⁴ Going back to earlier arguments, Pikine is seen as a place with a loud of noise, where there’s solidarity between people and everyone is in everyone else’s business. Kids are also found playing in the roads because they do not have spaces of leisure to take care over. The first thing to notice between Dakar and Pikine is that the noise level increases as you head to the suburb. An observation made and comments that were offered were that in the city, in the neighborhood that I lived in, families eat dinner together and then everyone goes to their rooms to relax or watch TV. People close their gates and things close up for the night. In the case of Pikine, neighbors spent time with each other and kids could be seen playing soccer in front of the mosque until midnight.

Another way of categorizing the differences between a city and the suburb is by the built environment and what exists in Dakar versus Pikine. In this case, we aren’t necessarily speaking about the different forms of housing, but more so about urban design. One resident indicated that “the city is well structured. In Pikine, it’s informal settlement. In the city, they have the structures like sewer system, construction; everything was placed in the city, which you won’t find in the suburb. Pikine, these are

¹¹³ Ibid. 08 July 2014.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 05 July 2014.

informal settlements.”¹¹⁵ Another resident wanted to mention that, “It’s the environment that’s different. In the city, there’s more luxury. They take more time, with the problem of infrastructure; they focus more on that in the city than in “la banlieue.”¹¹⁶ In answering this question, these residents pointed out that the major differences between a city and its suburb is in the access to major services like electricity, water, sewer system, roads, transportation and education. In this argument, residents in the city have access to these resources and they don’t suffer to the same extent that the residents of Pikine do. In this case, we are talking about urban planning and the fact that Dakar was laid out to provide access to the basic necessities.

Going along with the same line of argument, some arguments touched on the built environment, but they are focused on the historical perspective in some sense. A resident acknowledged that “Dakar is an old city. Pikine is a new city. The problems you find in Dakar have been there for a while....”¹¹⁷ This comment was very interesting in the sense that it’s giving Dakar and Pikine the same status as a city, but mentioning that they are separated by time difference. In this case, Dakar is not excused from suffering from the same problems as Pikine, but it’s making the point that Dakar has had more time to handle its problems. Pikine is a younger city, facing the same problems that Dakar saw but has not had time to address everything.

Another comparison made between Dakar and Pikine that was interesting touches on the functionality of Dakar and the opportunities that exist or don’t exist in certain places. As indicated, Dakar is the capital city meaning that it hosts 3 million people looking for work, opportunities and a livelihood. What does this mean for Pikine? “Pikine

¹¹⁵ Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 9 July 2014.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 22 July 2014.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 4 July 2014.

is a dormitory city, often people go to Dakar to work, to take care of their affairs, often they leave in the morning for Dakar and come back to Pikine in the evening.”¹¹⁸ This is one definition given to suburbs classified as dormitories, where people are there to sleep, but their activities take place in the city where they work. Pikine doesn’t have its own identity and only gains attention when we discuss Dakar. It’s as if Pikine hosts the populations that couldn’t make their lives in the city. “The city is where the factories are located; the banlieue is where... it’s just the difference. There are more factories, more possibilities; there are people who live in Pikine who work in Dakar. The difference is where the airport, the business, etc but no, there isn’t a difference.” The capital city offers work; it has the places for people to join the formal economy and the offices to regulate their problems. To have these things is to be part of a network where you have the means, or the luxury that residents described as being possible when you live in the city. In the city, people can work and have access to services and as a result, they lead a better life than those in the suburbs, who are there to rest their bodies before they make the journey back to Dakar.

I would like to make reference to those who believed that it wasn’t possible to differentiate between the city and the suburb. One respondent clarified that “the difference between the city and Pikine is like the difference between a region and a village.”¹¹⁹ Another offered this argument: “It’s not comparable. I can’t compare the city and the banlieue. All of the work is found in the city. It’s geography. The people from the village are heading towards the city.”¹²⁰ In urban studies, we can make distinction between places within the urban core and the periphery. Scholars have varying definitions

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 21 July 2014.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 08 July 2014.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

of suburb but their comparisons between the core and periphery allows me to do the same.

As the interviews and questionnaires from the residents and other interested parties have shown me, there are differences between Dakar and Pikine or a suburb and a city in Africa. These differences go beyond the geography and encompass the built environment, people and the function. It is the case that not everyone who leaves the villages for the cities makes it to Dakar and must live in Pikine, which serves as the gateway between the city and the village. The formal means of making a living are easier to find in Dakar, but people in Pikine are also working and finding ways of earning money. What the earlier stuff demonstrated is that Pikine has seen major improvements since the earlier days. There are still major projects to be done to assure that those in the suburbs are enjoying the same quality of life as those in the suburbs, the difference is not as stark as comparing villages and cities.

What is the future you envision for Pikine?

A city or suburb is not only the built environment, but also the communities and people who exist within the boundaries and their vision for their homes is something worth tapping into. Just as I have examined the built environment of a suburb like Pikine and offered commentary on the living conditions and how the residents and other members go about tackling the issues that are important to them, another important component to my discussion was talking with the residents about the future they envision for Pikine. With the changes that have taken place, Pikine seems to be in the position to be more, to stop sitting in the shadows of Dakar and waiting for its growth to come from that of the urban core. When I asked the residents what their future wishes for Pikine was,

I wanted to see the imagined future they have for their hometown and what they see as being possible for this place.

A few things to note is that the residents refer to Pikine as a city. Despite their understanding of the difference between the city and suburb and the relationship between Dakar and Pikine, these residents imagine Pikine as its own unit, with its own identity and then they were able to comment on what this future looked like. Another note I would like to acknowledge is that all of the residents who spoke imagined a better future for their city. This is important not only for scholars, policy makers and everyone else involved because these residents are on the ground actors who live the conditions described and can explain the issues better than outsiders. In doing this, the Pikinois have laid out a plan; they have expressed their opinion on what they see as important and what will lead the imagined city of Pikine to become a reality.

One of the futures envisioned for Pikine is for the stereotypes and the negative vision that people have towards those living in Pikine will change. A resident imagined “a radiant future; it’s necessary to recognize that there’s good fruit in the banlieue and that everywhere you look, it’s Pikinois. In the government, teaching, etc, those people are from Pikine.”¹²¹ As I showed earlier, the emphasis on the Pikinois was on the negative aspect and how it seemed that everyone living in Pikine was engaged in illegal activities and they made their living through illegal means. This future imagined was described by other residents who were quick to name famous people within Senegal who are from Pikine; who represent Pikine; who were brought up in Pikine, but who are now involved in many different areas of Senegalese life. In naming these people and recognizing the

¹²¹ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 01 July 2014.

work that these players have done within Senegalese culture, many the negative vision that exists about the suburbs would actually change.

Another resident projected "...a radiant future, that intellectuals come from here, that Pikine is more alive than before, to think that Pikine has people of a good culture, people who can develop the country and people who should serve their country."¹²² Right now, the Pikinois is seen on the outskirts of life and their contributions aren't seen or weighted equally as those from Dakar. Despite the mutual relationship that's showed be going between the core and its periphery, Dakar and those who live there are put on a pedestal or they are viewed as more important than those in Pikine. In this statement, the Pikinois are given a place; they are seen as equally capable of being in government, and representing the rest of society. This simple change in mentality, in those who expressed their concern of the Pikinois will lead to the changes that people have imagined for so long.

Going with this same argument that the image of Pikine would like to change, the residents offered more commentary about how the image of the Pikinois could and would change. "I don't know. It's asking Bostonians what they want for Boston, the Parisians what they want for Paris, the future that I wish for Pikine is a prosperous city, the people are united, a city that's a model. We want our community to be a model for other places in Senegal. I want people to say, 'We need to be like the Pikinois.' That's the future I want, it's very ambitious."¹²³ This quote is so interesting because it makes connections to global cities that if we asked them about Pikine, they wouldn't have anything to say about Pikine, but the Pikinois are able to speak of these cities. The future imagined is one where the negative image of Pikine as dangerous, as full of bandits looking to commit crime

¹²² Ibid. 09 July 2014.

¹²³ Ibid.

would change. Not only would it change, Pikine would become a place recognized within Senegal as serving as an example for the rest of Senegal. The residents recognize the amount of growth needed to make these dreams a reality, but at the same time, they highlight that all journeys start somewhere and in this case, having this goal simply means having a target to work towards, to reach and make a reality.

Changing mentalities of the suburbs in the rest of society is going to make some changes for the people of Pikine, actual change in the built environment and access to services is a major change that could determine the shape and future of Pikine. Without access to basic services such as electricity or a sewer system, Pikine will be unable to develop and to reach the same status as Dakar. Fixing these issues can offer Pikine the opportunities it needs to be better. One resident wished-for “a prosperous future, a city of security, where it feels good to live, where the buildings will leave from the ground, where education is good, where we can leave and occupy your business without risk of aggression.”¹²⁴ This quote touches on directly the lived conditions of the people that I described and some of the issues within Pikine that residents deal with on a daily basis. A future for Pikine would include security; buildings that may not need to be skyscrapers but can accommodate the overpopulation; and an overall improvement in the conditions of life.

If I was speaking to people 10-15 years down the line in Pikine, a better future is one where there were major changes in access to the sewer system, electricity and education and that a survey conducted these many years later would show a different outcome from the one today. As another resident indicated, “I would like a future of consideration, to multiply the infrastructures that Pikine is well serviced in electricity,

¹²⁴ Ibid. 01 July 2014.

water, hospitals, sewer system. It's necessary that our leaders take initiatives to take care of the problems here."¹²⁵ Not only do the residents identify that they are lacking in services or they face further issues than those in the suburbs, this quote also touches on the leadership. It shows that leaders need to pay attention to the challenges in this department and then initiate programs that make solutions.

A better future imagined by the residents is one where there's equal treatment under the laws and regulations of Senegal. It's one where the capital city isn't shown favoritism:

I wish that Pikine is treated at the same level as the grand ville de Dakar. In Dakar when people suffer, they are forced to go to Pikine. If today, Pikine closed its doors, that no Pikinois goes to Dakar and no Dakarois goes to Pikine, in a week, the population in Dakar would be in a worse spot than the population in Pikine.¹²⁶

This resident wanted to emphasize the relationship between Dakar and Pikine and how in actuality both places depend on each other and losing access to one or the other would actually be negative. In this relationship that's equal, favoritism doesn't exist and all places are able to gain equally from the resources of the country.

Other residents expressed similar views about the government treating the other areas of Senegal equally, but in this case they wanted to focus on the local officials and what could be done by them in taking care of the problems in Pikine. A wish by some of the residents is that more would be done: "That the state considers more those who live in Pikine."¹²⁷ Asked her why she thinks that the state doesn't consider the people in Pikine and she says, "We don't see the help of the state. It's only during the elections that we see

¹²⁵Ibid. 09 July 2014.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 04 July 2014.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 10 July 2014.

them here. I think that they don't consider us since we are missing schools, a hospital, for flooding- they don't do other things. Why leave Pikine? I don't understand."¹²⁸ Those in the suburbs would like to see an active role from its political leaders, for those who were chosen to represent those in Pikine. The residents imagine a future where the political leaders will do their job for representing their constituents and making sure that the disparity within the quality of life is distributed between all areas in Senegal, urban and rural areas.

The last sets of vision for Pikine rests on the changing identity that will come to the area of Pikine as the population grows and what began as a suburb changes into something else. The residents have chosen to identify their area as a suburb because they differentiate between those who have the means in Dakar versus those who live in misery and aren't able to provide for their problems for multiple reasons. Even with this acceptance and reality, the residents of Pikine wish something more for the place they call home. What is their vision? "A future, where Pikine becomes like Paris, why not? If we think we can change Pikine, then we can work on it. We can even pass Paris or even Dakar. There is solidarity here. There are some who believe and want to make it happen while others are only looking out for their own needs."¹²⁹

What other plans or dreams do the people of Pikine have for their home? What do they see as the future for this place of almost 1 million, on the outskirts of Dakar and missing access to services like the sewer system, electricity and water? As some noted, "A city that's a big city. A city with a lot of industries, the improvement of education, with a lot of space for pleasure, for the kids. A city that's modern, well lit in the public

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Etoka, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 09 July 2014.

spaces like Paris or Lyon or Chicago or New York. Pikine could be a city.”¹³⁰ In becoming a city with possibilities, the Pikinois vision their role as being different. “Pikine, I would like that it becomes a ville. That it becomes a model for other cities in Senegal. That education becomes the model education and with spaces of pleasure. A place where everyone wants to be.”¹³¹ Here, we see the identification with world cities and the fact that those living in this area of Dakar that may not be educated have heard of the New York, Paris, and Chicago. They are a part of this urbanized world where people are leaving the countryside to make their livelihood in the cities despite all the difficulties they face. They are a part of that narrative that knows what urban areas are capable of offering. They aren’t willing to compromise and settle for what Pikine is but are instead looking to see what Pikine can be, what Pikine has to offer the country of Senegal and ultimately, the world.

Finally, a resident summarized the past, present and future identities of Pikine:

The word, “banlieue” was brought here to Pikine. Pikine before was a new city because “la banlieuee Dakaroise” was Grand Dakar, Point E, Medina, that’s the suburb. Pikine was a new city. A new city to bring the surplus of people who lived in Dakar. The word “banlieue” was brought to Pikine but before, was to create a new city with the image of Saint-Louis, Rufisque.. a dream of a new city where it’s good to live, where a lot of people will live, where insecurity will not be a problem, development will be a reality and education will be taken care of. That’s our dream. A new city. A better city.¹³²

Conclusion

In this chapter of my thesis, I have divided my work into three sections. I started out why explaining how those who don’t live in Pikine see the banlieue and what their

¹³⁰ Ibid. 21 July 2014.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Etoke, Salima. Questionnaire. Pikine. 08 July 2014.

thoughts are on the urban form, the residents and the activities that take place here. After explaining that, I moved on to discover how the residents of Pikine see the difference between Pikine and Dakar. In their responses, I discovered that Dakar is seen as the place of luxury, where all the opportunities exist and where people have access to their basic needs. In the viewpoint of the residents, it seems that one of the biggest differences between the city and the suburb is the way of life, which again is influenced by the economic livelihood that one place has over the other. In the last section of the chapter, I analyzed the future visions that the residents of Pikine have for their homes and what they see their home becoming in the future. In this analysis, I showed that they are realistic about their challenges but also willing to offer solutions as to what would fix their situation. In doing so, the residents envision a city, a new city that has global connections and which is no longer this suburb that everyone refers to, but rather something that stands on its own.

Conclusion

This thesis highlights the built environment, lived experiences and perceptions of Pikine, Senegal to understand a modern African suburb and the process through which people differentiate between city and suburb. In Chapter 1, I provided the theoretical framework through the discussions of suburbanization, suburbs and how scholars have come to classify, define and understand suburbs around the world. I discovered that studies by Vernière and Sow had analyzed similar questions about Pikine. Vernière focused on quantitative research on the early inhabitants of Pikine between 1950s and 1970s. Sow writing in the 1980s argues that in this time period, Pikine has ceased to be an extension of Dakar and rather, it had become its own city. These studies and other ones guided my study in 2014 responding to a similar question: Is Pikine a city that's increasingly independent and shaping its own destiny or is it still heavily defined by its identity as "une banlieue" of Dakar?

In chapter 2, I explained the urban development to highlight how Dakar grew and gained its prominence through colonization and the efforts by French. They were at first concerned with the slave trade and later with the transportation of peanuts to the other parts of their empire. The departments of Pikine and Guédiawaye were started to accommodate the masses of Dakar. Rufisque prospered during colonization when its port played an important for the French. The growth in the department of Dakar hasn't translated into growth in the other departments in the region.

In chapter 3, I present the methodology for my fieldwork. In the subsequent chapter, I present the findings on the built environment. Through conversations with residents in Pikine and other readings, I discovered that the infrastructure is deficient and that residents lack access to basic functions like electricity and the sewer system. In

chapter 5, I analyze the results on the living conditions in Pikine. I discovered that the major concerns were delinquency/ poverty; education; insecurity; a lack of open space; and unemployment. The factors that explained the major problems encountered were poverty, the lack of a high school, the state and its disengagement, the leadership at the local level and finally, the lack of infrastructures. In chapter six, I analyzed the responses from the questionnaires as to how non-residents of suburbs understand the suburbs and the differences between the city and suburb as defined by the residents. Lastly, I looked at the future envisioned by residents in Pikine.

Asking the future envisioned by the residents allowed me to see that the communities within Pikine see themselves as a city. Their responses showed that there's an identity that comes with being a resident of Pikine. These Pikinois acknowledge their present and the challenges and difficulties they face. They understand the differences between themselves and the primate city that plays a major role within Senegal. They were aware of the stereotypes and misconceptions that people have about them and their home. Their answers provide a road map to a future that will fulfill the destiny which was meant for Pikine: which was to create a new city with its own culture and identity. If I was to differentiate between a suburb and a city based on social or cultural characteristics, there's no doubt that Pikine has and continues to create a separate identity for itself and its residents.

Despite this fact, I argue that Pikine is and remains a suburb. I draw this conclusion from the fact that it is defined by failing built environment, an area lacking employment opportunities and one where the residents are victims of misconceptions about crime and danger. In comparison to Dakar, Pikine encounters major problems that are at higher levels and would never be allowed to exist in Dakar because they would

cripple the important activities that happen there. The residents expressed the opinion that the state and the local leaders could engage equally in the department of Pikine to address the issues faced on a daily basis. Lastly, Sow asserted in the 1980s that “greater autonomy for Pikine, as for the other suburbs, will never be possible as long as economic life remains basically linked with central Dakar.”¹³³ What we find today is that the economic activities of the suburbs are tied to Dakar and its growth and opportunities. They haven’t been able to give Pikine its own function or its own economic generating activities that would break the tight relationship between Dakar and Pikine. In 2015, we find similar situations as the 1980s and as long as these conditions remain, Pikine will continue to be identified as a suburb of Dakar. There’s a need to match the visions of the residents in Pikine with the on the ground reality so that thirty years from now when another study is conducted asking similar questions, we will find that Pikine is a city by social and cultural characteristics as well as by the built environment and functionality.

¹³³ Sow, 15.

Bibliography

- Abdoul, M. (2005). Urban development and urban informalities: Pikine, Senegal. In Simone, A & Abouhani, A (Eds.), *Urban Africa: Changing Contours of Survival in the City* (pp. 235-260.) Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA.
- Amin, A. (2008). Collective culture and urban public space. *City*, 12(1), 5-24.
- Annan, K.A. (2000). We, the peoples of the United Nations in the 21st Century. United Nations, New York.
- A Planet of Suburbs. (2014, December 7). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.
- Archer, K. (2013). *The City: The basics*. New York City, New York: Routledge.
- Argenti, O. (Ed.). (2000). *Food into cities: selected papers* (No. 143). Food & Agriculture Org.
- “A Suburban World.” (2014, December 06). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.
- Buire, C. (2014). Suburbanisms in Africa? Spatial Growth and Social Transformation in New Urban Peripheries: Introduction to the Cluster. *African Studies*, 73(2), 241-244.
- Cessou, S. (2014, November). Dakar, boom city. *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Retrieved from <http://mondediplo.com/2014/11/16dakar>.
- Dreier, P., Mollenkopf, J., & Swanstrom, T. (2012). Metropolitcs for the Twenty-first Century. *The Urban Sociology Reader*, 148.

- Ekers, M., Hamel, P., & Keil, R. (2012). Governing suburbia: modalities and mechanisms of suburban governance. *Regional Studies*, 46(3), 405-422.
- Forsyth, A. (2012). Defining suburbs. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 27(3), 270-281.
- Gellar, S. (1982). *Senegal: an African nation between Islam and the West*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Ghosh, S. (2013, May 16). Sustainable Urbanisation – Challenges in the 21st Century (Discussion Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.consultancyafrica.com>.
- Gilbert, A., & Gugler, J. (1982). *Cities poverty and development: Urbanization in the third world*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Grubb, W. N. (1982). The flight to the suburbs of population and employment, 1960–1970. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 11(3), 348-367.
- Harris, C. D. (1943). Suburbs. *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1), 1-13.
- Hufstader, C. (2011, May 18). Saving Lives 24/7: Flood response in Senegal. *Oxfam America*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/explore/stories/saving-lives-247-flood-response-in-senegal>.
- Hungerford, H. (2013). Material Impacts of Hip-Hop on Urban Development in Dakar: The Case of Eaux Secours. In *Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis*, 2, 193-200.
- Jacobs, Jane. (2010). « The Death and Life of Great American Cities. » In Bridge, G., & Watson, S. (Eds.), *The Blackwell City Reader* (273-277). Oxford, UK : John Wiley & Sons.

- Laros, M., & Jones, F. (2014). *The state of African cities 2014: re-imagining sustainable urban transitions*. Nairobi, Kenya: UN Habitat.
- Mabin, A., Butcher, S., & Bloch, R. (2013). Peripheries, suburbanisms and change in sub-Saharan African cities. *Social Dynamics*, 39(2), 167-190.
- Maheu, A. (2012). Urbanization and Flood Vulnerability in a Peri-Urban Neighbourhood of Dakar, Senegal: How can Participatory GIS Contribute to Flood Management?. In *Climate Change and the Sustainable Use of Water Resources* (pp. 185-207). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Marshall, G. "Suburbanization." A Dictionary of Sociology. 1998. Retrieved April 27, 2015 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-suburbanization.html>.
- McCarthy, L. M., & Knox, P. L. (2005). *Urbanization: An introduction to urban geography*. Pearson Prentice Hall.
- McGee, T. G. (1971). *The urbanization process in the third world*. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.
- McManus, R., & Ethington, P. J. (2007). Suburbs in transition: new approaches to suburban history. *Urban History*, 34(02), 317-337.
- Myers, G. A. (2011). *African cities: Alternative visions of urban theory and practice*. New York, NY: Zed Books Limited.
- Park, T., Greenberg, J., Nell, E., Marsh, S., Baro, M., & Mjahed, M. (2003). Research on Urbanization in the Developing World: New Directions. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 10(2), 69-94.

- Roof, K; Oleru N. (2008). "Public Health: Seattle and King County's Push for the Built Environment." *J Environ Health* 71: 24–27.
- Roque, S. (2011). Cidade and bairro: Classification, constitution and experience of urban space in Angola. *Social Dynamics*, 37(3), 332-348.
- Schnore, L. F. (1956). The functions of metropolitan suburbs. *American journal of Sociology*, 61(5), 453-458.
- Simone, A. (2004). For the city yet to come. *Changing African life in four cities*. London, UK: Duke University Press.
- Space and the City. (2015, April 4). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com>.
- Spaliviero, R. (2010, April 14). "Dakar's Cine-suburb: Young people create a cine-club in Pikine." *Buala*. Retrieved from <http://www.buala.org/en/afroscreen/dakars-cine-suburb-young-people-create-a-cine-club-in-pikine>.
- Sow, F. (1983). Pikine, Senegal: a reading of a contemporary African city. *Reading the contemporary African city*. Singapore: Concept Media/Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 45-60.
- The Great Divide: Social Inequality in a fast growing Africa. (2012, May 25). *Afritorial*. Retrieved from <http://afritorial.com>.
- Tissot, S. (2008). " French suburbs": A New Problem or a New Approach to Social Exclusion?. Working Paper Series, (160), 00-00.
- Vaughan, L., Griffiths, S., Haklay, M. M., & Jones, C. K. E. (2009). Do the suburbs exist? Discovering complexity and specificity in suburban built form. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 34(4), 475-488.

Vernière, M. (1973). Campagne, ville, bidonville, banlieue: migrations intra-urbaines vers
Dagoudane-Pikine, ville nouvelle de Dakar-Sénégal. Cahiers des sciences
humaines, 10(2/3), 217-243.

Table of Contents

Appendix I: Maps of the Dakar Region and Pikine

Appendix II: Field Notes

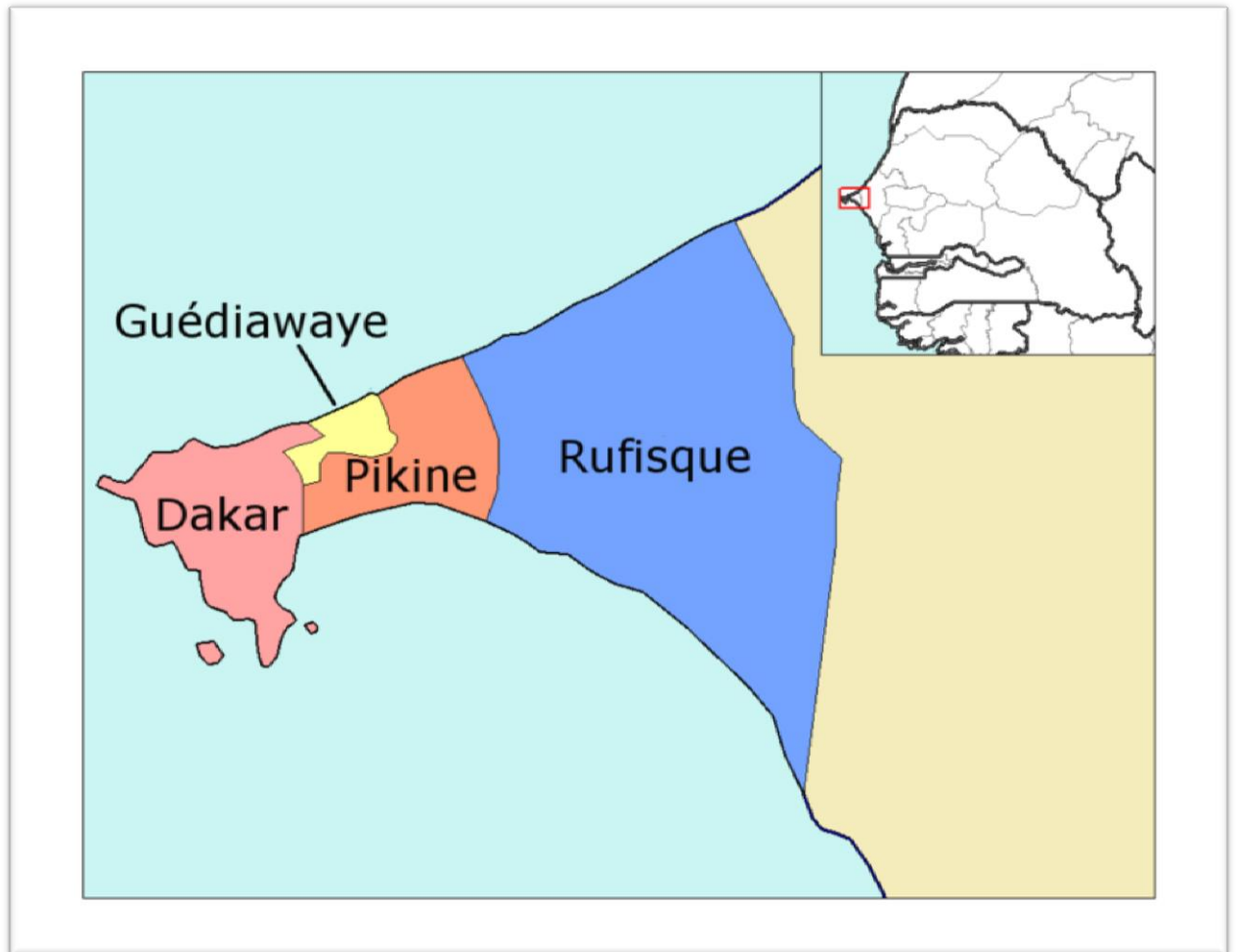
Appendix III: Photos

Appendix IV: Interview Transcript

Appendix V: Questionnaires

Appendix I

Figure 1: Dakar Metropolitan Area: The Four Departments



Map courtesy of Wikipedia, "Dakar departments big print" by derivative work: Mr Accountable (talk)Dakar_departments.png: Rarelibra - Dakar_departments.png. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons –

Appendix I

Figure 2: The Department of Pikine

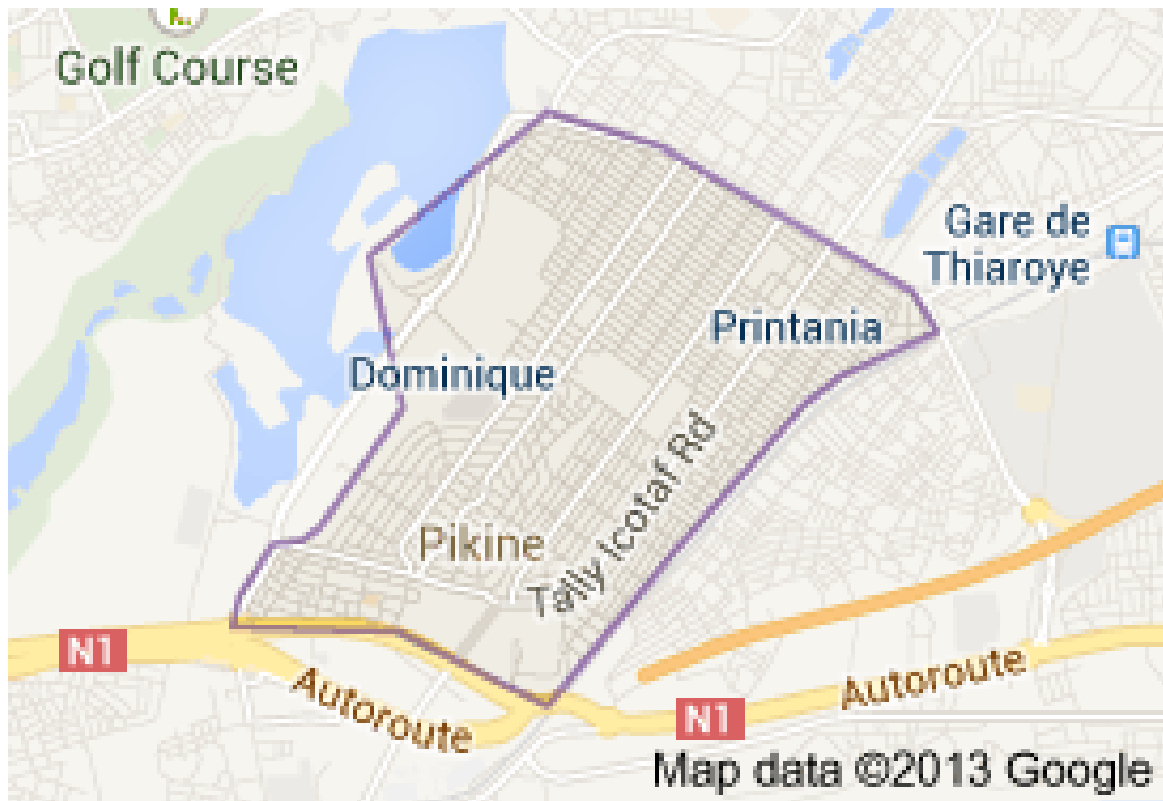


Photo courtesy of Google Earth

Appendix II

Field notes during research
Salima Etoke

June 19, 2014

We started off by walking through the market where I first walked through. We pointed out how there was so much movement in this area even at 10 am. There were a lot of car rapides, both heading to Yeumbeul and the other arrondissement in the communes and others going back to Dakar. There were also a lot of TATAs and I realized that I could have taken the 31 or 49 since they all seem to pass through this area before heading elsewhere.

While walking through the market, we were talking about how this economy is the informal market and people start working when they want and finish when they also like. They aren't forced to leave around 6 am like those heading to the "plateau" for work. If you took a look at the market though, a lot of the things are things that you find in the other markets. On top of that they are coming from China and definitely not being made in Senegal. At this point, I noticed more *car rapides* and made the reference to the fact that no one knows where these are going but if you ask people, they do tell you where they go. We crossed the street to head to Dalifort where I noticed that the mayor of the entire department was located here in the pink building. His/her office was neat and it was much quieter than the other areas. Hamidou also pointed out that this area was where wood was being made for different industries that needed them. We continued further down to see the fish market which clearly smelled like fish. While it was mostly fish that was being sold, there were other things as well. Apparently, the building was created with the help of a Japanese corporation and expanded at some point. Due to poor management, the building is in poorer conditions and could use being cleaned.

After seeing the fish market, we headed to show me the train tracks still in Dalifort but which I had seen before when we headed to Rufisque to lac Rose. This is the same train that I have only seen twice in the 5 months that I have been in Senegal. I remember the first time I saw I was very surprised that the train still ran but apparently, it's used sometimes to try and break the traffic jams that still exist. We headed back to where we had started at the gas station where at night time, there are even more vendors selling fruit and other goods. We headed left to start the tour. This tour would last until 2 pm and while there's still so much I still need to read and understand, I wanted to make notes of things that I noticed during my time

Markets

I don't remember the names of all the markets that we see but we walked through many of them. The one that stands out to me was the covered market that went on for a while. It was also well organized- first starting with fabric, jewelry and other items before heading into food items and meats and such. It reminded me of the covered market that we visited in Paris and it was so different from anything that I had seen. One rational for it being a covered market is that b/c of the heat, the people came together to build it this way and avoid the heat. It was also well organized with some paved roads running through- small ones but still passable. Also to note, people seemed to have their established space and weren't walking around like the "marchands ambulants"

The other market I recall is the market with fruit, mostly mangoes and mande. These mangoes were of different kinds and apparently cheaper here than in Dakar. People in Dakar come to buy these mangoes from here and then raise the prices for them in the city. On the outer areas were the people who had bought the mangoes and were selling them to those in cars and who were taking it to the suburbs like Parceilles Assaines, etc

We went to the mall in Pikine East/Ouest to see what we would find. What I saw was a lot of stores selling the same things-fabric and a lot of fabric, mostly for women and some shoes and purses. In the bottom stores, there were a lot of merchandises being sold but as we went up, it was more services. You could buy your fabric downstairs and take it upstairs to be done. Even saw a hair braiding place for those who needed it and there was one place that had a place to eat. Hamidou pointed out something- a lot of the merchandise being sold was for women, but women aren't the ones working meaning they have no income. How do they go about buying these things? Is it a husband or a boyfriend who does this?

Roads/Streets

Near the fruit market, the roads were bad as in they didn't exist or they were so small and they had trucks parked on one side making it difficult for both sides to be filled with cars and for pedestrians to be walking at the same time.

I haven't seen anything though as bad as Yeumbeul where the road literally ended and one day, some fell over when we went over the part where the road ended b/c that's how bad it was

I also noticed that some roads- mainly the ones running through the big boulevards were paved just like in the village. The side streets were not bad with the exception of some of them. This brings up the question of politics and why some areas were paved while others weren't?

A few streets had no sidewalks. A few did. There was a lot of sand that we walked in. Even more sand than I is used to but this makes sense since the side streets are weren't paved and are simply left with nothing but sand. Apparently I need to keep in mind that one of the problems that exist in this area is TB and which can spread easily through the sand.

Official/Public Buildings

We made a stop to see the mayor of one of the communes and they were very friendly. I am going to head back and schedule an appointment with the mayor after the elections. An important point made by Awa was the point that too many times scholars spend time talking about the theory and not really getting on the ground to work with the people and see the reality, which can lead to really bad results. After the elections, I am headed back to talk to them

We made a stop at the people in charge of the inspection of education where I was able to talk to one man who made a good point. He explained that I needed to choose my population size and then make sure that I interview the people to hear about their experiences. He wanted to make that point very clear about me going out in the field and not just visting the officials

Made a stop at a couple schools in the area. The one that was pointed out to me was about making school most exclusive and had ramps to allow students in wheel chairs or not able to walk up stairs be able to attend school still. The only thing I had a question on was why there were a bunch of schools next to each other

We made another stop at the center for St. Dominique which is a hospital that people have to pay for to enter. Nothing like Hotel Principale but it caters to the people in the neighborhood. A couple other health centers or such places were pointed out to me but I would need to head back to see them for myself.

Other general things

This department is so big. Pikine itself is so big. We spent 4 hours walking around and we weren't able to see every part of the communes de Pikine Nord, Ouest and l'est. This leaves 13 other arrondissement that I wasn't able to visit during this trip. It's brought my attention to the fact that I couldn't interview people in all 16 communes and have a meaning project. I would stretch myself too thin and then coming out with results that seemed disorganized. I am going to then focus on the three communes that make part of Pikine and keep it that way. I will still visit the other communes and use that observation to help my work but it's not fair to me to try and tackle all these communes. That would be a project for another time- when I had like a year to do research or something like that

A lot of markets in this area and people generally selling the same things. I wonder how much someone makes on a daily basis and if it would be too rude to ask a question like that

Also made a good point that not everyone who settled into this area is originally from Pikine but instead left other regions of Senegal and other countries to settle in Pikine. I was curious as to why people would leave their homes and move to Pikine when they weren't sure that the quality of life that they were going to have would be better?

One realization I have come to is the fact that the transportation system may not be the best one possible but it actually works. We saw throughout the day the numbers 24, 31 and 49, and to not even mention the other busses that passed by.

June 23, 2014

I arrived in Pikine around 1 pm to do some observation and stayed this time for around 2 hours. I learned my lesson and will now be only going in the mornings since it's so hot and you can't do much in that type of weather.

Here are my observations from Pikine L'ouest and Nord

- Very wide streets (the main roads that aren't paved)- why would they be so huge?
- Some of the passage ways are very small
- The houses have 1 or 2 stories with a few exceptions and they don't feature the terrace roof like the house in Dakar have
- At first, Pikine seemed to have a numbering system for the houses but then they started repeating so I don't know if they serve a purpose or if even people use them
- No villas or a mention of them
- Neighborhood is very big and no real distinction between the west and north part of Pikine
- Some houses looked like they were torn apart-maybe b/c of the flooding?
- Sand- barely any sidewalks
- Sees to have polls for electricity so I am guessing that it's possible that they have it

- Water pumps- meaning no other access to water?
- Some homes definitely look informal b/c of the material being used
- Only the main roads are paved

June 25th, 2014

- Observations from yesterday are in my notebook and coming but for now, I am going to write my observations from today- Wednesday, June 25th
- I took the 49 all the way to Pikine Icotaf, near the end and decided that exploring Pikine East was the best idea. I headed in the general direction going in and out of streets as usual
- I noticed that this area seemed much worse than Pikine West or North
- For now, I really saw the narrow passageways that at first, I couldn't believe they were considered streets but they were- Once I reach Pikine East 27, continue to the streets that run north and south and you will what I am talking about. They don't even look like streets but more like ways to go between houses
 - This area seemed worse in terms of the conditions of the houses
 - There were a lot that were my height or slightly taller. Also saw this yesterday but it was many more houses that experienced this today
 - Some houses looked like they had been affected by the floods and that's why no one was living there. Did notice that in these houses, people have started to throw trash in them and it's built up
 - Standing water in multiple locations- it's turned colors and smelled bad
 - Water pumps- one looked like it was sponsored by an organization- again, here we have a question of access to water
 - There were some houses that looked slightly nicer than others- one in particular that had multiple stories like the houses in Dakar
 - People stare at me strangely as if wondering about what I am doing and some made a comment to the vision pikine hat that I was wearing
 - Only explored one side of Pikine East since it's weirdly placed so I need to visit the other side. It was bounded by the Total gas station and maison des femmes that exist. To the right of that becomes Pikine East
 - It's also bounded by the train track- meaning after the train tracks comes Guinaw rails and there are some points that you can use to access Guinaw rails
 - A lot of kids out playing soccer at multiple stations and people, women and men sitting outside, talking , braiding hair, etc
 - Near the boundary that would lead to Guiedway, there are businesses over there creating things out of wood like we saw in other parts of Pikine
 - Wide roads that were mostly made of sand, only a couple paved one
 - Also noticed, the passing of cars is limited since the sand gets in and its not good for the car

July 1st, 2014

What exactly happened today? I had an appointment with Hamidou for around 9:30 am to get started. I met him and he had some ideas of who I was going to be talking to so he took to me to meet the people who do the inspection for education in Pikine. The first guy we met with was the

human resource manager and we never actually did an interview with him but he basically critiqued my questionnaire from every angle and made me go through the questions. We went one by one and he made sure that I understood how with certain things, I hadn't truly understood the culture or I was asking something that was ok in the US but not ok in Senegal. He also had me thinking about what I meant by certain questions like, what type of work you do versus what is your profession? One is more open and allows for those working even in the informal market to discuss what they do. The other is more about the liberal market and something that might make sense in the US.

He mentioned that on my mode of transportation do you use, I hadn't accounted for all the different ways of getting around. I tried to fix that. We also discussed the different ways of asking where people come from, whether or not they were born in Pikine, why did they choose to live in Pikine, etc. This entire time, he was also helping people as they came in and we would just wait for him to do his thing. We were probably there for a good 2 hours before moving on to talk to the other people. I got to learn something about things here in Senegal, people take their sweet time. Whereas me, I would have been interested in leaving early or getting some sort of work done, they were cool with us just chilling there and then being able to ask them questions. My challenge now will be transcribing the interview and getting all the work done.

One interesting discussion we had lasted for an hour, not even kidding. It was related to the term of suburb. The guy involved was very passionate. He discussed how Pikine is a city of itself and not a suburb. Maybe back in the day when people were forced to move there, it depended on the city of Dakar. Nowadays, Pikine is known for itself and it has produced people who are known for making things happen in the Senegalese society. This is very interesting since it's tossing out some of what I have learned regarding cities and suburbs and all that. I ended up leaving around 4 pm since I had to finish putting together the questionnaire and I needed to make some calls regarding interviews in Dakar tomorrow. Tomorrow, I have a meeting with Mr. Mansour Tall who works for the UN. I am trying to do some work now so I am not completely unaware of what I am doing tomorrow.

July 17th, 2014

Today's point was to walk through by myself, seeing as much as possible and taking photos in the event that I need photos in my final document. I started out at the fish market, very smelly as we expected and I saw some of the biggest fish in my life. People kept asking me if I was buying something and apparently my answer of no I am not looking for anything was weird or unusual. I walked through there realizing that at this time of 1 pm, a lot of people were sleeping and not really selling anything. It's Ramadan and the hot weather getting to them I guess. I walked down to head to Bounty Pikine where as usual you are greeted by the shops, many of the shop owners on the floor of their little shops and music playing loudly. You notice the soccer jersey's, shoes-like sandals and such and occasionally other things. It makes you wonder how they make money when they are all selling the same things.

Also noticed that even with fasting, there were still a good number of people selling fruit and the stands even extended into the parking lot of Oilibya. I headed down Tally Boubess for a while, taking photos of the graffiti on the wall- so interesting and also the community center that's there. I decided to walk towards Icotaf to be able to see two neighborhoods at once. I did end up doing one questionnaire with a lady who at first, I walked by, I was walking along the road near the rails

and kept going. I decided to go back and take a chance. I asked if anyone spoke French and so she came out to help me out w/ the interview. The other people in the shop would also come out and ask me what I was doing and joking in wolof and such. After I finished here, I continued on down through Pikine Est to finally get to the houses that are still full of water and falling apart. Also got some photos of the passage ways that are tiny, especially when compared to the big roads we see everywhere. After this I started trekking towards Pikine Nord, moving through neighborhoods and discovering two dead rats/mice, flies where people throw their water or food out, people throwing their used water in the streets, children playing in the streets and cars having to be careful, giant roads that make no sense when compared to how few main roads there are and how small these roads are, nicer houses and not so nice houses being in the same area, realizing that in the short time I have been in Pikine- I have gotten to know the neighborhoods much better than before. Realizing that I didn't feel unsafe at all. Didn't notice any crimes taking place. Noticed a lot more mosques for what seemed like a small territory. People were surprisingly moving about their own business- doesn't seem to fit the image of the slum or maybe I am thinking of a refugee camp where people are doing nothing and waiting to be handed everything. Some kids were looking at me. Some people walking by where I was eating beignets and drinking water on someone's property noticed me. Went to the supermarket where I got my water from during field work and sat on the bench outside to talk w/ Hamidou, noticed the car rapides and the TATAs. When I nearly finished, near 4 pm and it was looking like rain was coming, I sat at Bounty Pikine near the shell gas station and one guy had me watching his car where he had left the keys in. I missed a couple busses since he had been serious about us watching his car. Sitting here for almost 20-30 minutes, you realize that you see every single form of transportation in this area. DDK, TATA, *car rapides*, cars, taxis, chariots, bicycle, walking, I saw someone roller blading on Icotaf, when headed to Pikine and heading back, I saw two trains- the first one carrying a farm equipment and the second time the blue train. It's like all the different types of getting around in Pikine are possible.

Appendix III

All photos were taken by author.



Figure 1- Car rapides await at Boutou Pikine-

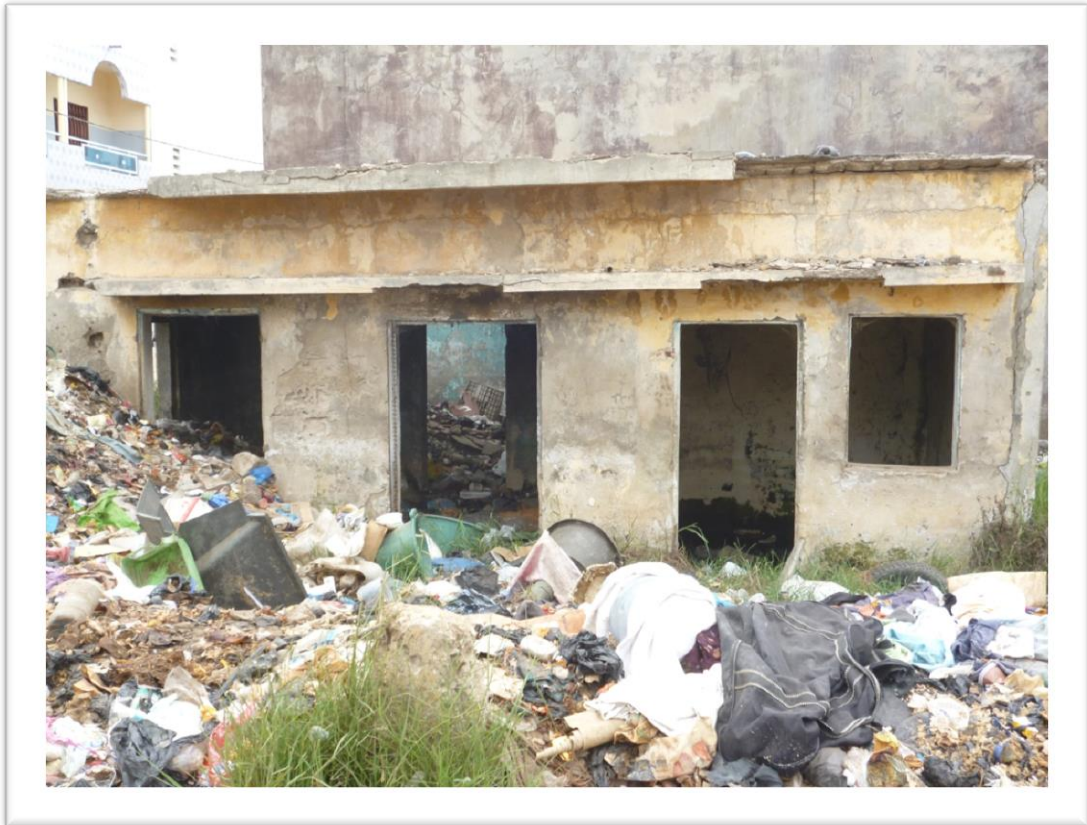


Figure 2- A home possibly damaged by flooding, trash has accumulated



Figure 3 Some Roads in Pikine are small and would not be able to accommodate cars.



Figure 4 “As we walk throughout these communities, I see buildings, mosques, schools, and I hear the call to prayer. This is all Pikine. This was the reality for the Pikinois that I experienced the two months I conducted research.” (Etoka, 24).

Appendix IV

Interview with Serigne Mansour Tall

S: Ok. We can start. Maybe you can introduce yourself

M: I am sorry. My name is Serigne Mansour Tall. My background is geography and urban studies and I work for the UN Habitat. UN Habitat is an UN Agency dealing with sustainable urban development and housing for all. Yea.

S: From your background, what are some of the challenges for cities like Dakar?

M: Yea. A lot of challenges. The first one is how we can plan before people settle. You know, public authorities have to anticipate b/c urban grow is fast and the process of planning and putting infrastructures is very slow. I think the first challenge is how to better articulate, you know, human settlement and planning.

I think it is the matter of all the problems because when people come and take in charge the land without planning, all problems come after because we cannot put in infrastructure, we cannot put in social services, we cannot respect you know obligations in term of environment, sanitation, etc. I think what we are facing in our cities and it's a common problem for many African cities is a lacking of planning, lack of urban planning and sometimes when we have planning documents as master plans, they come after people are in place and we cannot respect the plan of what we are proceeding (check on this word), what we are producing. I think it's one of the big challenge.

The other one is urban sprawl. Cities are extending without planning. Every time you have to come back to planning. I think it is the main problem. For example in Pikine, we moved a lot of people in 1952 without any infrastructures and when the most of the people in the next side come and settle without any planning, without any road, the street, you know. I think it's a big challenge. Lack of planning and we need now to deal with planning and after that we need to better improve local government. I think that local government in this kind of suburb doesn't work well.

And the third problem in this city is that we don't have any activities. We just have home. People everything, have to go in Dakar and other places for work and I think as you know a city is concentration of home, activities, and services. In Pikine, you have a little place where you can work; we don't have industry, enterprises, and public institutions. It's a very big problem. One of the challenges is that we have a lot of people in a small area. A city... You know the process of producing housing is sprawl. We don't have you know have enough

S: High risers

M: Yea yea because it's very complicated. And the last problem is land tenure issues; most of them don't have regular title. That's why some of them cannot invest in their

house. It's a main problem because we cannot organize you know land use planning because they don't titles, or they don't have real titles. They just have a a processus, a paper delivered by a customary system and I think it's a big challenge too. I think if you can deal with planning, if you can plan after that we can put in infrastructure, we can organize you know the process of land use planning, we can install infrastructure and social services, I think we can change the situation. Yea

S: When I have been doing investigations in Pikine. I have been talking to people and some have been saying that Pikine is not a suburb. You can't call Pikine a sububurb because originally it was supposed to be its own city. um, People moved there, when they were moved to Pikine, um moved to Pikine but Pikine was supposed to be its own city. There's Dakar and then there's Pikine. But Also, if you look at the criteria for what makes a slum for example like lack of access to sanitation, lack of access to secure housing, having tenure property, in some ways, Pikine is described as a slum, in other ways described as a suburb, in some ways as a city. From your background,

M: We have three Pikines.

S: Ok

M: One when moved people to Pikine. The first place where they moved people was planned. It's Tally Boumack, Tally boubess, you have roads, you hae streets but they don't have enough money at this time to put infrastcuture. That's what we call regular Pikine.

S: Regular Pikine.

M: The population wasn't move regularly. Other people coming from rural areas established surrounding this space. That's what we call Pikine irregualrier.

S: Irreguliaer Pikine.

M: And after that situation is worse because people come again and establish themselves surrounding traditional UN settlements as Yeumbeul and this place was very overcrowded, no equipment, no roads, no street, just small

S: yea

M: That is a problem. We have three situations: The first one was Regular, irregular, completely irregular and difficult. And if you see you will remark really common situation in regular Pikine, you have, you have one or two and for the last situation, you have one but very small plot without equipment and very poor population. But in the regular you have market, police, you have some social services. Yea

S: And what are the some of the policies that the government has taken towards urban development, urbanization and have there been any policies dealing with the problems in the suburbs?

M: Yea. Yea. You have a. if you have to go in the situation of Pikine where you assimilate as slum. Slum upgranding, Pikine irregularier, Pikine Cite between Mbaou and Fass Mbaou, etc. The government tried to do... It is a kind of slum upgrading projects. We have a lot of slum upgrading projects to try to move a little people in order to open new space. In order to open new space for social services. I think the government is trying to do something but you know it's a very slow process.... compared to the extension of the phenomenon that's why we are in this in situation, the action of the state is very little regarding you know the situation and the needs. Yea

S: What does the UN-Habitat specifically does here in Dakar?

M: We are working in Dakar but not really in Pikine. We are working in Dakar just to improve you know the capacity of public actors of the city and government to improve

"something" how we can develop strategic planning in order to avoid this kind of situation. Now trying to support the government in what we call "pole urbain" It is a kind of urban extension in order to avoid people doing themselves the process of occupying land, that's the government created recently the direction of "pole urbain," it is kind of t's a big institution like an agency which try to organize you know land physical planning before people coming. This institution promotes mixed city, mixed city of space, residential place, functional space, etc. Mixed city among population, rich population, you know medium class and poor population. You know, for the first time we are trying to anticipate you know to plan before settlement, I think it is a good policy but you know we need to have a lot of money for that b/c physical planning is very expensive compared to the rapidity or the growth of the population, the rate of the growth yea

S: Maybe one last question um when I was reading before occupation and looking at exclusion and exclusionary space, some communities are seen as exclusionary space because they keep certain people out and others in and I wanted to take a look at Pikine as a space where people maybe are kept there and have been excluded from society, maybe in the sense that Dakar has been given the resources because it's the nation's capital but not so for the suburbs like Pikine, Yeumbeul and the other suburbs, so could we talk about exclusion for the people of Pikine as people who've been excluded from the communities here in Dakar and have been forced to live there or is it simply that the government doesn't have the resources to provide for all cities and suburbs?

M: Yea the government doesn't have the resources. Exclusion is some have economic costs. They are excluded b/c they don't have access to regular process for getting land. They don't have enough money to build their own house, you know, in a small part, that's why they don't have any other choice other than establishing in the suburb, in irregular manner, they don't have any choice. Now the government have to try to do an integrated urban planning taking into account not only rich people but also poor people, I think it's the policies that we are promoting by the "pole urbain,." I think it's the policies we are promoting with slum upgrading projects; we don't have to wait for the situation to be worse, before intervention. slum upgrading is not a proactive, it is not a preventive policy, it is a corrective policy, I think the better way, the best way is to plan and to facilitate an establishment of people, and you know in Dakar is not good because if you want to solve the problems of Dakar, you have to go beyond the borders of Dakar, you have to facilitate very balanced urban bodies in countryside, in the other cities, I think it is a way very balanced human settlement in the whole country. I think if you are just focusing on Dakar, we lose a lot of part of the reality, the situation in Pikine is mainly due to the concentration of all activities in Dakar and the other cities are very poor in terms of job creation, infrastructures, in terms of facilities. Yea

S: That's it. That's all I have. Is there anything else you would like to add about cities, your work, Pikine, Dakar

M: I think that originally Pikine was created to move people but now Pikine is now emerging as a city with its own personality. I think that providing the statistic, Pikine is now the first city, it is more populated than Dakar, B/c they have a lot of people, they don't respect the percentage of public space, of streets, that's why it is very overcrowded and we have a lot of people, I think that the first city is now Pikine and we have to deal with this reality, we have to organize better the land, we have to create new activities, we

have to improve you know local development bodies, we have to mobilize local communities, we have to create new jobs, we have to deal with new emerging problems like security, you know sanitation, health implications, we have also have to deal with transportation, and we have to facilitate the process which allow Pikine to become a city, a city with its own objective, its own future, we have to separate the destiny of Pikine and Dakar, if you would like to build a new city not only depending on Dakar for everything, we have to avoid what we call in French "city dortoirre" a city just for sleeping. I think the process is starting and now the government is planning to create a big hospital in Guédiawaye Golf, with deserve the banlieue, the suburb. I think Pikine is a big city and now to be elected as the president you have to win elections in Pikine and that's why I think that the situation in Pikine will be better b/c government for its own electoral interest has to improve the situation in Pikine. Yea

S: Ok. And then, I am going to ask one more thing. When I do, write the report in English and I will transcribe our interview today and if it's something that you said directly, would you be ok with me citing your name with as you said this or would you rather remain...

M: No problem. No problem.

Appendix V

Questionnaire: 001

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Wolof

Age: 18-25, 26-35, 35-45, **45-60**, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; Married **NA (we didn't get a chance to ask)**

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **YES**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **No**
3. What region are you from? What city? **Thies**
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **I have a sister here, meaning I have family, a sister that I visited until I got married. Now, I work here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my wife. In the same neighborhood, we are only separated by a couple houses. We eat together.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, as a teacher**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?
 - A. TATA
 - B. Car rapide- **Sometimes I take car rapides but that's rare.**
 - C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
 - D. Dakar Dem Dikk
 - E. The train
 - F. By foot- **Because I live nearby, I often walk to work.**
 - G. Taxi
 - H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **We are really laissez (French word- check to see if it's the right one), we are often victims of power outages. Sometimes I have asked if Pikine is not a victim of.. (check to understand French word that was said)**
9. Water? **Water is constant. It's stable. It's rare to talk of not having water. We have running water.**
10. Education. **The educational system is difficult. We are in a place that's very difficult. When I taught, people wouldn't have a pen or paper. The signs of poverty were there. It's**

not easy. Parents who do not even have time to occupy themselves with their children or their education.

11. Sewer system. **There are efforts being made. In 2002, there was a... created a space to deal with the problem with the sewer system, it was called the “reseau de Pikine” because in Pikine, we cannot get around. After putting 2002, they tried to work with the mayor**

12. How are the hospitals? **Hospital Dominique- it offers good service. He worked with groups that would go into the schools to educate kids on health issues. There was a space for the youth to come and discuss the issues that they had, especially on reproductive health.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, it’s a problem. During the holidays, the time where as teachers we are trying to relax, we are agitated. Kids play in the roads and they touch on the windows and they scream.**

14. How are the roads? **Sometimes they are tight, during the period of hot weather, people leave their houses and go about, but there’s isn’t enough space for them. There were some efforts to create roads that would allow you to go from Pikine to Dakar.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **I am working as a “fonctionner.” Bourse familiale- it’s for help who don’t work.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The problems are a little with transportation since Pikine is isolated or cut off, you need to know. Me, there are times where I don’t go downtown. I now have a bank in Pikine that I can access unlike some people who have to go downtown. The banks are growing in Pikine. In the past, I had to go to Maristes or Paccilles Assainés. Rent is also a problem.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **The battle that we must bring for Pikine is the high school. The high school is in Guédiawaye but Pikine doesn’t have its own high school. There are people who live in Pikine but are forced to go to Dakar for school- for example; they leave at 5 am to make it to school.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how? **Yes, they are trying. I am in the system so I can’t say that they aren’t completely doing anything. The government is trying to do stuff but there’s still stuff that needs to do. The demand for education is higher than what is available.**

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The parents, instead of rebelling against the state, are in the midst of coming together in the schools and other organizations. The parents are trying to create a structure for these schools when the state is no longer able to help.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I am part of associations for development. I am part of a structure that helps people leave their problems and difficulties of life.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **First off, it's help from the state. 2nd the population need to know that development is mental and it can't be done only by the state. All the different actors must come together. There's a need a conscience from the citizens to get this going.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **With the bank in Pikine now, he doesn't have to go to Dakar as often as before.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Between us, those who come to visit are those who have family or parents living in Pikine. They are here to visit the families- those are the cases that we see.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **The mentality has changed but before, people thought that the banlieue was a disorder, chaos. They started seeing that these are their nephews, their friends who are living here. There were some structures put in by the government to help the young kids who didn't have work to find something to do- le gardinage.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality?

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?"

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A radiant future, it's necessary to recognize that there's good fruit in the banlieue and that everywhere you look, it's Pikinois. In the government, teaching, etc, those people are from Pikine.**

Questionnaire: 002

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Wolof

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **No, I live in the cite in Golf**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **I was not born in Pikine, I spent my child in Pikine**
3. What region are you from? What city? **I was born in Tambacounda.**
4. Why are always living in Pikine? I am here to work. I have been in Pikine for work (check exactly?)
5. Do you live alone? With others?
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Oui, teacher**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's well here. There are less power outages in Pikine than in Golf where I live.**
9. Water? **Water, sometimes it doesn't have a good quality. Sometimes it changes the quality. Sometimes it is not agreeable to drink. It's not good.**
10. Education. **Education, there is a lot of progress, I have been here since October 2001, I have been here for 10 years. We have noticed a lot of changes. The core is more engaged and motivated. It's moving. There are more activities, there's development. There are a lot of schools, especially private schools that are closing the gap.**
11. Sewer system. **Since 2-3 years, it's better. Before, there were problems. There are problems with canalization, water has the tendency to ... rise in the roads, in 2-3 years there are a lot of changes. Used water, there's less of it in the streets before than now.**
12. How are the hospitals? **There are cases de santé et centers for health. There's the hospital of Pikine that's in Thiaroye, which has helped the people a lot.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **On the plan, not at all. Pikine is a city that's populated and there isn't any space. The locality is trying to find places for kids, but there is a little space for the kids to be able to have spaces to play.**

14. How are the roads? **The main roads are paved. Before that, it was only the main roads that were paved, but now some of the side roads that are also paved. It says that about 10 years ago, it was only the main roads that were paved.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? He works here.

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **It's true that the educational system needs work. There is a problem, it's true that there are kids who don't go to school and it's tied to the socio-economic situation of the families. Families have to find work.**

There's a problem of insecurity. It has been reduced than before. Most of the roads are lit and paved; people have the habit of walking after dark. People are more comfortable getting around. Those who agress people will do it in those areas that are not lit.

Problem of housing. Not everyone has access to housing, you see some places where you find 4-5 families in one house, even if they have the means of that, they can't find the space to build their houses, must head to Yeumbeul, Thiaryo and Keur Massur to build their homes.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how? **Yes, in Yeumbeul, Thiaryo, Keur Massur, the government has tried to move people in these areas for those who want housing. They are selling land or helping you find a place to rent. For example, if you work for the government, they are working with you to do that.**

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Plan economic, women organize themselves in associations or grouping, they do general activities to gain some money. They might even be engaged in micro-credit. Men also do the same things, workers might organize themselves, they pool their funds together and then give it to a person as needed who will then pay all of them back.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine? **He doesn't live here.**

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **The population waits for many things from the state, but the population needs to be involved since their destiny is in their own hands. They need to organize themselves. Some people do organize themselves, but there are others who don't. These should imitate the other people who are doing that so that they could better their own communities.**

The difficulties of the life even with commerce doesn't allow you to leave your situation.

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why?

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **I can't cite names, but I do know people who come to visit. For example, there are people who come see interesting things that play out here, for example the stadium. The biggest fruit market is in Pikine and there are people who come here for that. "Marche de Thiaryo-vegetables." This is vegetable coming directly from the village so it's fresh and could be good for 2 weeks.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They had a negative vision de Pikine, thinking that there was insecurity, it's insecurity that reigns, a place with bandits, with prostitutions, with drugs, they have a negative view of Pikine. I have always worked in Pikine and nothing has happened to me. What they say about Pikine I haven't seen. It's like all the other cities. It's like the Medina, like Dakar, like overseas. More and more, people are starting to understand that these images were negative. The people in the city are starting to understand that it's different that they were told.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality?

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?"

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **Development of education, if education develops, it would help the city, a city that doesn't have a good education, doesn't develop. There's a quote saying that, the best societies are those with the best schools. There are things that are being done. With the plan of health, there are hospitals and private hospitals that are coming up. These are all in train of developing. The government is trying, to increase electricity, etc. There are things that are being done.**

Questionnaire: 003

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Lebou**

Age: 18-25, 26-35, 35-45, **45-60**, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **Pikine, I am well here. There's my family. My parents are here. I work here in Pikine. There's no reason for leaving Pikine**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family, my wife, my kids and older sister.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, I work. I am in charge of "instruction de l'alphabetisation" inspection**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide- it's the most frequent way of getting around

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot- **when I am not tired, I also walk. My house is less than 2 kilometers from here**

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's satisfactory. Sometimes we have power outages but not all the time.**
9. Water? **Water is also satisfactory.**
10. Education. **There are problems, the classes are big, there aren't enough tables for everyone, the teaching and recruitment of teachers who don't have the right level poses problem. You find classes with 100 or 120 students and you can't teach with that many people.**

11. Sewer system. **It's also another problem. There isn't a canal system or pipes to carry away water, like water that comes during the rainy season, used water, which brings flooding everywhere. The "reseau de'assainissement" is not good at all.**

12. How are the hospitals? **We don't have enough hospitals. The access is not for everyone, if you come from a family without means then you aren't able to get treatment. L'hopital de Pikine is good but you can't get treated without having money so if you are a family with modest means, it's hard to get treatment. L'hopital de Dominique is more accessible for people.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, there's isn't enough space for the kids. The young don't have access to space to do the sport of their choosing.**

14. How are the roads? **The roads are not the best quality, but there are roads and we can access them.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **I am the only one in my family who works; it's me who takes the daily expenses of the family. I don't have help at the level of the family.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **What I receive from the state is my salary which ones at the end of the month.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The real problems are security and "eclairage publique"- electricity in public spaces. Each day, there's at least one aggression in Pikine. There's also a problem of health, access to health is a problem. Education is also a problem. There are problems when you have 100-120 students in one class.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **What explains the problems he mentions are poverty, these are people who came from families with modest means, meaning they didn't get a chance to go to school so they are forced to be in the road.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how? **Yes, they try. The creation of the police station that's nearby to try and deal with these issues. The state is trying to make efforts to change this.**

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The population organizes, into groups and associations which for example, they will get a vigil, someone who stays up every night to look out in the neighborhood. Each family pays a sum at the end of the month to cover these costs.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I am involved with an association that looks at the issue of security. We invite families to participate and take part in this.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **What's missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine is infrastructures that would take in charge the problem of unemployment, there's also the issue of poverty, there are about 2 million people in Pikine, if there aren't infrastructure that could take in charge of unemployment of the youth, that's a problem.**

We have private initiatives that try to take into question the issue of unemployment among the youth, by creating boutiques, creating other boutiques to help with the problem of unemployment. These are private initiative.

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes, I go very often to make purchases or to regulate some problems- going to the bank, problem with paperwork, etc.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes, we all have families that live everywhere in the department. For example, parents coming to visit, etc.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They say that the banlieue is the place of thieves, aggressors- when it's not true, you have people doing drugs, bandits everywhere in Dakar and even overseas like in the US Pikine is Senegal in miniature, in the capital, people come to stay in Pikine. Pikine is a megapole. "rural exodus" from the village come from the village directly to Pikine. It's a city dormitory.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes, it makes us feel bad. The best of the administration come from Pikine, who were born here and who grew up here and they all come from Pikine so it's a bad debate. You will find people in all of the hierarchy that come from Pikine.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?"

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **I wish Pikine a prosperous future, a city of security, where it feels good to live, where the buildings will leave from the ground, where education is good, where we can leave and occupy your business without risk of aggression.**

Questionnaire: 005

conducted in Wolof, not recorded

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Wolof

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? Yes
2. Were you born in Pikine? No
3. What region are you from? What city? Kaolack
4. Why are always living in Pikine?
5. Do you live alone? With others? With family
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? YES, business, works as “femme de menage ou femme de foyer” meaning a housewife
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's ok a little, sometimes there are power outages.**
9. Water? **It's ok. There's no problem.**
10. Education. **Nothing's wrong to point out.**
11. Sewer system. **It is a problem. There isn't any.**
12. How are the hospitals? **There are a lot of hospitals if you have the money**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No. The kids play in front of the house or in the roads.**

14. How are the roads? **Pikine has a better housing scheme, “planning” than Guinnaw Rails.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It’s not me who is in charge of regulating daily expenses. That’s my husband.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The kids play in the roads all the time.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **It’s due to the parents who do nothing for the kids.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **The government tries nothing at all. In any case, we do not see any initiative.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Each parent should do that each kid is near him or her, but the parents don’t think of their kids until it’s time for eating et at night.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **I take care of my kids. Each parent should do the same.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine?

- **A place for games.**
- **Drains that could regulate the floodings**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **I rarely go**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Non, other than those who have a particular interest in Pikine.**

25. How do those who don’t live in Pikine see “la banlieue?”

- **There is a lot of noise. They are even scared**
- **There are a lot of people**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **There is some stigmatization but not all the time.**

27. What is the difference between the city and “la banlieue?” **The city is calmer than Pikine. You see children hanging in the roads while in the city, each person stays in their house.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That there are more lamps, better lighting, that there are places for games and drains. And that each is able to regulate their own problems.**

Questionnaire: 007

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Toucouleur

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My family lives here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **She lives with her family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes. Commerce.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

- A. **TATA**
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. **Dakar Dem Dikk- occasionally**
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's good.**
9. Water? **It's good.**
10. Education. **For kids? They play in the road from day to night. It's not good. It depends on the schools. There are a lot of them**
11. Sewer system. **There isn't any.**

12. How are the hospitals? **It's near. The service is not expensive.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **There are a lot. The roads are very big. S- I was saying to Hamidou that they were big. H- me, I think that the roads are.. In contrast to Yoff, there were places where kids couldn't play in the roads. They were forced to stay home or pay to play somewhere else. There is a lot of space meaning that you could think that there are 2 homes. In front of the Mosque, you will see about 100 kids playing. At night, the kids are there until midnight. Where are the parents- they are at home. Sometimes the parents come over to see what's going on and then let them continue with it.**

14. How are the roads? **The roads are not narrow.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **She works so we know how that's done.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **Not at all.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **Education is a problem in Pikine. There are kids who study in the morning, others in the afternoon. Even to do it, you need money. It's the double shift meaning the kids have more distraction. H- This means that the kids are in school for 4 hours. They alternative between the morning and evening.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **It's the minister of education who should regulate these hours. Her suggestion is that during the hours were the kids aren't in school; they could be doing training in the national language or English or Spanish. The minister could employ teachers who do teach these. The kids are free for too long of time that they end up playing.**

2nd - One of the kids went to the school for the handicap children that I visited and their teacher had a child and the kids went without a teacher and they went without a teacher for 17-18 lessons. The kids pass their time playing, especially in this case where they don't have a teacher. The teacher doesn't have a daycare to take care of their child and that's why she couldn't come back and teach. A student who is married, has a child and goes to the university can't find someone to watch their kids even though they have exams to take. This service doesn't exist. It's a real problem.

1st - She says that she had the same problem when she worked at Castor and had to bring her baby since there was no one else there to take care of her baby. It wasn't sure to leave the baby here. If there was a daycare, she would leave the baby here and go do her work, but that wasn't the case.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

1st - They stay without saying anything.

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Wasn't translated.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I try to be a part of a movement to try and fix something that makes the Pikinois feel bad, which causes pain to the children.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine?

1st - A Pikinois who knows the daily lives of a Pikinois. Someone who understands the needs of the people of Pikine.

2nd - She says that it's people like that who have come and gone through Pikine but who've made no changes what's ever. They do nothing.

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Three or 4 times a month, to buy things.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine?

1st - Yes. Like me, I lived in another area where the roads were small, we were always inside the house in front of the house, when I am in Pikine, there are friends, ambience, family, etc. My mom lives here, but my dad lives in Maristes.

2nd - HLM for example, those roads are really tight. You have to wait for the people at the markets to pass before you can.

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?"

1st - Very "populaire" meaning the working class. A lot of noise, they talk about aggression, there's a lot of crime, Pikine say that Pikine is far- Thies is far, but Pikine is not.

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality?

2nd - She says that she can leave certain things out and about in Pikine with no problems when she couldn't do that in the city, in certain zones near Medina, near the stadium.

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?"

1st - Sand. The difference is sand, sand, sand.

There's not a lot of rental property meaning that their house here in Pikine belongs to them, whereas in the city of Dakar, it's not the case.

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

1st - A better future. We say that in Pikine there's a lot of violence, but it could also happen in Dakar. Here if they want to do that to you, it's in the night because everyone is sleeping. During the day, you cannot do anything because people will come to your aid, there is solidarity. There's the police station which is nearby. Explained that in some cases, it's not the Pikinois who are committing the crimes, rather its people outside the area, its outsiders. One example where someone tried to break into a house, but these guys noticed that it wasn't them who lived and were able to chase them away. Everyone knows each other here meaning they will notice when there are strangers.

2nd - Even now, there's more security in Pikine. There are guardians here in the neighborhood. In one case, people from Guinee tried come and steal but they were apprehended and they were caught and sent away the next day.

Another case, a woman went into a house, threw water on them, cut off the ear. Women tried to run away but the people caught her because they asked her if she belonged here. They were suspicious and took her to the police.

Questionnaire: 009

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Wolof

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**

2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**

3. What region are you from? What city?

4. Why are always living in Pikine?

5. Do you live alone? With others? **He lives with other members of his family**

6. Do you work?

a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, he works as cameraman for a reporter photographer**

b. If not, why not?

7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle, he has a scooter

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's not ok. There are instances of power outages.**
9. Water? **The same thing. The quality of the water is good and other times it's not good. It's less than desirable.**
10. Education. **There are a lot of strikes which isn't good**
11. Sewer system. **Sometimes there are retourns meaning the houses that are connected to the canal system, when there's a blockage, water flows back into these homes.**
12. How are the hospitals? **There is a problem of welcome. The sick aren't welcomed at the hospitals and "case de sante". According to him, they should be welcomed.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **There are not spaces to play for the kids.**
14. How are the roads? **The roads are ok.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses?
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **The state doesn't intervene to help him when they have problems.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The major problem is the national arena that they want to put in North Pikine. He is against the area coming to this area. Some say it's good, other say it's bad. Everyone in Senegal understand the reality of the arena, they think of the violence. This problem tries to force on the citizens when there are rallies all the time to show that the people don't want the arena.**
18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?
19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
 - a. If yes, how? **Yes, the government another time came to take measurements for the arena.**
 - b. If no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?
20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Yes, the population do rallies. They are letting the state know that they shouldn't be forcing the poluation to accept what they don't want.**
21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
 - a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, he assembled people of the "Banlieue Futur" to do marches against the arena.**
 - b. If not, why not?
22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **A high school. In place of the arena, they should build a high school.**
23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **He goes downtown sometimes but he can't say how many times. He has his scooter so he's able to go.**
24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **He doesn't know of people who come visit Pikine.**
25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **Those who don't live in Pikine think that Pikine is only about wrestling (traditional sport of Senegal)**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It's a reality but those who don't live there should know that a Pikinois is just a person.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **He says that in the morning, the destination of the Pikinois is the center of the city since many of the people who work there are from Pikine.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A better future. A better future especially that education gets better. It's by education that we develop.**

Questionnaire

Last and First name: 010

Ethnic group: Sminké

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**

2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**

3. What region are you from? What city?

4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My family**

5. Do you live alone? With others? **He lives with other members of his family.**

6. Do you work?

a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, Imam of the neighborhood. He teaches Arabic in the house. He has a license in Arabic. He's a teacher. He is first the Imam but we won't sure if it generates revenue**

b. If not, why not?

7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **There are a lot of power outages. It's also expensive.**
9. Water? **From time to time, the color changes.**
10. Education. **The level of the students is in decline (baisse). The teachers are not well formed. There are a lot of strikes.**
11. Sewer system. **The roads are large. It's good.**
12. How are the hospitals? **The population cannot go. The medication are expensive. The traetement are expensive. The people aren't able to go because it's expensive.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **There aren't many places for the kids to play.**
14. How are the roads? **The roads are good.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **You are a teacher so we know what you do to regulate daily expenses.**
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **He has the bourse familiale from the state.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **There aren't any factories for working here. There are those who leave here to live in Dakar. To find papers and judicial things, you have to go to Dakar.**
18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **I don't know what maybe the government doesn't have the means or maybe they don't interest themselves in Pikine because it's like "une banlieue"**
19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
 - a. If yes, how? **Me, I haven't seen anything.**
 - b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?
20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Here, we live in community, we live with each other. We live in solidarity.**
21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
 - a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **We are engaged because Pikine is our own city. You try to help yourself. There are associations. I am part of the associations of imam where we bring people together to say that you can do that and that but not this. They do awareness campaigns. Each person tries to find ways to improve their lives in Pikine.**
 - b. If not, why not?
22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **It's necessary to find factories so that people have work. You also have to decentralize Dakar. All the employees work in Dakar, they have to leave early in the morning to work in Dakar. There isn't a high school in this city; you have to go to Gieudowye to learn.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Often and it's to find papers. 5 times a month**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes. A lot actually.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **Well, they think that us as suburbans, we are for wrestling. We are honest men here. There are men in politics who left Pikine to go to Dakar or to go abroad or in the richest parts of Dakar, they are born in Pikine. They are children born or grew in Pikine.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It's not true.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Dakar is an old city. Pikine is a new city. The problems you find in Dakar have been there for a while Pikine is a new city.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

A better future.

H- in what ways?

A future that's calm(peaceful), for our health

Side note: Unemployment rate in Pikine is much higher. You see people with their degrees who can't find work.

Questionnaire: 011

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Serrer

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

(he's 42 years old)

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? No
2. Were you born in Pikine?
3. What region are you from? What city? Bandé
4. Why are always living in Pikine?
5. Do you live alone? With others? I live with other family members
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes. I work as a teacher.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

- A. **TATA most of the time, but when he has some money, he buys gas.**
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Electricity is not stable. Sometimes we have it and other itmes we don't. It blocks work because we are forced to stop. There are zones here that don't have electricity.**
9. Water? **Water is assez bon or slightly better, in contrast with other places.**
10. Education. **Before, now, we have a lot of worry concerning education in Pikine. It's a problem that bothers all of Senegal. Each year we do an evaluation of education and the students who were held back, they abandoned, redoing a grade, or in exclusion. The kids are not learning any more. We think it's the parents who abandon their kids, who do 8 months**

without supplies. This child is not followed by the parent. The teacher with 100 kids cannot check up on the child. The parents say, it's the teachers who don't do their jobs when in reality, the teachers are there every day. The problem is that there isn't a following of the children. Parents don't have time follow their kids. Often the kids aren't in class or their parents are asked to look after them, but the parents say that they don't have time. This is in reference to education in all of Senegal not just Pikine. With 51 students, 15 students who have done well.

11. Sewer system. It causes problem in Pikine because canalization from years to now, many of the canals were not completed. The population was forced to throw the water in the streets. For those that concern. "Les eaux uses" are completely a problem even with septic tanks, people are forced even during the day to throw out.

12. How are the hospitals? It's a problem. We have a case here, each time we send a student there, the student is forced to buy the supplies that they need. All they can do is write a prescription and to get that, it's a problem. They ask for the cotton, or the alcohol.

13. Is there enough space for children to play? There's not enough space. In place of the grand mosque, you see a lot of kids there. The kids cannot play at the stadium.

14. How are the roads? Pikine doesn't have roads. There are two or three roads. Icotaf, Tally Bubess, Tally Bumank. There are hours that to go from Marche Zang, it takes hours to do that. If the trucks are there to drop stuff off, it makes it difficult to get around. The roads that could have solved these issues were never built.

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine?

First, to not refer to just Pikine, its poverty. It's a handicap for people everywhere. It's what leads to delinquency, in the large of the term. It refers to everyone not just teenagers. When you don't have anything, you are forced to find things in the roads.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?

"L'exode rurale"- people in these areas think that it's only in Dakar that you can find the things you want. You arrive in a family and you can't find a place because there are the parents, the kids, the cousins, etc. Everyone wants to go to Dakar. They want to go here to find work, everyone wants to wait at the hand of the state for help.

The state cannot do everything to solve the problems. People are forced to accuse the government because the state cannot do everything. Even us as schools and teachers, the state doesn't give us everything we need. Even chalk, the schools are forced to buy this to finish.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

The state doesn't do great things to fix these problems. Take the example of the depute, he or she is able to get their things taken care of. That's why we respond badly to the state

saying, we do not have the means to do everything to help. The state doesn't do grand choses to take care of problems while politicians are getting reimbursed for things.

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine?

The state says we cannot ask the parents for money to buy the supplies that they need. It's the school that pays for electricity, for water, a woman for cleaning the bathroom, kids can clean the classroom. That's the sad reality that we have. We have formed a collective asking for some money to take care of the basic needs.

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

Us, we sacrifice. Our contract says that we are to work certain times on Monday-Friday. Sometimes we are forced to come in to work on the weekends. We are forced to have classes to help students who are slower than others learn bc we've realized that we are leaving them behind. They put in extra hours to help those students who need it.

Sometimes we do a collection of solidarity where we put money together each month to help out if someone gets sick or last month, we had a student die and the parents were asked a crazy amount of money, we only had this collection to help out with.

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **The state doesn't take legislation, or the state doesn't accompany, their population like it should. With the disengagement of the state and leaving it all to the parents, they are not able to meet all these needs. When you call a parent, they want to the 3 kilo of food for dinner and until they get this taken care of, they won't for 2-3 days want to meet with you. The state needs to accompany the population with concrete ideas so that the conditions of life will improve.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes, he lives downtown.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine?

Yes, all the time. We have inclusion. We have students who wanted to learn. There is a school of students with special needs that was created for them. We have a lot of movement.

Even with the special children, the school doesn't do anything. Their cases show that they need special attention.

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?"

I am in the habit of saying, we are all equal even though people think that person is doing better than someone else.

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality?

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **It's maybe l'habitation. The problems of the roads. In the centreville, the roads are paved. L'access of the roads are easy**

in the city than the suburbs. In Pikine, there's a risk of damaging your car. There's a problem of "canalization"- it's a bigger problem here than in the city. There's a problem of security. There's also a problem of public lighting. The centre ville is more lit than here. These differences are here. There are two types of citizens in Senegal. These two types of categories that we have here, we have the impression that is treated worse than others. That's what makes people upset and brings them to the point of violence. When they do an analysis, we are not considered like human beings, it's in this thinking process that people attack. Stigmatization is a reality that is here. I will give you an example. Two teachers are both in formation but one is treated unequally when compared to the other one.

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

I wish that Pikine is treated at the same level as the grand ville de Dakar. In Dakar when people suffer, they are forced to go to Pikine. If today, Pikine closed its doors, that no Pikinois goes to Dakar and no Dakarois goes to Pikine, in a week, the population in Dakar would be in a worse spot than the population in Pikine. For example, there's the market, marche syndicat, all of the Dakar comes there to buy things and when the end of the month comes, the Pikinois go to Dakar sometimes to find their salary, sometimes. Other times, they say that they aren't going to Dakar and they are going to other suburbs and walking there to buy what they need. There are cases where people in Dakar who come to Pikine or Thiaryo each day to do their shopping. During the winter, people have difficulties getting around because of the roads. If they had been well done, this wouldn't be the case. There's unequal treatment of areas and our leaders need to realize that. With the politic of the state, the state is saying that they need to give more power to the mayor in tackling these issues.

(A note of observations- there was the fruit market where the Dakarois came there because there were very cheap when compared to Dakar. I had never seen such variety in fruits especially mangoes. One thing to note, the two big roads on each side of the market were congested and moving around was hard especially later in the evening. On side of the road, the juices from the trucks had made the road really ugly and the trucks blocked the roads and made moving about, especially as pedestrians very hard- see journal to confirm observations.)

Questionnaire: 012

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Diola

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes/No- Yeumbeul, Bune**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city? **Born and raised in the same area**
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **He is employed there**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **He lives with his family**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, boulanger, works at a bakery**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Compared to before, there's more electricity.**
9. Water? **Compared to now, the service was better then.**
10. Education. **It's better than before. Before, it was catastrophic. There were a lot of strikes.**
11. Sewer system. **Compared to back then, there isn't really any change. It's the same.**
12. How are the hospitals? No change.

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **Yes.**

14. How are the roads? **Can't hear.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The prices for the "farine" and the cost of the bread, you find a lot of problems. It's not to our advantage. The lowering of the cost of the flour which then lowers the cost of the bread.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **The price of the bread doesn't allow them to cover the cost of everything else, like water, electricity.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **They do know of what's going on. The state doesn't do anything to help. Maybe they are, but for the time being, they aren't doing anything.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **No, they don't try to do anything. It's the bakers who manifest but not the general population.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I am part of a group that discusses what's going on, etc**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There is a lot of missing. Employment is missing. Jobs is the priority esp since we have a lot of people here who don't have work.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes. Two times. To see what's happening in the city. Went to see if he could get employed but what they asked of him for the training, but it was too expensive.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **The state abandons "la banlieue."**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? ??? – can't hear

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **It's not comparable. I can't compare the city and the banlieue. All of the work is found in the city. It's geography. The people from the village are heading towards the city.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **Pikine becomes like the city of Dakar or more than that.**

Questionnaire: 013

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Wolof

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **Because my family lives here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **He lives with other members of his family**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?.
 - b. If not, why not? **No, he's a student.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **This region is lacking, since a long time, there's nothing done. There are power outages. We can have 1 or 2 power outages a week. At the end of the month, the bill doesn't take that into account. It's expensive.**

9. Water? **Water. The problem is less right now. It was the same thing but recently, the service is going the right way. Electricity, they don't understand the rising costs and such so the water problems are less. There are homes without water, there are zones without water**

or they get water that's not good. Not everyone has potable water. There is work being done.

10. Education. When we talk about education, we are talking about what's happening at school. We should say that we start educating at home and then at school. Now. It's the opposite where we have people who are instructed but not educated because nothing's done at home. In the case of their habits and mannerisms, it's catastrophic.

11. Sewer system. When we speak of Pikine, we talk about flooding. This means "l'assainissement" that it's not a priority in Pikine. 2 or 3 roads that have this but most don't.

12. How are the hospitals? We, as in Pikine, say that we were forgotten in the case of health or sanitaire. There are only 2 hospitals here, these two hospitals run correctly, but they are places that are really expensive for "une banlieue dakaroise" where poverty, employment is not important. For example, in a house you might have 7-8 people who aren't working. In the family, there might be one person, the man, who work and not everyone.

13. Is there enough space for children to play? No. The kids are always playing in the roads which makes it dangerous because of the cars and motorcycles. We say that they were forgotten.

14. How are the roads? Dirty. Really dirty. They are badly cut up. There is a house that cuts the road. That's why we can't make canals if there things in the way. There are roads that aren't straight. The first habitants of Pikine lived there and built as they saw fit. It's why the roads are dirty. We cannot walk without seeing 10-20 in the roads

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? There are cases where the old people who work and they are the ones who are in charge of this. There are others who have to go out 2-3 hours a day to find out what they are going to take back home.

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? He says that it's rare, he hasn't heard of these cases, but sometimes, it might be the case, for example during Ramandan.

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine?

1. Problems of security 2. A problem of rest, there's always noise going on, you have religious noises, you have other people doing animations, etc. You cannot rest in Pikine, you have to leave. Problems of security. The roads aren't well lit and we don't see the presence of the police, gendarmes. He claims that it's the wrestlers and these types of people who put things in order.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? See them above. Already explained.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

They are trying to fix these problems. We see, for long time they created a police that's in the neighborhood. It's good to feel in security, it allows to be emancipated economically, etc.

We don't see the presence of those elected. We don't feel them here unless there's the elections. It's them who should be fulfilling the needs of these communities.

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine?

Not a lot of good things. Except 2 or 3 years ago, where they did a campaign of awareness asking each family to donate a lamp or two in front of their house, to lit the road. You still see cases where the lights are on during the day but not at night, we should take care of that.

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **No. Because people privatize everything so even with problems, they'll say that it's a personal matter. They don't accept that people pose their problems. It's not just Pikine, it's all of Senegal, people are like that.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things missing that would make life better in Pikine. The biggest one would be employment. I would say ameliorer sanitaire services, taking care of one self, etc. I would also say education because the schools are schools by names. What we find are teachers who just want money but they are not ready to teach.**

1. Employment

2. Education

3. Health

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes. How many times a month? I am usually there for school- the university is there.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **It's a place of insecurity. They say that Pikine est "la ville de bandie" or bandits. There are people who make sure to leave Pikine before a certain hour claiming that it's a city of aggressors or bandits, etc. It's a dirty city, we know that. It's also a city of insecurity.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It exists but right now, there's a change that's happening. Before they would have said that someone from Pikine would be a crazy person or a bandit. Right now, things are changing. People have begun to see Pikinois different. In some places when they see that you are from Pikine, they do still see you as that why.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The difference between the city and "la banlieue" from the point of view Pikinois is the luxe and the place of work. Pikine is the dortoire, people who take the cars to go to the city to work and who at night, come back. There are some here to sleep before going to work. Pikine is a dortoire of Dakar.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **The word, "Banlieue" was brought here to Pikine. Pikine before was a new city because "la banlieuee Dakaroise" was Grand Dakar, Point E, Medina, that's the suburb. Pikine was a new city. A new city to bring the surplus of people who lived in Dakar. The word "banlieue" was brought to Pikine but before, was to**

create a new city with the image of St. Louis, Rufisque.. a dream of a new city where it's good to live, where a lot of people will live, where insecurity will not be a problem, development will be a reality and education will be taken care of. That's our dream. A new city. A better city.

Questionnaire: 014

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Toucouleur**

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **She lives here because her family lives here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **She lives with other members of her family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, she's a hair dresser**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

People love the TATAs- a lot of people we talk to prefer these.

- A. TATA,**
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **There are power outages and cases where some communities have to get power where others are cut off especially during the summer or the dry season. When there are major holidays like Korite, the end of the year, there seems to be outages.**

9. Water? **It's rare to see the water being cut off. Except when there are problems with the "robinnet"**

10. Education. **The education is less than desired. It's not education in the sense academic and social.**

11. Sewer system. **Actually it's hard to judge because we've seen that the government has done so me work but we need to wait for the rainy season to see if there's more to be done.**

12. How are the hospitals? **The hospitals try to do their best. You are forced to go to them when things happen so they do as much as they can.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **We rarely see space set aside for kids to play, not just in Pikine but also in Senegal.**

14. How are the roads? **There are certain roads that are big and others that are small. In Gineau Rail, there are roads that are so small. I was able to see this during my tour of these places.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No, the government doesn't help with this.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The problem is that there isn't any money in Pikine.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **She talks about how she doesn't know how money circulates. It's all decided by the market, even for a job like hers and that's why she says there isn't money.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **The state doesn't do anything to regulate the problems related to her life as a hairdresser. For example, there was a law that lowered the cost of housing but it didn't specifically affect her or her work.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Yes, the entreprise de Darling, it's them who try to fix these problems. These can be seen as initiatives. She is a part of an association and they are involved in addressing issues related to them.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **She's part of an association. It's a form of an association that regroups hairdressers and they pay a small fee to work with organizaitons like Darling.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things missing. Calm (peace) is missing for example when compared to Sacre Coeur. The biggest thing for her missing is the calm that you find elsewhere.**
23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Sometimes she makes the trip to braid hair in places like Sacre Coeur.**
24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine?
25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **Those who don't live in the Pikine, those who don't live in the banlieue, think that it's only robbers and aggressors who live in Pikine. It's not only these people who live there.**
26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality?
27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The difference between the city and the suburb is that the way of life is different. For example, each person lives by their own means. In Sacre Coeur, each person tries to fulfill their needs in their own home. In Pikine, for example there are times you have to borrow even one match from someone.**
28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **Pikine changes and that it grows.**

Questionnaire: 015

Ethnic group: Bambara

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My father lives here, we have a house here**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other members of the family**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, he is learning. He is a student.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's not good at all. There are homes without electricity.**
9. Water? **Water is the same as electricity.**
10. Education. **The level is not at all elevated**
11. Sewer system. It's bad. The system is not good.
12. How are the hospitals? **I don't the hospitals very well.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **A little bit of space of pleasure for the kids.**
14. How are the roads? **They don't work in Pikine.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **Delinquency, a lot of young people are engaged in problems of in delinquency.**
18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?
It's linked to poverty.
19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
a. If yes, how? **Yes they are trying but not much. They positioned a police station near by**
b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?
20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **No, the population doesn't help. The parents in some ways are helping with this bc you might ask for bk in the morning and they are unable to provide it so you do have to go search and find it.**
21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I counsel young people against delinquency. I don't do this with an association but on my own.**
b. If not, why not?
22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things missing in Pikine. For example, education, the system educative. Raise awareness to the young people. (sensibiliser les jeunes).**
23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes. That's where I am studying.**
24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes.**
25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They have a negative outlook on "la banlieue"**
26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Not at all.**
27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **A problem of "civilization." They say that the guys living in the city are more civilized than those in the suburbs.**
28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A better future. I would like to see one day a Pikinois become maybe a president.**

Questionnaire : 016

Ethnic group: Toucouleur

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **I like Pikine.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, I am a student (university)**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Satisfactory**
9. Water? **The same.**
10. Education. **There aren't enough schools here. There isn't even a high school here.**
11. Sewer system. **It is missing.**
12. How are the hospitals? **There are two hospitals in Pikine. Les populations ne bénéficient pas de service.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No. Not at all.**

14. How are the roads? **It's good for now. There isn't a lot of space.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses?

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **A problem of space for the young. Sewer system is also a missing.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **We see here, those who help take care of these problem are not around.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **The government doesn't do anything and it's the youth of the neighborhood instead who are trying to regulate these problems. They don't take it into account or they are not up to date on these problems.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The youth in the neighborhood are involved in activities.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **He helps to educate people on not throwing trash in the road.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **A new type of people in Pikine who will help and will be able to change the situation in Pikine.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **To go get money.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **I don't know. They have an image of Pikine that they keep. Pikine has an image characterized.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It's not real.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Dakar is the capital. Pikine is the second biggest city in Senegal.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A better future than before. That there's education. If we talk of development, we are talking about a new type of person.**

Questionnaire: 017

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Pulaar (to be more specific he is Foula Kuunda)**

Age: 18-25, 26-35, 35-45, **45-60**, 61-100 (**exactly he is 50 years old**)

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**

2. Were you born in Pikine? **No**

3. What region are you from? What city? **Dakar (He's not from Pikine but he's from Dakar.)**

4. Why are always living in Pikine?

5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family (extended family)- he is the father of 2 boys and 2 girls. Since 1974, my dad had a chance to build a house. We life together. I am the oldest. The other siblings have left, but me; I am always living in the house because those are my parents wishes. As long as they want me there, I will be there. It's also near where I work. Them, they didn't have the chance to have a house already, they had to build it and be responsible for it. Wants to emphasize that it's an extended family, not the father/mother model that I am used to.**

6. Do you work?

a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, I am a teacher (inspection, he is in charge of human resources)**

b. If not, why not?

7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide- he rarely takes these

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **The electricity in Pikine, the demand is higher than the demand. We often have unloading and power outages for these reasons. Especially during the season of Ramandan where women go shopping for 2-3 days and if the power goes out, it's problematic.**

In the neighborhoods, there are streets where they don't have public lightning. In the house, it's fine. In the streets, that's not the case. It's not stable. There are a lot of things to do.

9. Water? There are less problems. We get water regularly, running water. The problem with the water is the color. They say that it's potable water, but that needs to be checked. When I wake up in the morning, I have to throw out 3-4 buckets of water before its clear. It's due to the canalization. It's potable water, but me, when I wake up, I have to throw out water bc of the quality of the water. There are cases where you have to filter the water, let the water rest peacefully before you can drink it- Gieudwoye. Us, it's ok.

There are zones where the water is clear and what you do is send the kids over and pay 50 franc or 100 franc to pay for water. The reseau of water is different bc some places have better quality water than others.

10. Education. It's a system that changes often. Sometimes we copy. By experience, we did 23 years of teaching after learning; I have been through 3 changes of teaching methods. These refer to the approaches of teaching. Recently, we've been working on curriculum; teachers are missing documents and the follow-through. Education should be tailored to the different regions but we are missing the documentation to do that. We don't have a system specific for Senegal or Africa, they copy for what comes from elsewhere like from Europe.

If we are talking about the work, do students learn anything? Yes. This is the banlieue, but there are zones in the Plateau where there are people who are rich. Be careful, people know here they need to work. This means that people even with the little means know how to work hard. The youth are studying. They are conscience that their kids need to work. They are studying because it's a door to ... Pikine, it's ok.

11. Sewer system. It's lacking. The state invested some in, and in some areas they didn't. We have been waiting for 10 years. Homes have septic tanks but these are not very hygienic. The people need to find other means. Those who have the means call the truck to pick it up. Those who can't throw it out in the street. The kids play in that area. For example, 80% of the people don't have it. There are people who have pumps but then you throw the used water there, there's the chance that you mix the good water with the used water. That's not good. In other cases, you don't drink this water, you use it for cleaning. They have been made aware of this.

12. How are the hospitals? Pikine doesn't have hospitals. There's one hospital in the department of Pikine. They have a center, case de sante and a maternity. There's no hospital. There are two hospitals that are in the works, will be done soon. The hospitals are expensive. When you go there, they tell you come back in one month. There's one doctor for so many people.

13. Is there enough space for children to play? Official space- no. Is there space for kids to play? Not in the way that you described. It's the youth themselves who search for space or who find the space. In some cases, the guardians, those watching the building or areas might not be happy to let these kids play here. Space that's reserved only for the kids is not something that exists. Even the stadiums are usually just for the team or they are closed so students cannot play there. In Pikine East, there's reserved space for some kids to play, basketball or soccer. That's the only space for that, it's recent and it's mainly because they didn't want people building there.

14. How are the roads? There are the principal roads. After 2002, there are the secondary roads created after the 3rd president. These were roads that are really large, houses that pass

in front of the house. For example, you have 1 or 2 meters separating the house and the roads. There are accidents, always accidents. These are roads that were created to make the principal routes less congested, but there are consequences. There are good roads compared to the other ones that died after 1 or 2 years. These roads can do decades. These roads are not suitable for the area they are in.

Now if you are talking about the non-paved roads, they are there. There are a lot of things that need to be done. The secondary routes that allow the main roads to not be congested need to multiply but these needs to be studied. He thinks that we need more secondary roads in Pikine but we need to make sure that they are one way roads because if not, they are going to cause a lot of problems. Two way streets in the neighborhoods are going to cause problems. At the beginning, he didn't think about these things. It's now that they are starting to think about these things.

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? Us, we spend money, but it's different from people who have to go out and look to fulfill their needs each day. Some people have to look at these needs every day, others can afford to go on a weekly by weekly basis and others take care of their needs every month.

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine?

It's all that we just finished talking about, electricity, water, etc, education, sewer system, hospitals. These are our problems. Insecurity is a problem. All these are problems but we must add insecurity. Insecurity comes from the fact that there's no lighting in the public area. Someone who doesn't work finds him/herself as a delinquent, you become an aggressor, they aren't delinquents to begin with, but it's the conditions that explain this. It's the lack of means. There's a lack of factories, meaning the youth cannot work. There aren't local factories. There's the "zone franche" a zone reserved with factories, along the coast. There are people who have to go every day to see if you can find work, maybe for a day or three days. It's not fixed work.

We don't know the situations of the people on the roads. Not everyone has the same chance of being successful. You don't know if they weren't taken care of by their parents. Pikine doesn't have factories, which makes it that the youth don't have work, they just have little commerce.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?

Insecurity is because of the bad public housing, delinquents because they don't have work, they aren't educated. All of that is because of poverty in Africa. It's a national problem, not local. It's Senegal, it's like that. The youth, why were they trying to leave?, because of that. In my family, they have all left.

In life, success is not money. I am explaining that to you. Success is not money. As long as I have my health, my kids are doing well, then I am successful.

We talked about immigration and how it causes problems within families when there are the youth who leave because they want to make money. It's bad for Africa too when they are losing people who made their means and had jobs in Africa.

We got into a discussion about the mixing of people and the problems that it would cause for the relationship but also about the kids. They wouldn't be accepted by society; they wouldn't find work. Families are broken.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

Education, hospitals, water- the government is trying to make changes regarding this. Roads- they are taking some time, but they could go faster to regulate these problems. Electricity, there are less unloading. Water- there were places that didn't have water, but things are being worked on. Septic tanks- in some neighborhoods, there are subventions where they pay a little to have the truck come in- that's Malika and Keur Massur. This a new politic. Trying to get piping set up, and to take care of flooding. They are trying but they don't have the means.

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine?

Each person looks out for their needs. Electricity- there's nothing we can do. Water, nothing we can't do that. It's the state who is in charge. The hospitals- it's through the mutual, works like insurance so that when it comes to paying, you don't pay as much. People look to natural medicine since they can't pay for the meds that the hospitals or the case de santé have prescribed. Flooding, that's in other neighborhoods and not here. To regulate these problems, each person (family) finds ways to take care of these problems. Otherwise it's the state that should get in.

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

Yes. In my neighborhood, there's no sewer system. We wanted to do something about this. We did so that each family would pay for this each month. This is something that I am involved with. If there are centers that need help, I will be involved to help with the kids who might need help with something or choosing classes, etc. Also involved in putting together events to honor those who died, they went to the cemetery to clean it up, looking for a public space where kids can have a place to play, etc. All these are examples of the involvement.

Sometimes what's missing is the will of the elected leaders to make changes- meaning the mayor. For example, there's money taken from those in the market but then nothing is done. Schools, you see that there's not anything done. If you did something with taxes every year, you would have a lot done in 10 years.

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine?

What's missing is the passion or will of the elected leaders. This is what is missing, the will of elected leaders but also the initiatives to get things done.

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Frequently, the median is once a month. I go for work or to find papers or the hospitals.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No. Pikine is not a zone to visit, people come to visit because they have family. They don't come to visit Pikine.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They say that "la banlieue" is made up of people who are delinquents, people who are badly civilized, there's insecurity, people who fight, less than nothing. There are people with value, people who work in Pikine. You can find who commit crimes and are aggressors in Dakar. People make judgments of Pikine.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It's what I just finished saying. "La banlieue" is a pejorative term. They see it as pejorative. It needs to change. There are ministers who come from the la banlieue". People need to change their appreciation. The high school in Pikine, it's one of the first three schools in the country, meaning that they set an example. People here study because they know that it's the way to do it.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The city, is well structured. In Pikine, it's informal settlement. In the city, they have the structures like sewer system, construction, everything was placed in the city, which you won't find in the suburb. Pikine, these are informal settlements, like Medina Gounass.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

I would like a future of consideration, to multiply the infrastructures, that Pikine is well serviced in electricity, water, hospitals, sewer system. It's necessary that our leaders take initiatives to take care of the problems here. For example, there was the case where the mayor could have done something on a case by case basis every year but it wasn't done. The people could also do since they can't leave everything to the state.

Questionnaire: 020

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Pulaar, tucolour

Age: 18-25, 26-35, 35-45, **45-60**, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? Yes.
2. Were you born in Pikine? No.
3. What region are you from? What city? **Thies.**
4. Why are always living in Pikine?
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with family like most Senegalese families. It's a big family with the parents, mother, father, the siblings. All of them.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No. Because I worked in the city government but if you don't have anyone to help you then you aren't going to go very far. If you don't have the diploma, you are having to have a lot of problem. If you don't have a lot of diplomas, you are going to have difficulties.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

Le transport en commun

- A. TATA
- B. Car rapide-**
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye**
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Listen, there is about three years ago when we would only have 2 hours of eletrcitiy, now we can have 23 hours of electricity. Compared to before, it's better but it's "ca va tellement."** There's also power outages. For example, during the Brazil game of the world cup, the power went out before the game finished. The electricity is **instable.**

9. Water? **Water is fine. In our neighborhood, we have water. If there water outages, it's because they are doing major work or reparations. Water is fine. In other neighborhoods, it's different, I wouldn't know.**

10. Education. **It's an old system going back to independence. There are academies, schools etc. It's fine. Now there are private schools. If you want to learn, you can learn. The public service are like public schools. We can say that it's not good and it's bad. Each student can go to school, they can go. There are 20 schools.**

11. Sewer system. **In Pikine, there is not a sewer system. In Pikine, there's not a system at all.**

12. How are the hospitals? **There are. Like the big cities, there are hospitals like the Hospital in Pikine. It's not well occupied. There are hospitals but the service is something else. The problem is not the people don't have the means.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No. Sadly, no. There isn't space for kids. The space is used for religious services. There aren't even places for a basketball game. It's in the stadium that they can do that. In 30 years, I haven't seen a stadium for basketball. There are open spaces that people use but they weren't meant to be used as places to play. At one mosque, there's space for religious celebrations.**

14. How are the roads? **It depends on the zones of Pikine. In this area, it's well done and in other areas not at all. You enter into the road but you are not able to pass. There are roads that are too big and some that are too small. It's not well divided at all. It depends on the region. Like Guinnaw Rails.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **Here, we have a big family. Me, I don't work but there are people who work. He has people who are working so it's them with the money, those who work, it's them who regulate the expenses.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No. It's not even in the code.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **Everyone will say it, the problem in Pikine is poverty. There's no work. Person doesn't work. Young people don't work. There are no offices. There isn't work.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **For example, you have people with a degree but it's in literature or teaching. There are people who have their degrees and are looking for work. It's a problem where kids have their degrees in a certain sujet and normally they would be able to use what they learned to find work, even if the government didn't provide the help. Everyone waits for the state to provide jobs. Everyone does and that provides a problem. People don't have the proper means to create their own businesses. If you were an engineer or had a technical degree, you would be able to create your own businesses but since don't have these, they can't do much.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how? **The government is trying to push people to get professional degrees. The state understands what's going on and it's creating places where students can get a professional degree so they could get work, for example, they have schools for agriculture.**

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **There are some people who try to leave the country, illegal migration. People are trying to find ways to leave their situations. They are trying to get to the US, Spain, etc. There are others who die while trying to cross.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

Always, like I said, since a young age, I understood. We regroup in associations sportive or culture. That's what we do. When I was young, I was a part of this. We worked. There are associations des developpement. We try to organize the young, women. I am part of this. Right now, it's about the elections. I was in the list. That's how we do it, going into mouvements to try and advance things in Pikine. That's what we do. When we call people for this regroupement, that's what I do. For trying to say that, we need to work and corruption is bad. I don't have money but I am "vivant."

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are two things that are missing. There are material things that are missing but also consultations. He thinks that the solutions to these problems are there. It's a problem for Pikine, Senegal and even Africa. People have knowledge and there are lot of educated people, they go to their own side, etc inside of consulting together and talking together about these problems.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **It depends. I can go. It's been 4-5 months since I went. I went there to take my dad and he's been 3 years. He would receive his money. He was the one who took me there. The little things we can do in Pikine, we didn't need to do them in Dakar, we can do them here.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **I don't know people who come to visit since in Senegal, we don't have the habit of visiting cities, etc, we have friends and we come see them. For example, I have had people who came to see me from Thies or Parceilles Assaine. There's nothing to see in Pikine.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **It's full of bandits; people coming from the suburbs are seen as bandits, voila. It's not always true. Those who say that are those who don't know "la banlieue." They think it's where misery, drugs etc is concentrated. Again, it's not always true. There are homes that are what we know as people who live here. We are categorized as bandits, doing drugs.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **I just finished there.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The city is where the factories are located, the banlieue is where... it's just the difference. There are more factories, more possibilities, there are people who live in Pikine who work in Dakar. The difference is where the airport, the business, etc but no, there isn't a difference.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **I don't know. It's asking Bostonians what they want for Boston, the Parisians what they want for Paris, the future that I wish for Pikine is a prosperous city, the people are united, a city that's a model. We want our community to be a model for other places in Senegal. I want people to say, "We need to be like the Pikinois." That's the future I want, it's very ambitious. We need to start somewhere.**

Questionnaire: 021

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Wolof**

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **It's nice to live here. The atmosphere, my family is here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family. My mom, dad, siblings.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **He works as an agent commercial. He also works as a teacher.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

- A. TATA
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk**
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's not really stable. It's instable. We often have power outages.**
9. Water? **This morning the water was cut. It's like electricity. There are water cuts.**
10. Education. **That's our domain. In a general manner, we have to wait and see. That's why I am involved in this area, to "encadre les jeunes" to raise awareness among them and to raise their level. Sometimes we have exchanges and to pass on values to them.**
11. Sewer system. **"L'assainissement" that is zero. Really, people throw water everywhere, here, there. There's no canalization. For example, if our "fosse" meaning where the human**

waste is thrown is full, we have to call the company to get it. There's no way we could treat the water.

Suggests that I visit by the hospital Dominique when it rains and I will notice that there's water everywhere since it has nowhere to go. It's not only here but also in other parts of the neighborhood. It's flooded. We don't understand.

12. How are the hospitals? **Well, the welcome. Here in Senegal, in general, the people at the welcome center are not warm, really. The people aren't respected and then it's expensive. This is to be consulted and also to pay for the medicine. But really, all is less than desirable. They don't welcome you well. There's a lot to be said. Sometimes you have to negotiate with the people to be treated, to have the first treatment.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **There isn't really. We have a little park where the young play there, they play football but that's that.**

14. How are the roads? **The roads are dirty. You have noticed that. The people make it dirty, a lot of them but a small number of people who actually clean the place. It's what's sad. The people make it dirty, but they don't clean. People throw out trash wherever they want.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **Well, I have a member of my family who takes care of that with mama. Sometimes I can help but not really.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No. Our house is our house, we are not renters. We don't get anything from the state.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine?

In Pikine, there is a lot of noise. People make a lot of noises, especially "les chants religieuses." All of the time. What else, there's a problem of education. I am talking about my problem and not the problems of others.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?

All of that is because of education. People are not educated.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No. "tapage nocturne" – disturbing the peace. It's a problem in Senegal. Eveywhere. The problem of education. You write things to improve the system of education in Senegal but no one responds. You can do a lot of things but there is no support. There isn't a following through.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine?

I don't see what the population is doing to regulate these problems. In 2002, we organized classes for "reinforcement" or to catch up during the break and we invited parents to show up to learn about the problem of education, but only two parents who responded. The people don't respond or they do not want to regulate their problems. We did well, we could do a lot more. Their worry is about taking care of their family meaning finding food. It's like animals. They are looking for what to feed their family. Food and money are the two things people are looking for,

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **I am very engaged. I am looking to change things. Sadly, there are two of us trying to fix these problems. There aren't that**

many of us. We do a lot of things. We organized debates on a lot of things. We organized debates around tea. Last Sunday, we organized a day of revision with students who would be graduating. We have a little library to “sensibiliser” les gens, to orient them. We have organized a little conference on the subject of “lire c’est voyager, voyager c’est lire.” To promote education.

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **What is missing, what is missing is a human resource problem. We are missing people with dynamic personalities, engaged. Especially people who are dynamic.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Two or three times. It’s for work. They are little cards that are here to promote the education and make them interested in reading.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No, there are people who come visit.**

25. How do those who don’t live in Pikine see “la banlieue?” **Often they say that in the banlieue are people who are aggressors, bandits. This is not true. In Pikine, there are people who are intellectuals, people who reflect (think)**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **I don’t think so. We are all of the same family. We come from the same sack.**

27. What is the difference between the city and “la banlieue?” **It’s simply, it’s a problem of infrastructure. There you see a lot of roads. Here, you see nothing but sand. Some parts of the city are clean. In Pikine, there’s a “Quartier France” and that’s the only road that I know that’s clean. They also have peace because it’s quiet.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A future that’s... Pikine has a radiant future, that intellectuals come from here, that Pikine is more live than before, to think that Pikine has people of a good culture, people who can develop the country and people who should serve their country.**

Questionnaire: 022

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Socé

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; Married, **Divorcée**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My parents are here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other members of the family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, I don't work. I work as a "formatrice." – activité de développement.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

- A. TATA- it's more rapid. They don't make as many stops.**
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's not stable. For example, on July 8th from 19h00-23h00 we didn't have electricity. Sometimes, it was starting at 17h00,**
9. Water? **It's good. Rarely do we have water cuts.**
10. Education. **Here it's bad in the "banlieue."**
11. Sewer system. **Zero. What assainement?**
12. How are the hospitals? **They are good. They are accessible.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, there isn't enough space.**
14. How are the roads? **They are bigger compared than the ones in HLM.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **I don't regulate the daily expenses in the family.**
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine?
There are a lot of problems. Sewer system is a problem. There isn't lighting in some places, that's a problem. There isn't public space for kids, which is a problem. There are a lot of problems in Pikine.

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine?
In my opinion, what explains these problems is the fact that the mayor didn't do their job. All that is because of them.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
a. If yes, how?
b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, we don't see it. A commune like Pikine North should at least have electricity or a sewer system.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **La population, "elle s'est débrouiller." They find ways to make a living.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, association dedicated to development. We transformer and we do social affairs.**
b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine?

What's missing is financing.

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **It's frequent, 4-5 times a month. The purpose is to buy things.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They think that there's "banditisme," there's this and there's that. They see badly the banlieue.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Non. They are not part of the reality.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **There isn't a difference. Maybe, there are big structures that are in the city that don't exist in the "la banlieue."**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

A future, where Pikine becomes like Paris, why not? If we think we can change Pikine, then we can work on it. We can even pass Paris or even Dakar. There is solidarity here. There

are some who believe and want to make it happen while others are only looking out for their own needs.

Questionnaire: 023

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Toucouleur**

Age: 18-25, 26-35, **35-45**, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My family lives here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, nonitrice (monitrice)**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

- A. TATA
- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-**
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's bad.**
9. Water? **It's a little more stable.**
10. Education. **"Ca ne va pas". It's not good.**
11. Sewer system. **It's a little good.**

12. How are the hospitals? **They are good.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **There's one field for football.**

14. How are the roads? **It bothers the cars that pass by. There's isn't enough space for kids to play for example.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's the husband the daily expenses.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **There are a lot of problems in Pikine. There's insecurity, a lot of problems.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **Insecurity- c'est la banlieue. It's the suburb. We have bandits that's why.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, I don't know.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The population follows its politicians.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **No, I can't regulate them.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things missing to improve the quality of life.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **It depends, in case of urgency**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **During the elections**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They consider them as "banliezards" or as those coming from the banlieue.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **There's a difference. There's a huge difference between the city and "la banlieue." In the city, we note more of luxury than in Pikine.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That Pikine has a grand development.**

Questionnaire: 024

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Sonike

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **No.**
3. What region are you from? What city? **Thies.**
4. Why are always living in Pikine?
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, I am a student at UCAD- she's studying English.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **With the hot weather, it cuts all the time.**
9. Water? **It's the same thing as electricity.**
10. Education. **The level of education is low.**
11. Sewer system. **Here, it's good here in our neighborhood but it's not like that in all of Pikine. We don't have a problem with it.**
12. How are the hospitals? **It's ok. It's necessary to reinforce the equipment. There is a lot of mosquito.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, the kids play in the road. There aren't gardens.**

14. How are the roads? **It's not sure. You have cars coming through and the cars are coming. If kids had a garden to play or a public space, it would be good for the kids.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's the father who is in charge of that.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **There's a problem of space. There's isn't a lot of space for a garden or to do other things.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **A problem with the planning (lotissement), which isn't well done.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **With the new mayor, maybe there'll be a new government and maybe there will be change. No, maybe the government tries to do its best but the people they choose don't have the competence.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine?

Cleaning and commerce to regulate (adjust) their own needs.

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? For sure, I am in an amicable des eleves/ etudiants de Pikine. We work to help our little brothers to amelieor their level of education, organize days of awareness and to develop our neighborhoods.

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **Le moyen (the means) is what's lacking from improving the quality of life.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **I go to study.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **We are seen as bandits, poor people and delinquents**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **No, maybe before but not now.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The city is calmer than here in Pikine. "La banlieue" is superpopulated compared to the city. There are a lot of people living here.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **"Un Pikine meilleur.." A better Pikine. A Pikine with total development.**

Questionnaire: 025

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Wolof**

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? Yes.
2. Were you born in Pikine? Yes.
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **I live with my parents.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other members of my family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, I am a student in high school.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's something necessary for life. For example, if we wanted to read, we need to turn on the lamp. Sometimes, there are power outages.**
9. Water? **Water is very important for life. Sometimes there are problems. Last week, we went some without having it because there was a water cut.**
10. Education. **It's a little difficult bc of strikes in the school. It's a little lower.**

11. Sewer system.

12. How are the hospitals? **We have them but people lack the means and they can't get the treatment that they need.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No. That's missing.**

14. How are the roads? **"Ils sont serrre" meaning tighten or small. There are times when we have traffic jams and circulation doesn't move.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **At the instant, it's our mother who regulates the daily expenses.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No. If we had a problem, we would go talk to our mother.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The conditions of life for families is missing in Pikine because, families who live with their wife and their kids, if the husband dies, it's up to the wife to do everything. There's also a problem for the young finding work.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **You see today, the young love to travel. They say that, the young if we tell them to work, they have shame in doing it. If you tell to go sell something, they wouldn't.**

Here in Senegal, we say that you have to be able to regulate your own problems.

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, for education, this time here who says that if the state doesn't pay them, they were going to boycott the BAC. They are doing something but there's a lot more to be done.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **For the instant, here in Pikine, I can give an example; there are women who come together every month. For each month, if you have a problem with the family, they take care of each other, they might give you some rice, etc.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **At the moment, I am not. In Pikine, each person looks out for their own problem.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **What's missing at the moment is solidarity.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Sometimes, I have an aunt who lives in Pikine and I go visit her. For example, 4-5 times a month.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **For the moment, no.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They say that Pikine is a place that's dangerous, they say that in Pikine there are bandits, they say that they wouldn't stay in Pikine past a certain point since there's insecurity.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Before, there was insecurity, but after, it's not as bad. For Gunnaw Rail, there's a police station there now.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **In the city, each person lives and keeps to themselves. Here, there's solidarity. If you have problem, you can see the person you are renting from and they will help you.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **We wish that Pikine advances, that it goes forward, that insecurity doesn't exist anymore, that people won't tell say that Pikine is a dangerous place, Pikine becomes a ville a big city, like an empire.**

Questionnaire: 026

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Lebu

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My parents live here.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other family members.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **Non, I am a student.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **We are badly lit here.**
9. Water? **Here there are a lot of flooding. The water that we drink there aren't outages, and the water that we drink is drinkable.**
10. Education. **"De la merde."**
11. Sewer system. **It's bad.**
12. How are the hospitals? **When I enter, I see a lot of people waiting like children. There are a few doctors.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No. There isn't. There are just some fields for football.**

14. How are the roads? **They are badly done. They are just made of sand.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's my mother, my brother who regulate these problems.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No. Never.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **We don't have as much space, the roads are populated and so are the homes. There are a lot of people. There's a lack of governance.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **The "peu de space" is linked to the fact that families have a lot of children. They are not limited.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **Me, I don't even know. I don't think so. I don't even know who the mayor is. I think that the government doesn't do anything because we don't see anyone.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The population does nothing to regulate problems. They do nothing.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **No, I don't even know if there's any regulating of problems in Pikine.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **It's necessary that we consider the habitants of Pikine.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **I go occasionally just to visit or to go somewhere else.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **It's dirty, a lot noise, and they are badly dressed.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **No, it's not a reality.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Just the roads. And the people who live there. Like they said, the ones in the city are "toubaba traité" or they act and think like foreigners, they speak French and dress differently. The ones in Pikine are dirty, they dress badly. In reality, there are people who are like it is described but there are others who aren't like that.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That the state considers more those who live in Pikine. Asked her why she thinks that the state doesn't consider the people in Pikine and she**

says, We don't see the help of the state. It's only during the elections that we see them here. I think that they don't consider us since we are missing schools, a hospital, for flooding- they don't do other things. Why leave Pikine? I don't understand.

Questionnaire: 027

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Serrer

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **I live with my family.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other family members.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do?
 - b. If not, why not? **No, I am a student, in high school.**
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

- B. Car rapide-
- C. Ndiaga Ndiaye
- D. Dakar Dem Dikk
- E. The train
- F. By foot-
- G. Taxi
- H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **There are a lot of power outages.**
9. Water? **There isn't a lack of water. The quality of the water, I don't know.**
10. Education. **Education for the students, there's education at the schools and it's good but at home, there's not education.**
11. Sewer system. **There isn't "canalisation" or pipes. People throw used water in the roads and it's not good.**
12. How are the hospitals? **I didn't hear- there are good hospitals and bad hospitals.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **Yes.**
14. How are the roads? **The roads are dirty; there is a lot of garbage.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's the mother who is charged with doing that.**
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The Syndicat that's here (the fruit market); it bothers us because there are a lot of flies coming from it.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **The mangoes that we sell are the problems.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **Maybe in other places but not here. I say that they haven't done anything because I haven't seen anything.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Often, the population tries to sell and they try to start projects. There are a lot of projects that are done, by women to try and improve...**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **No, because I don't want to.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **Money is lacking to improve the quality of life.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Rarely, to visit family.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They see us Pikine as there's a lot of people and there's a lot of rhythm but for you, that's not the case. Yes.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Dakar is calmer than Pikine.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That we could have mayors, that we would have canalization,**

Questionnaire: 028

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Puel

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My parents are here. I am at my parents.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other members of the family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, I do work as a tailor and the same time as a mannequin.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's a little good and a little bad.**
9. Water? **It's ok.**
10. Education. **There isn't enough schools.**
11. Sewer system. **It's really bad. It's mediocrity.**

12. How are the hospitals? **There are no posts de santé. When you don't have any money, you cannot pay for medicines. There aren't enough medicines. The post de sante, maybe in Dakar do exist but not in "la banlieue."**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, there isn't. The kids play in the roads.**

14. How are the roads? **There is a lot of sand. It's dirty.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's my grandfather who is in charge of that.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The problems are Pikine are eating, work, transportation,**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **There isn't work.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **They do nothing. I don't know why.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **They work for them, they work as commerce, etc. There isn't anything else.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I am in an association working towards developing Pikine. We do marches, etc.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things that are missing to improve life in Pikine. The hospitals, the post de santé, not being able to work, etc. Here there's nothing.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Often, it's with the association.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They think that it's too dangerous. They think that they are aggressors or bandits.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **No.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Like I said, they say that there's no security here. There's no peace here. There's nothing here. They say it's full of crazy people. It's not true. There are people here who studied. It's the fact that people are poor that explains the conditions.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **I wish that Pikine that the kids will assume themselves well and that we will have hospitals also.**

Questionnaire: 029

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Bambara.**

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes. Tally Bubees.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes. Dominique.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My parents live here and she lives with them.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **She lives with her family members.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, she works as a seamstress.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Electricity is less than desirable. There are power outages but you don't know when they will be coming.**
9. Water? **For water, it's the same thing. For her, they are forced to wake up at 5 am to get water because later, there's a water cut.**
10. Education. **School is good. Before she didn't know, but now she knows or she's learning.**
11. Sewer system. **She would have liked that there were pipes, bc what we see in Pikine is that people throw water everywhere and when the cars come around, it makes you dirty. She would like to see that changed.**

12. How are the hospitals? **There are enough hospitals in Pikine and they treat well.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **Pikine is narrow and there's not enough space for the kids to play.**
14. How are the roads? **The roads are very large compared to Yoff.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **She works so we know that's how it's regulated.**
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems?

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The problem is that people say that prostitutes, bandits and thieves are in Pikine, even though it's not the case. In each society, there are good and bad. It's not just in Pikine that we have this situation.**
18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **It's because of the pessimism of the people that they think that only these people exist in Pikine.**
19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
- a. If yes, how?
 - b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **She thinks that the government does nothing because in her opinion, she doesn't see what the government does concretely.**
20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The young of Pikine try to gather in associations to try and deal with the issues of banditisme. So that Pikine changes its face.**
21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
- a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, she's part of a group that works to bring changes in Pikine.**
 - b. If not, why not?
22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **What's necessary is that, the leaders, the chefs help people to advance their work.**
23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **She goes often downtown to regulate her problems.**
24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Non.**
25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **When you tell people that you come from Pikine, they have a suspicion of you even though Pikinois are not savages, they aren't barbar, they are just people.**
26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **No.**
27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Pikine is less sur than Dakar- in the sense of security. There's more of that in Dakar than in Pikine.**
28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That Pikine develop and that it surpasses the city of Dakar.**

Questionnaire: 030

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: Serrer

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes. Pikine Icotaf 2**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **I am here with my family.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **He lives with other members of the family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **He works at the factory called, Usine de Nina.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide- most often he takes these.

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **It's bad. There are power outages des temps en temps.**
9. Water? **It's ok. Sometimes there are water cuts but not a lot.**
10. Education. **It's not good. There is a lot of work to be done.**
11. Sewer system. **No**
12. How are the hospitals? **Hospitals are also sick. They are ok.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **Non, like here in Pikine, there's only one field to play football. There are a lot of people who want to play but can't.**

14. How are the roads? **They aren't good. In the city, they are good but not here.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **It's the family who does that.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **We have a lot of problems. For example, education for the kids. There aren't places for "loisir"- pleasure. There is a lot of noise.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **It's because the people do as they want. There's disorder. The mayor doesn't do anything and they eat the money that is intended for the city.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, I don't think so. I don't see anything. I don't see a grand thing that the government has done.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **The population doesn't do anything.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, Vision Pikine, to see otherwise for Pikine.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **For me, it's education.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Two times or one time, depending on the needs. I work here and not in the city. I work 12 kilometers from here.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They think that they are "voyeux-peeping toms," there are thieves, they don't understand. If you live here, you know that there are people who are students, who work. They believe these things about Pikine from the media they see, the television, the things they hear on tv.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes and No.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **The city, la capital is Dakar. La banlieue equals a sur-population, there is a lot of people, people who don't have the means and don't work, a lot of kids who didn't go to school,**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine?

A city that's a big city. A city with a lot of industries, the improvement of education, with a lot of space for pleasure, for the kids. A city that's modern, well lit in the public spaces like Paris or Lyon or Chicago or New York. Pikine could be a city.

Questionnaire: 031

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Pulaar**

Age: 18-25, **26-35**, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? Yes
2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes**
3. What region are you from? What city?
4. Why are always living in Pikine? **Because my parents live here. I am here all the time.**
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live here with other members of my family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, I am a teacher.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **I will say that it's not good. It's badly divided.**
9. Water? **It's not very much... there's still work to be done. Water is not treated, sometimes there is trash in the faucet.**
10. Education. **It's better now, before there was agony. Still, education suffers.**
11. Sewer system. **There's a problem because we don't have canalization.**

12. How are the hospitals? **There are a lot of problems at the hospitals. At the welcome, there's a problem. You will find mostiquots there, in a hospital, that's a problem. When it comes to paying, sometimes they won't touch you because you can't pay.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **We used to have it, but now we don't. The spaces were given, right now there is construction.**

14. How are the roads? **I will say that it's normal.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **Me, I don't have that problem there.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **Me, no. I regulate my problems with my family.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **There's a lack of space. We suffer a surpopulation here in Pikine.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **At the beginning, it wasn't like that. Right now, we have space that's being constructed on. Spaces that were for pleasure. Now there's less space or we are more crowded.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how?

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, I haven't hear any politics of this kind from them. I don't know but maybe, it's a problem of incompetence, the mayor's office does nothing even though they are the closest to the people. It's incompetence, they don't know.**

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Often, the young will get together to get some space, clean it up. It's the young who are trying to work it out.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, I am in associations. Each time as possible, I am there, I give free classes, I try to supervise the youth who come to see me, even if it's about other problems. – "Pikine Unité," "Vision Pikine"- it's a movement by the population.**

b. If not, why not?

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **There are a lot of things missing. Like I have said before, there needs to be space for schools, to supervise the young. We need "assainer" to have canalization, we need more trucks to take out the trash, we need more space for games, we need space for "loisir" but also a library. We need people to be more engaged but they don't know how. We need to show them.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Not frequently, when I was in Thies, I don't go there often.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Where I am, I see people from Thies who are there, especially during vacation.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **I will say that it brings fear. They are afraid of the "banlieue." La banlieue is dirty.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes.**

27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Pikine is a dormitory city, often people go to Dakar to work, to take care of their affairs, often they leave in the morning for Dakar and come back to Pikine in the evening. There are some markets that allow people to take care of their affairs but for the most part, it's for sleeping.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **Pikine, I would like that it becomes a ville. That it becomes a model for other cities in Senegal. That education becomes the model education. With spaces of pleasure. A place where everyone wants to be.**

Questionnaire: 032

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Serrer**

Age: 18-25, 26-35, 35-45, **45-60**, 61-100 (**50 years old**)

Marital Status: Single; **Married**, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**
2. Were you born in Pikine? **No.**
3. What region are you from? What city? **Dakar.**
4. Why are always living in Pikine?
5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with my family.**
6. Do you work?
 - a. If yes, What type of work do you do? **Yes, works as shopkeeper.**
 - b. If not, why not?
7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide- more often

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **These times, it's ok. For the time being, it's ok.**
9. Water? **For the moment, it's ok. There are times we have water cuts, for like an hour, not all the time.**
10. Education. **It's not ok. The kids are not educated at school. There are a lot of things that need to be done!!!!!!!!!!!!!!**
11. Sewer system. **There's a system of canalization but it's not good. It's supposed to be about evacuating the water, but the population throws trash in it and it causes problems.**

12. How are the hospitals? **It's not stable. Dominique is cleaner than before. It's the biggest hospital in Pikine.**

13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No..**

14. How are the roads? **If it was bigger than that, if it didn't have sand, it would be a lot better. There are some roads in Pikine that should be paved.**

15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **"Taba Taba"- It's a type of contribution that the parents make to regulate these needs.**

16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **Pikine, the grand problem is that the youth don't work, they have their diplomas, but they don't work. Those who want to regulate the problems of Pikine should think of that.**

18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **I don't know.**

19. Does the government try to fix these problems?

a. If yes, how? **The state tries to help but it's not enough. The example she gave is that the state engages the Pikinois in the public function but it's not enough.**

b. if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing?

20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **Yes, the young try to. For example, if they here for a temporary job or something similar, they will take it. Temporary employment of 3, 4 months, they will take it before coming back to the agency.**

21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?

a. If yes, what do you do and can you give examples?

b. If not, why not? **No, her work takes her a lot of time.**

22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **It needs someone who understands very well the problems of Pikine, who is engaged, who understands all the dimensions of the problems of Pikine and who wants to fix them and is only here for Pikine to regulate these problems.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **Yes, when she has affairs to regulate. If not, I am in Pikine.**

24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **No.**

25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **Those who don't live in Pikine "sou-estimer" Pikine. It's necessary that this changes. There are people who are good in Pikine.**

26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **It's the prejudice that need to change. That person in 22 needs to be able to work to change the image of Pikine.**

27. What is the difference between the city and “la banlieue?” **The difference between the city and Pikine is like the difference between a region and a village. Those who live in the region “sou-estimer” those who live in the village.**

28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **That Pikine has a leader who works to help the young and the women. That each person in Pikine has work to be able to leave...[poverty.] To take care of their own needs.**

Questionnaire: 033

Last and First name:

Ethnic group: **Socé**

Age: **18-25**, 26-35, 35-45, 45-60, 61-100

Marital Status: **Single**; Married, NA

I. General information

1. Do you live in Pikine? **Yes.**

2. Were you born in Pikine? **Yes.**

3. What region are you from? What city?

4. Why are always living in Pikine? **My parents live there and they have a house there.**

5. Do you live alone? With others? **I live with other family members.**

6. Do you work?

a. If yes, What type of work do you do?

b. If not, why not? **No, I work as a intern. I don't yet work.**

7. When you move, what mode of transportation do you take?

A. TATA

B. Car rapide-

C. Ndiaga Ndiaye- often I take these, but I take all of them.

D. Dakar Dem Dikk

E. The train

F. By foot-

G. Taxi

H. Motorcycle

II. Questions on Access to Services

8. How do you find the electricity? **Right now, it's stable. It's more stable, even though I am not there all the time.**

9. Water? **There are always water cuts. The quality of the water is “plus ou moins”- it’s ok**
10. Education. **Education, there’s still work to be done.**
11. Sewer system. **More or less, there’s work to be done.**
12. How are the hospitals? **The hospitals are dirty.**
13. Is there enough space for children to play? **No, I don’t think so.**
14. How are the roads? **Right now, I can say that the roads are starting to be better. There are more or less done. It’s the winter that kills the roads with the water, etc. They are changing the roads right now, not everywhere but some. They work on some roads and leave others, which isn’t totally normal.**
15. How do you regulate daily expenses? **They make it work.**
16. Do you receive help from the government when you have problems? **No. The state doesn’t give us a scholarship except for the students going to school.**

III. Conditions of life in Pikine

17. What are your problems in Pikine? **The parents let their kids go everywhere they want to go. They aren’t educated. Even if the kids have reached the point of going into a dara, they don’t take them and take them here and there. They don’t occupy themselves with the kids. They throw water everywhere in the roads. Some families have water in their homes but nothing is done. There are a lot of things that are missing. We should first change our comportement and live in community. Kids should have good health. You shouldn’t let the roads educate your children.**
18. What explains the problems you have encountered in Pikine? **It’s the parents who don’t take charge of their own kids that causes these problems.**
19. Does the government try to fix these problems?
- If yes, how?
 - if no, in your opinion, why do they do nothing? **No, I could say that the government cannot regulate all our problems and us as young people should try to fix our problems. We say that the state needs to take care of certain things, but they have to focus on certain issues and we shouldn’t study and then cross our arms waiting for jobs to come to us. You have to go and search for it.**
20. What does the population do itself in fixing the problems found in Pikine? **They do awareness. The Red Cross during the winter months sensibilises parents and advocates that they get a mosquito net if they don’t have one.**
21. Are you engaged in fixing the problems in Pikine?
- If yes, what do you do and can you give examples? **Yes, she’s part of associations.**
 - If not, why not?
22. What is missing to improve the quality of life in Pikine? **It’s missing a lot that needs to be done. There’s a lot to do. It’s not like you do and you are going to have results. You may have to wait 2-3 years before seeing anything. You should do with your heart, with an interest.**

23. How many times a month do you go downtown? Why? **I don't know. From time to time. For studying, etc**
24. Do you know of people living downtown or from other regions that come to visit Pikine? **Yes, those in the city when you tell them you are from Pikine, they will say that it's a dangerous place with aggressors, etc**
25. How do those who don't live in Pikine see "la banlieue?" **They will tell you that there are acts of aggression. IT'S not that, they have the wrong information. It's not all of Pikine that these acts take place. Sometimes, they say these things and when you take them there, they are like, this is Pikine, bc they thought it was only dangerous, full of aggressors and bandits, when there are intellectuals, people in charge, examplaire aux Pikine. It's going to be us who have to initiate that so that people don't have these ideas about us.**
26. Is the stigmatization of Pikine a reality? **Yes, sometimes there are times when it is real and other times when it is not real. They hear of an aggression and they start to say that it took place in Pikine when at times, there was nothing happening there. Sometimes, it's the places with luxury where things like smoking weed, corruption are taking place, not just "la banlieue."**
27. What is the difference between the city and "la banlieue?" **Me, I don't see a certain difference. Especially when there are military leaders in Pikine, there are intellectuals in Pikine, there are leaders in Pikine. It's the environment that's different. In the city, there's more luxury. They take more time, with the problem of infrastucutre, they focus more on that in the city than in "la banlieue." "La banlieue" is where the poor people live and the city is for the rich, when that's not the case. There are people who are poor and who live in Dakar.**
28. What is the future that you wish for Pikine? **A better Pikine. An emerging Pikine. A Pikine with military personnel, Pikine that's well done, well looked after. A vision with long term goals. A Pikine with competence, with intellectuals, with people motivated, Pikine with property, Pikine with health. I love Pikine.**