Budgets and Service Delivery in Senegal’s Sanitation Sector

A Look at the Impacts of Budget Credibility

Assiatou Diop
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1. Introduction

In Senegal, despite significant progress in the last years, many gaps in sanitation access rates remain. According to the National Sanitation Office (Office National de l’Assainissement, or ONAS) performance contract reports between 2019 and 2021, 73 percent of the country’s urban population and 53 percent of the rural population have access to improved sanitation services. Even with these improvements, however, millions of Senegalese, mainly in rural areas and informal settlements, still do not have access to adequate and functional sanitation services. According to the Global Waters report of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), only 21 percent of the population had access to safely managed sanitation services in 2019.

One of the most significant consequences of the lack of public and domestic sanitation infrastructure is flooding in Dakar’s informal settlements. In 2009, flooding in the informal settlements of Pikine and Guédiawaye affected more than 360,000 people and generated very high reconstruction and rehabilitation costs, estimated at around XOF 62 billion. The sectors most affected were housing, health, agriculture, education, and transport, which received 92 percent. The torrential rains of 2020 also caused severe flooding in several Senegalese localities, mainly in Keur Massar-Jaxaay area. Keur Massar is a department in the Dakar region. With a population of 201,654 in 2013, Keur Massar is one of the informal districts. Every year, many houses in Keur Massar are flooded by rainwater. The lack of drainage and unfinished work are at the root of this stagnant and sometimes diverted water, which pours into some houses. In Keur Massar, an area of 60 hectares, covering 58 out of 144 informal settlements, was flooded, with some 3,000 families affected and 271 families displaced to schools and other temporary shelters, with some 3,000 families affected and 271 families displaced to schools and other temporary shelters.

Catastrophic events notwithstanding, the water and sanitation sector has a major socio-economic impact, especially in terms of health, hygiene, and education. According to estimates by the World Health Organization (WHO), unsafe water supply, inadequate sanitation, and poor hygiene contribute to more than 88 percent of diarrheal diseases worldwide. In Senegal, diarrheal diseases are responsible for an estimated seven percent of deaths among children under five. Similarly, according to studies by Water Solidarity Program (Programme Solidarité Eau, or PSEAU), the lack of access to water and sanitation facilities in schools encourages families to withdraw their children, especially young girls.

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1 National Office of Sanitation (2021), Audit Reports of Performance Contracts (2019-2021) of ONAS.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
Despite the Senegalese government’s commitment to improving sanitation services, several challenges persist, including budget credibility issues. This study examines the sanitation sector’s budget credibility, which refers to overspending or underspending of the budget approved by the legislature. The study analyzes the legal, institutional, and programmatic frameworks of the sector, highlighting problems and their causes as well as the impact on access to services for the population, particularly in the Pikine area. The study aims to inform policymakers, practitioners, and other stakeholders about budget credibility issues and their impact, using the sanitation sector as a case study.

7 Budget credibility refers to deviations between the approved budget and executed budget, whether they are underspending or budget overspending. According to international standards (PEFA), best practice standards are for expenditure deviations at both an aggregate and compositional level to be below 5%. See the Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA) 2016 Framework, available at https://www.pefa.org/resources/pefa-2016-framework. According to regional standards from the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), they should not exceed 10% of the planned budgets. See the DIRECTIVE N° 06/2009 / CM / UEMOA on Finance Laws at http://www.droit-africque.com/upload/doc/uemoa/UEMOA-Directive-2009-06-lois-de-finances.pdf

8 Pikine, Guédiawaye, Keur Massar, are the most populated cities in Senegal with informal settlements that were created spontaneously due to rural exoduses. These areas are spaces where public services are limited and populations vulnerable due to the nature of the habitats and their poverty.
## 2. Methodological Approach

This study uses a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative data to triangulate findings. The data collection process began with a documentary review of quarterly budget reports, finance bills, ONAS performance contracts, annual performance reports and annual performance projects of the Sanitation Department, audit reports, and other studies on the sector. The quantitative approach allowed the researchers to list and analyze all data relating to the sanitation budget, as well as trends in budget execution for sanitation programs, to identify budget deviations and cuts.

The qualitative approach allowed the researchers to learn more about bottlenecks in the sanitation sector, budget credibility issues, and their causes. A series of interviews, management dialogues, focus groups, and social audits were conducted with state actors (Ministry of Water and Sanitation, Ministry of Finance and Budget, local authorities, Municipal Development Agency [ADM], and ONAS), civil society organizations (ONG3D, OSIDEA, REVOCAP, POSCEAS), social movements (FSH, URBASEN, and community players in informal settlements (Pikine, Guédiawaye, Keur Massar).9

The Know Your City (KYC) report, a disaggregated data collection initiative developed by the International Budget Partnership (IBP) and carried out by the nongovernmental organization (NGO) URBASEN, was also used to assess sanitation services and problems in informal settlements. The KYC report covers the Informal settlements collectivities of Pikine, Guédiawaye, and Keur Massar. The KYC campaign is implemented in five main stages:

1. **Mobilization and training of local players**: Community relays, young people, and municipal staff are brought together and trained.

2. **Mapping**: Drone overflights are used to map and delimit neighborhoods with the support of delegates. The data obtained is recorded, compiled, and processed using PIX4D software. The mapping results are then fed back to stakeholders.

3. **Participatory diagnosis of neighborhoods**: Focus groups and data collection are used to conduct a participatory diagnosis of neighborhoods. The sdinet.io platform and KoboToolbox software are used to collect data.

4. **Socio-economic surveys**: These surveys collect quantitative data at the household level on income, expenditure, access to essential services, and family composition.

5. **Processing and analysis of data**: The data collected on the state of services is analyzed to determine if any illnesses can be traced back to the lack of proper sanitation.

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9 FSH- Senegalese Federation of Inhabitants in informal settlements; URBASEN- professionals working on urban issues in informal settlements; ONG3D-Democracy, Human Rights, Development; OSIDEA-Observatory for Monitoring Economic Development Indicators in Africa; REVOCAP - Network of Community Volunteers in Support of Health Personnel; POSCEAS - Platform of civil society organizations for water and sanitation in Senegal.
3. Background

Senegal faces formidable challenges in its sanitation sector, particularly in urban areas where more than half of the population resides, with over 76 percent of urban residents living in informal settlements. These challenges have been compounded by recurring floods since 2005, which have disproportionately impacted the socio-economic conditions of informal settlement communities. In 2009, devastating floods in Dakar destroyed 30,000 homes, affecting over half a million people and causing XOF 44.5 billion in damage and losses. In 2020, the problem expanded to affect all regions of Senegal, with 12,475 flooded households, 77,260 individuals affected, and 3,285 displaced. In the Dakar region alone, 5,318 people were affected.\(^{10}\)

The absence of adequate rainwater and wastewater drainage systems, along with changing climate conditions, is a key driver of flood damage in Senegal. Recognizing the importance of increased investment in the water and sanitation sector, the Senegalese government has made greater budget allocations in these areas a priority in recent years. The Ministry of Water and Sanitation has received an average allocation of XOF 100 billion over 2018-2022 in the initial budget. Additional sanitation programs, such as the Rainwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project [PROGEP] I and II, have also been allocated substantial budgets, amounting to an average XOF 194 billion between 2012-2026.\(^{11}\)

Despite these allocations, however, services gaps in the sector remain, especially for vulnerable groups. Previous research from IBP and our partners found that service delivery gaps stem from challenges in operationalization, socio-demographic factors, climate change, financing, and governance. Overall, however, these challenges are all exacerbated by underspending in the sanitation sector. Between 2019 and 2020, for example, just 73 percent of the Ministry of Water and Sanitation’s budget was spent, even as seven million people in informal settlements continued to suffer from flooding disasters.

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\(^{10}\) Journal Dakar Actu (2020), Report on the worrying and staggering figures of victims of torrential rains https://www.dakaractu.com/inondations-de-2020-les-chiffres-inquietants-et-ahurissants-des-victimes-des-pluies-diluviennes-Rapport_a204545.html#:~:text=Le%20rapport%20r%C3%A9v%C3%A8le%20que%20toutes,dans%20la%20r%C3%A9gion%20de%20Dakar.

How Budget Credibility Goes Beyond Budget Sincerity

The concept of budget credibility is relatively new in Senegal, but it has points of convergence with other principles of public finance, such as the principle of sincerity, already applied in Senegal.

Budget sincerity is a core principle of Senegal’s budgetary legal framework and has driven recent reforms of program budgeting. That principle, however, only places a premium on the completeness, consistency, and accuracy of financial information provided by the State, without accounting for the reasons a budget may have been under- or over-spent, and whether those deviations are justified or are undermining service delivery outcomes. Analyzing that gap provides a framework for assessing whether budgets are implemented as planned and is based on international standards around budget credibility.

Budget credibility refers to a government’s ability to meet its revenue and expenditure targets during the budget year. Expenditures in the budget can be overspent or underspent as compared to the initial budget allocations that are approved by the legislature. This variance can apply to the government’s budget as a whole to a specific sector or program, or both. A credible budget usually results from strong internal governance, including adequate control by the legislature, audit institutions, and political leaders. The concept of budget credibility, which is also known as budget reliability, is embedded in international standards such as in the Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability (PEFA) framework and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.6.1.

The concept of budget credibility is based on the role of the legally approved budget as the basis for planning and prioritizing government expenditures. In Senegal, however, there is no law that requires the government seek authorization or approval from the legislature when deviating from the budget.

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12 PEFA provides a framework for assessing and reporting on the strengths and weaknesses of public financial management systems. The framework includes indicators on budget reliability, which is the same concept as budget credibility, assessed in PI 1, 2 and 3. See: https://www.pefa.org/resources/pefa-2016-framework

13 SDG indicator 16.6.1, which tracks primary government expenditures as a proportion of original approved budget, is used to measure progress toward SDG Target 16.6, to develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels. See: https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/metadata/files/Metadata-16-06-01.pdf
during implementation, meaning that budget credibility is not yet codified in Senegal’s legal framework. The legal code contains a similar concept to budget credibility, budget sincerity, which refers to the completeness, consistency, and accuracy of financial information provided by the State. The concept was introduced in Article 30 of a 2009 WAEMU directive (06/2009/CM/UEMOA), which defined budget sincerity as the obligation to present public accounts that reflect a true and fair view of the national economic and financial situation and outlook, based on the information available to the government at the time of preparation. That article, in turn, drew upon the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) harmonized public finance framework directives, and eventually led to a July 2011 Organic Law that, similar to other WAEMU member states’ efforts, prompted an in-depth reform of Senegal’s budgetary system. The national budget, including its program-related line categories, is now anchored in a results-based management approach. The program budget has introduced a number of innovations relating to budgetary regulation, the renewal of budgetary control, and other principles and concepts.

Grounded in budgetary sincerity and accuracy, these moves, however, still fall short of advancing budget credibility. To do that, Senegal would need to put in place a legal requirement for the government to ask for legislative approval before changing the funding levels released to ministries for spending, especially when those changes negatively affect the budget balance. That is why civil society actors and oversight bodies, along with the legislature itself, would do well to better understand the current budget credibility, as outlined below.

How the Lack of Budget Credibility Affects the Water and Sanitation Sector

The studies carried out by IBP have revealed that the challenges facing the sanitation sector are manifold. Among these are challenges in the financing and governance of the sanitation sector.

Senegal’s water and sanitation sector suffers from insufficient allocations and recurrent budget under-execution. According to USAID reports, in 2018, the gap between programs’ financial needs and actual resources allocated was around XOF 68 billion per year. Furthermore, the water and sanitation programs included in the Emerging Senegal Plan (Plan Sénégal Emergent, or PSE) between 2014-2018 had an estimated financing gap of around XOF 260 billion. In addition to the problem of insufficient resources, budget credibility issues are often caused by administrative delays in the public procurement

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14. See Articles 21 and 66 of the Organic Law relating to the Laws of Finance of 2020 (Loi Organique Relative aux Lois de Finances, or LOLF de 2020), which does not constrain the government in making transfers between administrative units or reducing spending below the approved budget without approval from the legislature. https://budget.sec.gouv.sn/documents/public_download/5e3b3c9-95e8-4739-9e29-0f60a2a028a/telechargement
16. The Plan Sénégal Emergent (PSE) is the reference for economic and social policies and brings together sectoral strategies to achieve development objectives. See also USAID, 2019, WASH-FIN Senegal Fact sheet, https://www.globalwaters.org/sites/default/files/WASH-FIN_Senegal_Fact_Sheet_19april2019.pdf
system, late payments by the Ministry of Finance, delays in the construction of works, and the lack of synergy between sector players. Although there are other issues that impede access to sanitation services for the population, budget credibility challenges play a significant role in limiting Senegal’s progress in this vital sector. That is because the government’s main tool for meeting the population’s needs is the budget. At a time when vulnerable groups in informal settlements and rural areas are suffering from a dire lack of sanitation infrastructure, the water and sanitation sector is experiencing recurrent under-spending and has not been a high priority for the government. The government’s difficulties in executing the budget as planned in key sectors such as sanitation are an obstacle to human and economic development. In fact, vulnerable populations are becoming poorer as a result of the lack of spending on sanitation, and an average of more than 14,000 people are at persistent high risk of flooding in the Dakar region alone.

Compounding the problem, their mobility, along with that of people living in informal settlements, is reduced by poor access to sanitation services. Floods block access to schools, markets, and roads, thus impacting children's education and income-generating activities. Trapped populations must contend with stagnant water, which is a breeding ground for microbes and diseases such as malaria, as well as groundwater pollution caused by wastewater discharge, which leads to higher incidences of diarrheal diseases.

At the same time, governance issues impede Senegal's ability to address these threats through improved budget credibility. The Court of Audit (Cour des Comptes) 2021 report identified governance as one of the main challenges faced in the water and sanitation sector in Senegal, along with financing mechanisms and facility management. Governance issues have a significant impact on budget performance and a causal link with budget credibility. Among the governance challenges in Senegal's sanitation sector, IBP research noted a multitude of actors whose work is marked by a lack of coordination, along with lack of communication among stakeholders (e.g. households, state actors, local authorities, and public- and private-sector service providers). The numerous players involved in the sanitation sector make multi-sector consultation and coordination of interventions extremely difficult, especially at the operational level. This aspect of governance has an impact on budget implementation in the sanitation sector. Our interviews with technicians from the Sanitation Directorate (Direction de l’Assainissement) and ONAS revealed that overlapping programmatic missions create budget underspending for certain components of sector budgets. The fact is, when the same activities are budgeted for two different programs, one of the programs will underspend on that component. For example, work being carried out by the Road Works and Management Agency (Agence de travaux et

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17 Sanitation Directorate (2021), Annual Performance Report of the Sanitation and Stormwater Management Program (PAGEP). This report was shared by the Directorate of Sanitation as part of the collaboration with IBP Senegal.
18 Study on vulnerability in Senegal - February 2023 LARTES – IFAN. This report was shared with IBP, which is the sponsor of this study. The report will be published shortly on the LARTES website.
gestion des routes, or AGEROUTE) in the communes of Pikine and Djida Thiaroye Kao prevented ONAS from continuing the Pre-Winter Operations (Operations Pre-Hivernales, or OPH) in 2022, and at the same time from executing its budget for the OPH program in this locality.20

The lack of harmonization of actions also has an impact on the sustainability of works, leading to budget reallocations. For instance, ONAS’s visits to flood prone areas found that works by the Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Major Works (Agence pour la promotion des investissements et des grands travaux, or APIX) as part of the Regional Express Train project have destroyed stormwater drainage systems installed by ONAS in Pikine Est, repairs to which will entail further unforeseen budgets.21

How Governance Challenges in the Sanitation Sector Impede Budget Credibility

To better understand the roadblocks to greater budget credibility, this section analyzes the governance system in place for sanitation, zeroing in on the sector’s legal, policy, institutional and programmatic, and coordination and consultation frameworks.

Legal framework

In principle, the legal basis of the water and sanitation sector in Senegal provides a favorable framework for the performance of the public service, but in practice there are gaps that hamper service provision.

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20 These facts were reported by the NGO URBASEN and the women of the FSH through social audits (dialogues organized by IBP) and were verified with the local authorities of Pikine and agents of the Directorate of Sanitation during interviews.

21 These visits to black spots were made by ONAS in the suburbs in the company of URBASEN-FSH and IBP, and the damage caused by the TER was made by ONAS agents. The problem remains to this day.
The legal framework for sanitation in Senegal is comprehensive, but there are challenges in its implementation, including overlapping responsibilities, a lack of coordination and consultation among actors, and a lack of financial resources. In terms of overlapping responsibilities, Law 2008-59 of September 24, 2008, opened the sanitation sector to numerous agencies, including the national water and sanitation company ONAS, the investment promotion agency APIX, and the roads agency AGEROUTE. This has led to duplication of responsibilities as well as competition between the various actors, which can result in inefficient use of resources and delays in completing projects. For example, communities living in informal settlements have reported that the National Sanitation Office, the Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Major Works, and the Road Works and Management Agency create a traffic jam of works projects in a single location. Communities also report that these
different agencies sometimes destroy each other’s works as their planned interventions overlap. This results in an imbalance in budgetary planning and underspending.

While Senegal’s legal framework has created a structure for the coordination of sanitation services, these legal provisions do not fully resolve the challenge of coordinating multiple actors. Decree 2011-245 of February 17, 2011, implementing the sanitation code, and Law 2013-10 of December 28, 2013, the General Code of Local Authorities, should, in principle, have settled the question of the responsibilities of local authorities in the sanitation sector. However, the debate over whether sanitation is the responsibility of the local or the central government persists. In addition, there is a lack of coordination and consultation between different actors involved in sanitation, including the central government, local authorities, NGOs, and communities. This can lead to duplication of efforts and wasted resources. The Ministry of Water and Sanitation has identified the following additional challenges to implementing the legal framework:

• Shortcomings in the information and monitoring system in terms of data collection, sharing, and dissemination;
• Non-finalization and non-adoption of the implementing decrees for many of the sanitation regulations (example of the SEPA law, see appendices);
• Weak functionality of the performance contract monitoring system.

These challenges are compounded by a lack of financial resources. The central government has not allocated adequate funding to sanitation, and local authorities often do not have the resources to meet their sanitation responsibilities. This can lead to delays in completing projects and a lack of access to sanitation services for people living in poverty. For example, interviews with local authorities in Guédiawaye and Pikine, and with various agencies such as the Municipal Development Agency, the Directorate of Rainwater Prevention and Management, and the Sanitation Directorate, revealed that there is a poor grasp of the General Code of Local Authorities (Code général des Collectivités locales) by municipalities. In addition, the lack of financial resources transferred by central government to local authorities is often cited as an obstacle.

22 These visits to black spots were made by the National Sanitation Office in the informal settlements in the company of URBASEN-FSH and IBP, and the damage caused by the regional express train was made by the National Sanitation Office agents. And The Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Major Works is responsible for the preparation, coordination and monitoring of the implementation of major State projects. AGEROUTE Senegal, Agency for Works and Road Management, is responsible, in general, for the implementation of all construction, rehabilitation and maintenance of roads, bridges and other engineering structures as well as the management of the classified road network.
Policy framework

Important initiatives such as the Plan Sénégal Emergent (PSE) and the Sector Policy Letter (Lettre de Politique Sectorielle, or LPS) have been launched by the government to provide a frame of reference and harmonization of public policies. Nevertheless, the coordination and overlapping of actors inhibits public investment.

Overall government policy is directed by two key strategy documents: Plan Senegal Emergent (Plan Senegal Emergent, or PSE) and the related Sector Policy Letter. The PSE is a ten-year strategy (2014-2023) that aims to transform Senegal into an emerging country by 2035. It is based on three strategic axes, broken down into sectoral objectives. The main sectoral objectives are:

- Transport infrastructure and services
- Energy infrastructure and services
- Agriculture and agri-food
- Water and sanitation
- Education and training
- Health and nutrition

The PSE is aligned with Agenda 2030, a benchmark for African policies to achieve the SDGs. Specifically, the indicators of SDG 6.2, corresponding to the sanitation access goal, are included in the sectoral performance frameworks of the Sanitation Department.

In support of the PSE, each ministry has drawn up a Sectoral Policy Letter to guide its initiatives in achieving the objectives set for the 2035 horizon. The Sectoral Policy Letter for the sanitation sector (2016 and 2025) is structured around the following axes:

- The general context of the water and sanitation sector
- The situational analysis
The Sectoral Policy Letter aims to sustainably improve the environment and living conditions by boosting access to sanitation services. It also seeks to promote a value chain approach, involving all stakeholders, including the private sector.

Sanitation policy reference documents and national strategies provide an exhaustive list of the sector’s goals and targets. The action plans for solving sanitation problems are also clear and well-defined, but implementation and monitoring are problematic. One of the main challenges is institutional coordination, which is flagged in the 2016 Sectoral Policy Letter for sanitation.23 There is a multiplicity of stakeholders in the sanitation sector, and there is no formal framework for inter-sectoral coordination. This can lead to duplication of efforts and inefficiency. Another challenge is the lack of a sustainable operating mechanism for coordination. Current coordination frameworks are often driven by international partners, ongoing programs, or both. As a result, when programs come to an end, or when partners have other priorities, management dialogues become rare, and consultation frameworks become less functional.

Institutional and programmatic framework

The sanitation sector has a cross-cutting impact, involving other institutions that are not directly part of the sector but that have responsibilities in the provision of public sanitation services. Consider, for example, the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for ensuring access to adequate, functional school toilets (see appendix 2).

The institutional framework is marked by a multitude of players and programs, with little coordination, overlapping responsibilities and sometimes redundant missions.

Figure 2: Overview of Institutions with Responsibilities for Sanitation in Senegal
Sanitation and flood management bring together a number of institutions with similar programs and missions (see appendix 2). The Ministry of Water and Sanitation is the institutional unit of the sector and was instituted by decree no. 2012-429 of April 4, 2012. The main aim of ministerial action is to ensure the coherence of visions, strategies, and priorities at global, regional, and local levels. To take full charge of the sanitation issue, a multitude of agencies and programs have been set up to improve service delivery.

Implementation of the sectoral policy to achieve these objectives is organized around four strategic orientations, which are in turn translated into four specific programs, two of which are more specifically dedicated to sanitation. The four programs are: Coordination and Administrative Management Program (Programme de Coordination et de Gestion Administrative or PCGA); Sanitation and Rainwater Management Program (Programme d’Assainissement et de Gestion des Eaux Pluviales or PAGEP);
Drinking Water Supply Program (Programme d’Approvisionnement en Eau Potable or PAEP); and Integrated Water Resources Management Program (Programme de Gestion Intégrée des Ressources en Eau or PAGIRE). The main organizations of the Ministry of Water and Sanitation involved in major sanitation programs are as follows:

- The Sanitation Directorate (Direction de l’Assainissement or DA) and its decentralized departments established by order no. 001542 of January 28, 2019. It is specifically dedicated to the sanitation sector and flood management.

- The National Sanitation Office is a public industrial and commercial establishment (EPIC) responsible for managing the sanitation sector. It was created by law no. 96-02 of February 22, 1996 and organized by decree 96-667 of August 7, 1996.

- The Department of Flood Prevention and Management (Direction de la Prévention et de la Gestion des Inondations or DPGI) is attached to the Ministry of Water and Sanitation by decree no. 2019-910 of July 8, 2019.

The large number of players involved in the implementation of sanitation programs fosters confusion and makes it difficult to rationalize and monitor expenditure. There is a real institutional challenge in the construction and management of sanitation facilities. This is all the more evident in flood management, which is still split between several structures. At this level, competition means that neither the execution nor the management of works is coordinated. All the organizations shown in Figure 3 support the development of drainage works. The works are then supposed to be centralized at the National Sanitation Office level for management and operation. However, the planning of financial resources does not follow this organizational structure, and ONAS is often absent from the construction process. On the one hand, the National Sanitation Office claims not to have received the necessary resources to manage the works carried out by other state agencies such as the Municipal Development Agency. On the other hand, Municipal Development Agency claims that it is working on the procedures for transferring these funds. In the meantime, these funds will remain unaccounted for in Municipal Development Agency’s accounts. According to the Urban Planning Directorate (Direction de l’Urbanisme), this aspect is an aggravating factor in dealing with the aftermath of flooding. To better understand the importance of collaboration between actors, notably the Ministry of Urban Planning and the agencies involved in the sanitation sector, within the framework of budgetary credibility, we will analyze below the case of Keur Massar (included in the informal settlements).
Flooding in Keur Massar began in 2005 with the densification of housing, which resulted in overcrowding and the obstruction of natural drainage channels. This, in turn, increased pressure on the water table and the reconstitution of former lakes (Lac de Mbeubeuss, for example). Keur Massar still lacks a sanitation system that meets the needs of the population, even though major projects have been carried out under the Ten-year flood prevention Program (Programme Decennal de Lutte contre les Innondations, or PDLI). According to the Director of Urban Planning, there are many causes for the lack of access to sanitation services in Keur Massar. Three of these are outlined below.

- People living in flood-prone areas requiring relocation of inhabitants and urban restructuring: This is a component of the Ten-year flood prevention Program, which has seen an average budget execution rate of barely 12 percent of the approved budget after ten years of implementation (2012-2020).

- The absence of land-use plans, which makes it difficult to build hydraulic structures and encourages the building of informal housing: This point calls for effective coordination between the technical departments responsible for urban planning, regional development, and sanitation as well as local authorities. This coordination would serve to draw up urban planning documents, map flood-prone areas and low-lying areas, and ensure integrated sanitation plans.

- The inconvenience caused by new roads being built above grade when the opposite should have been the case; this problem could be linked to the lack of sharing of information collected by the various institutions.

A Government Information Office analysis found that, within the framework of the Ten-year flood prevention Program, the players involved communicated little about the overall level of program implementation, their efforts being focused on the components assigned to them. However, coordination could have enabled an exhaustive assessment of the implementation of all program components—to minimize investment costs, fully implement budgets, and ensure access to sanitation systems for the population. In fact, in the Pikine localities, the lack of coordination on the Ten-year Flood Prevention Program has resulted in non-implementation of road construction in certain segments, thus under-spending on this component.

27 Ibid. The Government Information Office is an office attached to the Prime Minister's Office and centralizes information related to all state structures by collaborating with communication cells in all state structures.
Coordination and Consultation Framework

The lack of coordination of sanitation interventions and investments has a considerable impact on the planning of budgetary resources, resulting in a lack of harmonization between investment objectives and the priority needs of beneficiaries. This, combined with overlapping missions in the sanitation sector, hampers the efficiency of investments and the optimization of public spending. A 2018 evaluation of the PES carried out by the Ministry of the Economy and Planning revealed that the ineffectiveness of regulatory texts and laws and the poor harmonization of interventions between sector players inhibit public investment. In addition, the absence of coordinated approaches hampers communication and information received by localities and impacts the success of programs. During dialogue workshops organized with suburban communities and municipalities, municipal representatives testified to being confused about the missions of certain state delegates, given that the communities and municipalities receive little information on legal, programmatic, and budgetary provisions. The public is not aware of the responsibilities of the various sanitation agencies and ultimately do not know who to contact in the event of a problem.

For example, our communications with actors from informal settlements such as URBASAN-FSH and the town halls of Guédiawaye and Pikine, revealed that two state programs with similar objectives can have quite different approaches. Indeed, the residents of the Dakar suburbs consulted through the social audits carried out by IBP said they were more satisfied with the Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project and its results than with the Ten Cities Program. The difference in approach lies in the communication and inclusive approach adopted by the Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project from the outset, with its community component, whereas the Ten Cities Program has been less successful in this informational aspect. By way of illustration, PROGEP’s innovative action concerns the establishment of a community component right from the project’s inception. Indeed, local committees were institutionalized under Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project to facilitate communication, informed decision-making by stakeholders, and community ownership of the project.

Lastly, insufficient stakeholder coordination during program development results in incoherent strategies and an incomplete understanding of risks. For instance, sanitation programs often lack coordination with related sectors such as urban planning, hygiene, education, as seen in the regional express train project and some components of the Agency for Works and Road Management, in Pikine.

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and Keur Massar informal settlements residences. This contributes to recurrent sanitation issues due to the neglect of urban planning integration in program development. The consequences include the use of unsuitable technologies for soil permeability, unsustainable structures amid changing urbanization rates, and public facilities that don’t meet gender-specific needs.

In short, the challenge of limited coordination and consultation can be found across the board in all sectors, including the water and sanitation sector. The lack of harmonization of interventions in this sector is an issue that has persisted for decades. This has a detrimental effect on budgetary performance, and in some respects is a cause of budgetary credibility. These governance problems have an impact on budget execution and jeopardize the achievement of development objectives. This is especially the case when overlapping missions between structures lead to underspending or increase the opportunity costs of public investments. To optimize resources in the sanitation sector, it is essential to address these governance issues.
3. The Specific Challenges of Ensuring Sanitation Services in Informal Settlements

In Senegal, informal settlements, particularly in Pikine Est, grapple with inadequate sanitation services amidst rapid population growth. Overcrowded and precarious housing is evident in land-use planning, exacerbated by the annual rainy season that brings serious flooding due to the absence of drainage systems. These floods not only highlight the inefficiency of sanitation services but also underscore a decade-long failure to optimize substantial public spending allocated to this persistent problem.

Table 1: Flood-Related Problems in Dakar’s Informal Settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communes/neighborhoods de Guediawaye et Pikine</th>
<th>Difficulties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djeddah Thiaroye Kao</td>
<td>Flooding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of rainwater and wastewater drainage systems</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impacts on health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medina Gounass</td>
<td>Water-borne diseases</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-assistance by the authorities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ndiarème Limamoulaye</td>
<td>Flooding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of rainwater and wastewater drainage systems</td>
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<td>Impacts on health</td>
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<td>Wakhinane Nimzatt</td>
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<td>Yeumbeul Sud</td>
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</table>


For over two decades, the informal settlements of Dakar’s suburbs have been exposed to recurrent and increasingly severe flooding. The urban structure of these unplanned, irregular settlements makes them extremely vulnerable to climatic hazards, the most severe of which is flooding. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the inadequacy or non-existence of sewerage systems capable of facilitating the rapid evacuation of rainwater to outlets that are often occupied by poor populations in search of affordable...
land. The sanitation situation in the suburbs has also worsened over the years. Two of these problems are outlined below.

**Condition of toilets:** The Know Your City survey revealed that 99.9 percent (1,603) of the 1,604 houses in the commune of Pikine Est have a toilet or pit. However, 45 percent of these toilets are in average condition, and eight percent are in a very advanced state of disrepair. This encourages the proliferation of microbes and exposes people to infectious diseases.

**Sewage networks and wastewater situation:** Sanitation is a real problem in the commune of Pikine Est and other informal settlements. No neighborhood is connected to the ONAS primary network. This lack of domestic and public sanitation infrastructure is having a detrimental effect on residents.

Stagnant rainwater, combined with wastewater discharged by individuals on the streets, poses a risk of water contamination, especially in regions like Guédiawaye where the water table is exposed. The coexistence of communities with this contaminated water puts them at risk of microbial diseases and contributes to the deterioration of their living environment.

Despite government-initiated programs aimed at addressing sanitation issues in Dakar’s informal settlements, persistent challenges persist due to the involvement of numerous actors and institutions in the sector. Budgetary under-execution further exacerbates the problem, affecting service accessibility. For instance, the Ten-year Flood Prevention Program, intended to benefit the Dakar suburbs’ entire population, fell short of its objectives, especially in population relocation, experiencing an -88 percent budget underspending between 2012-2022. This shortfall left thousands in flooded housing, disproportionately impacting women. In Senegalese society, women traditionally oversee household affairs and are primary problem solvers. Consequently, women in informal settlements bear the brunt of limited access to sanitation services. Notably, women and girls spend more time at home, as highlighted by respondents to a survey conducted by Urbasen on flood risks, where 76 percent of respondents were women, which highlights the points that men are often absent during the day due to higher rates of formal employment.

Women are even more exposed to the health risks associated with the lack of sanitation infrastructure. On the one hand, the absence of infrastructures for the safe management of fecal sludge in markets, health districts, and schools means that residents of informal settlements have to resort to alternative methods such as manual emptying. As a result, the water table is infected by excrement, particularly during heavy flooding. Our community contacts in the informal settlements of Pikine and Guédiawaye have also reported several cases of sanitary infections resulting from poor and unsafe sanitation. Stagnant water often causes outbreaks of malaria due to the proliferation of mosquitoes. This was the case in Guédiawaye in 2022, where the construction of the Bus Rapide Transit exacerbated flooding.

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29 This information is drawn from the ten-year flood prevention report. It was presented by the Flood Management and Prevention Directorate during the workshop held on December 2022, to present the results of the ten-year flood prevention plan (2012-2022).
Lack of sanitation endangers women’s health and compromises menstrual hygiene management for young girls.\textsuperscript{30} The lack of basic sanitary infrastructure is one of the main reasons why girls drop out of school at puberty, as their dignity and safety are no longer assured. As menstruation is still a largely taboo subject, those responsible for designing sanitation systems—often men—do not take the needs of women and girls into consideration.

At the same time, according to a ANSD report for 2022, slightly more than half of Senegal’s 18 million people are women.\textsuperscript{31} The preponderance of women has clear economic implications for the country. Community dynamics in precarious suburban neighborhoods have encouraged the introduction of innovative financing mechanisms. For example, the Senegalese Federation of Residents (Fédération Sénégalaise des Habitants or FSH), 95 percent of whom are women, has set up a revolving fund.\textsuperscript{32} This fund enables suburban women to contribute to the fight against sanitation problems in their neighborhoods.

At the same time, women are poorly represented in decision-making bodies, which means they lack influence. They are not involved in the project design phase. What’s more, sanitation is considered too “technical” for them by many local players.\textsuperscript{33} In Senegal’s socio-cultural context, a number of norms work against women. However, experience has shown that they are sufficiently qualified to participate in the construction of their program, as they are more familiar with the needs expressed.

\textbf{“We are at the forefront of awareness raising on sanitation management and dealing directly with the consequences of poor sanitation”}.

-A woman, community worker in informal settlements

\textsuperscript{30} These words were collected during our interview with the Chief Medical Officer of Goudiawaye in April 2023.

\textsuperscript{31} National Agency for Statistics and Demography, 2022, POPULATION DIRECTORY OF SENEGAL. https://www.ansd.sn/sites/default/files/2023-04/ANNUAIRE%20POPULATION%202022_VF_DSDS.pdf

\textsuperscript{32} The Revolving Fund is fed thanks to the contribution of the FSH groups (at a rate of 10,000 per group) with the support of Urba monde and other technical and financial partners. The fund makes it possible to remove the constraints of the traditional financial system imposing usurious rates and the presentation of guarantees and to make financing accessible to residents of precarious neighborhoods. The loan is capped at $1 million per beneficiary.

\textsuperscript{33} Perceptions noted during SPARK’s activities with local stakeholders involved in the sanitation sector.
4. Conclusions and Recommendations

The authorities in charge of sanitation need more resources to ensure that the legal framework is strengthened and laws enforced. Despite the authorities’ efforts to provide people with a collective sanitation system, the rate of access to these facilities remains low for a number of reasons, including poor enforcement of regulations. A number of laws have been passed to create a regulatory base for the water and sanitation sector, but there are gaps in implementing these decrees, and the difficulty of enforcing rules and standards remains a major challenge for public decision-makers. To remedy the ineffectiveness of provisions relating to sanitation standards, the implementation of decrees needs to be accelerated, sanitation authorities need to be provided with the necessary human and financial resources, and incentives and mechanisms need to be put in place to encourage the population and the private sector to adopt the rules. Similarly, a strengthened legal framework, under the control of the players involved, would enable more coherent action to be taken, avoid overlapping interventions, and reduce the lack of budgetary performance noted in the sanitation sector.

The establishment of functional and sustainable consultation frameworks would have a positive impact on the system of governance and harmonization of approaches in the sanitation sector. The State, through the Ministry of Water and Sanitation, is responsible for defining and implementing policy in the sector. Nevertheless, competence in the sanitation sector is attributed to a multitude of players, including public, semi-public, and private structures. The institutional capacity for sanitation is dispersed, which is detrimental to its overall performance and in some respects a cause of poor budgetary credibility. Overlapping sanitation missions and a lack of coordination in the execution of work cause delays or non-execution of approved budgets, impacting the delivery of services. To create an enabling environment, the Government of Senegal needs to rationalize and optimize the current organization of sanitation management in Senegal, which is shared between several ministerial departments (from the Ministry of Urban Planning and Public Hygiene as well as the Ministry of the Environment and Development) and several directorates or offices. To improve budget credibility in the sanitation sector, a simplified and coherent governance architecture needs to be put in place, to avoid the redundancy of actions and the threat posed to each other by institutions in the implementation of sanitation projects, which undermine budget execution rates. Similarly, an inclusive and participatory approach is needed, taking into account all levels of competence and all sanitation-related issues, to make actions more accountable and effective.

The inclusion of women in decision-making bodies is necessary for better access to sanitation services. In informal settlements, the sanitation system is precarious and does not effectively meet the needs of the population, especially women, who are hardest hit by the lack of access to adequate sanitation services. However, despite their essential role, women are still subject to social and political discrimination. They are rarely included in public policymaking, and when they are, their participation is not effective. Women need to be included in the dialogue on national sanitation strategies and policies.
on an ongoing basis to ensure that decisions are adapted to their needs. They must also be integrated into local governance and public policy development processes to improve the performance and effectiveness of service delivery. The diversity of experience and skills of these women, especially at the community level, makes it possible to develop more inclusive and sustainable solutions to flooding. The involvement of women in the design and implementation of sanitation infrastructures is also necessary to take into account their specific needs, especially those of young girls in schools. In addition to separate toilets in schools, and in other public areas largely frequented by women, such as markets, sanitary kits must be included to enable them to safely manage their menstrual needs.
Appendices

1. Important Laws and Decrees in the Water and Sanitation Sector

- Law 2008-59 of September 24, 2008, on the organization of the Public Drinking Water and Sanitation Service (SEPA law) institutionalizes the principles of delegated management. It defines the roles and missions of the delegating authority and those of the service delegations (companies or offices or user associations - such as ONAS) responsible for assets and investments, service operation and monitoring-control of the delegates' actions. Lastly, the scope of application of the aforementioned law also covers the service's revenue and pricing principles.

- Law 2009-24 of July 8, 2009, on the sanitation code, which has three titles. The first defines the sanitation sector, covering both wastewater and rainwater. It also sets out the provisions relating to the preparation, adoption and approval of sanitation master plans for communes and local water and sanitation plans for rural areas, as well as their necessary articulation with the urban development master plan. It also sets out provisions relating to the direct or indirect discharge, flow, deposit, dumping, burial and immersion of liquid waste from domestic, hospital and industrial sources. The second title defines the general conditions governing the discharge of treated water into the natural environment, the reuse of treated water of domestic and industrial origin, the special regime for septage, the protection of public sewage systems against damage and the conditions for the establishment of an autonomous sanitation system. The third title deals with offences and penalties, identifying the agents and procedures for recording offences, and setting out penal provisions.

- The purpose of Decree 2011-245 of February 17, 2011 implementing the sanitation code is to specify the responsibilities of local authorities and state structures in liquid sanitation planning, to define the conditions for collecting and evacuating rainwater, and water of domestic, industrial or hospital origin, and to set out the terms and conditions for giving greater and more effective responsibility to local authorities, particularly communes, in the management of rainwater through an agreement with the delegate.

- Law no. 2013-10 of December 28, 2013, referred to in French as Portant Code Général des

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Collectivités Locales outlines that local authorities have certain prerogatives, although the sector remains a non-transferred authority. Local authorities represent the State at commune level and must be involved in all sanitation activities in their areas. Moreover, to maintain public hygiene, local authorities have a policing function.

- Standard Norms 17074 on non-collective structures validated in February 2021 determines the requirements for planning, design, construction, operation and maintenance of domestic wastewater treatment structures not connected to a sewer or stormwater drainage system.

- International standards such as ISO 30500 (dealing with innovative on-site sanitation facilities or innovative toilets) and ISO 24521 (management of on-site sanitation systems) have been introduced. ISO is a worldwide federation of national standards bodies, organized in various committees, in which Senegal is a member.

- Law 81-13 of March 4, 1981, on the Water Code and its implementing decree determine water use regimes and organize the preservation and qualitative protection of water resources.

- Law 83-71 of July 5, 1983, known in French as Portant Code de l’hygiène sets out general sanitary measures, namely: public hygiene rules, the fight against certain transmissible diseases, basic sanitation measures, provisions relating to foodstuffs and food stores, staff hygiene and beverage hygiene. In addition to these sanitary measures, an important part was reserved for the hygiene police, in which the powers of hygiene officers were defined, as well as the repression of infractions.

- Law 2001 - 01 of January 15, 2001 on the Environment Code and its implementing decree regulates classified installations, deals with water pollution, noise pollution, air pollution and unpleasant odors. It is particularly concerned with the preservation of surface water, groundwater, the territorial sea and the exclusive economic zone.

- Law no. 2008-43 of August 20, 2008, on the Town Planning Code provides for the approval of master development and town planning schemes by the region, and the preparation of master town

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38 Association Sénégalaise de Normalisation (ASN), Standard NS 17074 on non-collective works (2021).
planning schemes by the commune or rural community, which also have the initiative to undertake town planning operations, such as urban renewal, urban regrouping and concerted development zones.\textsuperscript{42}

2. Institutional Players with Responsibilities in the Sanitation Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional players in the on-site sanitation sub-sector</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Players</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Water and Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Planning</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Institutional players in the on-site sanitation sub-sector**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional Player</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ministry of Urban Renewal, Housing and the Living Environment</td>
<td>It is responsible for urban development. It grants subdivision and building permits. Within this Ministry, the Urban Planning Department ensures, during the examination of building permit applications, that the self-contained sewage system is in compliance with regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minister of Health and Social Action</td>
<td>He is responsible for the hygiene police, who intervene in the event of incidents affecting public health, such as dangerous effluent overflows, illicit wastewater discharges, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Minister for the Environment and Sustainable Development</td>
<td>It combats pollution of all kinds. Through the Department of the Environment and Classified Establishments (DEEC), it assists and supports industries in complying with wastewater discharge standards and informs them of existing financing opportunities. In practical terms, it is responsible for controlling industrial discharges up to the point of entry into the network; from the point of entry into the network, responsibility lies with ONAS. Given the cross-disciplinary nature of the environment, it monitors all the activities of the various departments and organizations involved in environmental matters, including sanitation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>He is responsible for hygiene and sanitation education at school.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Institutional players in the on-site sanitation sub-sector

| National Hygiene Service (SNH) | The SNH reports to the Minister of Health and Social Action. Its mission is to ensure that the Hygiene Code is applied, and it is involved in training operators to build individual sanitation facilities; supervising and implementing individual sanitation projects; defining and implementing awareness-raising and health education programs for populations and operators; and monitoring hygiene implementation indicators in health facilities. |

3. Similar Missions of the Main Players in the Sanitation Sector

Sanitation and flood management involve a number of institutions. Stakeholders in this sector include:

- Chairman
- Ministry of Water and Sanitation
- Ministry of Local Government
- Ministry of Infrastructure and Land Transport
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Community Development and Territorial Equity

In this way, each institution presents a set of players and projects for a better sanitation and flood management policy.

The Sanitation Department, which comes under the authority of the Ministry of Water and Sanitation, runs a number of projects, including the 10-Cities Program, piloted by National Sanitation Office, and the Ten-Year Flood Prevention Program, piloted by Directorate of Rainwater Prevention and Management. The 10 towns program aims to significantly improve the living and health conditions of populations in the project’s intervention zones. It covers the following localities: Dakar, Louga, Saint-Louis, Touba, Pikine, Rufisque, Matam, Tivaouane, Kaolack and Tambacounda.

The Ten-Year Flood Prevention Program has rehabilitated and built pumping stations, drainage infrastructure and infiltration basins in Dakar, Pikine, Guédiawaye, Saint-Louis, Mbour, Diourbel, Thiadiaye, Kaolack and Kaffrine. The financial forecasts for the Ten-Year Flood Management Program
(PDGI) show that out of the total budget of 766 billion FCFA planned for 2012-2022, 5.5 billion FCFA (01%) has been earmarked for “Land Use Planning” (Component 1), 277 billion FCFA (36%) for “Stormwater Management” (Component 2) and 483 billion FCFA (63%) for “Urban Restructuring and Population Rehousing” (Component 3).43

Within the Ministry responsible for regional development, the Municipal Development Agency is in charge of the Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project, whose areas of intervention are similar to those of the Ten-year flood prevention program, while the Agency for the Execution of Works of Public Interest against underemployment is responsible for the roads, public lighting and sanitation program in the Dakar region.

The main objectives of the Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project I are to reduce flood risk in the peri-urban area of Dakar (including Guédiawaye, Pikine, Keur Massar, etc.); to improve capacity for planning and implementing sustainable urban management practices; and to promote climate resilience in selected urban areas (Saint-Louis and Diamniadio). Stormwater Management and Climate Change Adaptation Project’s main components are: (i) construction and management of drainage works, (ii) community involvement in urban flood risk reduction and climate change adaptation, and (iii) project management, monitoring and evaluation.

Promovilles is a city modernization program. It consists of the construction of roads and related facilities to modernize all of Senegal’s cities. The program, which is being implemented by the Agency for Works and Road Management, comprises 04 components:

1. Development of road infrastructure and ancillary facilities: involving the construction of over 700 linear km of roadways, including stormwater drainage, public lighting and landscaping.

2. Developments and related measures: consist in the construction of basic social and economic facilities (rehabilitation/construction of schools, health centers, truck stations, multifunctional platforms for young people, community houses for women; capacity building).

3. Institutional support for local authorities includes capacity-building and equipment.

4. Program management.

43 This information is drawn from the ten-year flood prevention report. It was presented by the Flood Management and Prevention Directorate during the workshop held on December 2022, to present the results of the ten-year flood prevention plan (2012-2022).
The first phase of Promovilles covers the cities of Dakar, Saint Louis, Louga, Podor, NDioum, Matam, Thiès, Diourbel, Gossas, Kaolack, Tambacounda, Kédougou, Médina Gounass, Kolda and Sédhiou, before being extended to all other major cities in a second phase.

The Presidency, through the Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Major Works, is in charge of the major works on the Regional Express Train (TER) project. The implementation of the new TER infrastructure entails risks such as reduced soil infiltration capacity due to the loss of vegetation cover, increased storm runoff, higher flow velocities and the damming of natural water flow passages. To combat these risks, the TER project calls for: (i) the design of an appropriate drainage network capable of accommodating maximum flows; (ii) a drainage network specific to the construction phase and the non-obstruction of natural water flow routes; and (iii) the appropriate sizing of the drainage network to contain rainfall during the rainy season.
The International Budget Partnership (IBP) headquarters:
750 First Street NE, Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20002
Tel: +1 202 792 6833

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