

Major barriers to nutrition-related evidence-informed decision-making related to ultra-processed foods. The case of bouillon seasonings in Senegal

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About the Nutrition Research Facility

The Knowledge and Research for Nutrition project of the European Commission (2020-2026) aims to provide improved knowledge and evidence for policy and programme design, management and monitoring & evaluation in order to reach better nutrition outcomes.

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The Nutrition Research Facility provides expert advice to the European Commission and to the European Union (EU) Member States and Partner Countries.

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List of Acronyms

Acronym	Description
AFI	Agro-Food Industries
AMIS	Association of Millers of Senegal
APEC	Association for the Protection of the Environment and Consumers
BMGF	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
CICD	Cancerology International Centre of Dakar
CNERS	Senegalese national ethics committee
COSFAM	Senegalese Committee for Food Fortification with Micronutrients
COTEC	Technical Committee of Industrials
CPA	Corporate Political Activity
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CWG	Country Working Group
DDT	Directorate of Domestic Trade
DFAD	Directorate to Fight Against Diseases
DFN	Division of Food and Nutrition
DFNCD	Direction of the Fight against Non-Communicable Diseases
DIR	Directorate of Industrial Redeployment
DMCH	Direction of Mother and Child Health
DPRS	Direction of the Planification, Research and Statistics
DR-NCD	Diet-Related Non-Communicable Diseases
ECOCITOYEN	Environment, Consumption, Citizenship
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIDM	Evidence-Informed Decision-Making
FANUS	Federation of African Nutrition Societies
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FCFA	Francs CFA
FDA	Food and Drugs Administration
FRAT	Fortification Rapid Assessment Tool
FSCD	Food Safety Control Division
FTI	Food Technology Institute
GBFoods	Gallina Blanca Foods
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
HKI	Helen Keller International
ISN	International Society of Nephrology
LANAC	National Laboratory of Analysis and Control
LARTES-IFAN	Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Transformation Economiques et Sociales – Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire
LFR	Revised Finance Law
LMIC	Low- and Middle-Income Countries
MHSA	Ministry of Health and Social Action
MSG	Monosodium Glutamate
NASAN	New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition
NCCA	National Committee of the Codex Alimentarius
NCD	Non-Communicable Diseases
NCES	National Confederation of Employers of Senegal
NCND	National Council of Nutrition Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

NNDP	National Nutrition Development Policy
NRF	Nutrition Research Facility
PAP2A	Adjusted and Accelerated Priority Action Plan
PICE	Public Industrial and Commercial Establishment
PPP	Public-Private Partnerships
PSE	Plan Sénégal Emergent
SFNA	Senegalese Food and Nutrition Association
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SNA	Senegalese Normalisation Association
SPIS	Professional Union of Industries of Senegal
TFP	Technical and Financial Partners
UC Davis	University of California, Davis
UCAD	University of Cheick Anta Diop
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UISPT	Union of Industrial Service Providers and Traders of Senegal
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UPF	Ultra-Processed Foods
UPIC	Union of Service Providers, Industrialists, and Traders of Senegal
USD	United States Dollars
WHO	World Health Organisation

Executive summary

Background

This report builds on previous NRF deliverables on major barriers to nutrition-related evidence-informed decision-making (EIDM) related to ultra-processed foods (UPF). Following on from D1.3 “*Research protocol and Analysis of the concept of evidence-informed policy*” and D1.4 “*Protocol for the Review and analysis of national policies (sample) regarding nutrition*”, an in-depth qualitative analysis of policymaking processes of a case study was conducted in Senegal. It builds on findings from the mission reports *RS 22.001 Senegal, 01/03/2022-30/03/2022* and *RS 22.001 Senegal, 04/09/2023-30/11/2023*. The goal is to provide recommendations for facilitating nutrition-related EIDM policymaking. The study was implemented by the French agricultural research and cooperation organisation (CIRAD) and the French National Research Institute for Sustainable Development (IRD), in collaboration with the University of Cheick Anta Diop (UCAD).

In sub-Saharan Africa, the prevalence of diet-related non-communicable diseases (DR-NCDs) is rising, and most policies addressing this issue prioritise consumer choice over regulation. UPF manufacturers play an important role in shaping food environments and habits of populations. Public nutrition-related corporate political activities (CPAs) have been documented globally, but there is a knowledge gap on CPAs in Western Africa, where multi-stakeholder consultations and development actors can play a significant role in shaping nutrition policy.

Aims and hypotheses

This study investigates policy-making processes regarding the regulation of bouillon seasonings in Senegal. In Senegal, bouillons are widely consumed sodium-rich UPFs, while the population faces a high prevalence of hypertension. In June 2021, a health-based 25% tax on bouillons was proposed, but a 15% tax was enacted in July 2021. Since 2018, a Ministry of Industry-led working group facilitated by an international NGO (Helen Keller International, HKI) and involving major bouillon manufacturers as well as other actors (for example, consumer associations and nutritionists) generates evidence to evaluate needs for mandatory multi-fortification of bouillons. In addition to the excise 15% tax policy on bouillon seasonings of 2021, the exploratory fieldwork (March 2022) and subsequent main fieldwork (September to November 2023) led to include two other policy actions relevant to the study: the *2016 normalisation of the bouillon composition commercialised in Senegal* and the ongoing debate (as of 2024) on the *mandatory multi-fortification of mass-produced industrial bouillon seasonings in Senegal*.

Box 1. Working hypotheses of the case study

- **Hypothesis 1:** *The institutional and political landscape in Senegal provides an enabling environment for the food industry's corporate political activities.*
- **Hypothesis 2:** *Producers of UPFs mobilise a diversity of practices to influence public nutrition policies according to their commercial interests.*
- **Hypothesis 3:** *Scientific evidence is an important issue of the policy debate on bouillons in Senegal*

Additionally, this analysis aims to provide recommendations for improved use of scientific evidence in the decision-making process, in a context where nutrition policies have an impact on the commercial interests of

major food-related firms and where development actors, such as donors, have a significant influence within the nutrition policy landscape.

Methods

The fieldwork was conducted for 3 months in Dakar, Senegal from the 4/9/2023 to 30/11/2023 by AW (lead author). It focused on collecting data to shed light on our three hypotheses above. Data collection consisted of three components:

- i. *Stakeholder interviews*- 48 individual interviews, including 23 individual interviews with key stakeholders pre-identified during the exploratory fieldwork conducted by AW (1-31/3/2022) and 25 key stakeholders identified following the snowball method during the course of fieldwork in 2022;
- ii. *Multi-stakeholder observations*- 4 non-participative observations in 4 relevant multi-stakeholder consultations; and
- iii. *Documentary analysis*- the collection of 9 institutional documents, 22 internal documents from various organisations/institutions, one PowerPoint contribution to a scientific event and 5 media documents.

These data were analysed using a political science-adapted CPA framework and process-tracing methodology. Data were used to map the chronology of the policy, map the organisational and institutional landscape of the organisations and institutions related to the policy, and understand the definition and use of scientific evidence in the policy process. To maintain anonymity of the results, all participants were reported as female.

Results

Five emerging themes were identified:

Theme 1: A controversy surrounding bouillon seasonings through analysis of online media press

The analysis of media coverage on the issue of bouillons in Senegal reveals growing criticism highlighting the health, economic, and cultural impacts of industrial bouillons. While bouillon manufacturers present a narrative around the safety of their products and their cultural integration, critical voices, particularly from nutritionists and civil society organisations (CSOs), emphasise the dangers of excessive bouillon consumption on public health, the long-term economic cost of unhealthy dietary practices, and the ongoing transformation of Senegalese culinary traditions. By promoting local alternatives and healthy eating habits, many articles support the idea of a more self-sufficient food model better suited to Senegal's health and cultural realities.

Theme 2: A fragmented governance in the management of industrial foods like bouillon seasonings

In Senegal, the regulation of food environments and food products faces legislative and financial gaps, as well as weak coordination between ministries. Consequently, regulatory measures remain limited in addressing public health challenges related to processed food products. In this context, the institutional environment and public policy processes concerning bouillons are primarily driven by the Ministries of Industry, Trade, and Finance, which maintain close ties with agri-food industries (AFIs). The Ministry of Health appears less involved, with internal health and nutrition priorities that do not focus on bouillons. This dynamic tends to centre public policy debates around the industrial and economic agendas of AFIs.

Theme 3: A range of strategies to defend bouillons from regulation

The collaborative approach between the Senegalese state and AFIs reflects a dynamic of compromise, aiming to involve industry players in implementing nutritional standards while offering them incentives. This cooperation tends to favour large corporations, creating tensions with smaller businesses in the private sector. Industrial actors, organised within COTEC (Technical Committee of Industrials), which is a private sector forum established in response to regulation of bouillon seasonings, have employed different strategies to protect their interests,

notably contesting the tax on bouillons, which resulted in a lowering from 25% to 15% rate. While their efforts have secured some fiscal flexibility, their ability to influence regulations remains constrained by the government's financial needs. The strategies of some industrial players, combining scientific arguments with legal mobilisations, expose a tension between corporate economic objectives and public health imperatives. This highlights the importance of state regulation to oversee private sector practices and mitigate risks to consumer health. Although authorities promote an enabling environment for AFIs to address nutritional challenges, they struggle to implement effective regulations that ensure economic interests do not outweigh public health priorities.

Theme 4: The role of CSOs in public nutrition policies: a two-tier engagement

The issue of bouillon fortification in Senegal highlights tensions among various stakeholders, including public health professionals, consumer associations, and AFIs supported by NGOs, like Helen Keller International (HKI). HKI advocates for a pragmatic approach that combines public health goals with economic development, while others, particularly consumer associations, express concerns about the health impacts and effectiveness of bouillon fortification as a strategy to combat malnutrition. These differing perspectives shape public policy development and underscore the challenges of involving the private sector, while balancing industrial innovation with the preservation of traditional dietary practices. The forum initiated by HKI, exemplifies this dynamic by shifting the debate from public institutions to a space where the NGO sets the rules, thereby promoting its own framework for discussion. However, this setup raises concerns about conflicts of interest and transparency, particularly due to the direct involvement of industrial players in the fortification process, which could compromise the objectivity of decisions. Lastly, while consumer associations participate in these discussions, they face challenges, such as limited resources and internal divisions, which hinder their influence on the development of nutritional policies.

Theme 5: Scientific knowledge; difficulties in producing in-country scientific knowledge on bouillon seasonings

The debates surrounding food regulation in Senegal expose significant scientific controversies and challenges to national sovereignty in research. Tensions between researchers, the food industry, and policymakers highlight the complexities of developing nutrition policies grounded in robust scientific evidence. The lack of industry transparency (due to trade secrets), coupled with the limited capacities of public institutions, hampers the production of precise recommendations, thereby obstructing efforts to improve public health through stronger food regulation. Moreover, the decision to outsource urine sample analyses to foreign laboratories in the context of a study on levels of sodium intake, underscores the need to strengthen Senegal's technical and financial research capabilities, reducing dependence on external entities. These issues emphasise the importance of fostering transparent, nationally-driven research processes that align scientific rigour with public interest, while ensuring that national sovereignty is preserved.

Conclusion

This study explores the design process of regulations related to UPFs in Senegal to improve evidence production and its use in policymaking for sustainable public health improvement. The focus on bouillons was chosen as a case study due to their significant consumption and relevance in the context of UPFs in Senegal. This allows us to conduct a more detailed analysis and derive specific insights than if we had considered UPFs in general. However, we recognise the importance of expanding these findings to the broader UPF category. By selecting bouillon seasonings, we aimed to establish a foundational understanding which can then be extrapolated to other UPFs categories.

Findings suggest that the debate on bouillons in Senegal highlights tensions between economic interests, public health, and regulation. While industries and NGOs like HKI support fortification solutions, regulation remains under ministries closely linked to the food industry, side-lining health concerns. This imbalance impedes stronger

policies focused on consumer health. Lobbying by industries, like reducing the bouillon tax, reflects the tension between economic and health priorities. The fortification debate also highlights the challenge of balancing industrial innovation with traditional food practices.

Implications/recommendations for EIDM

Using public action on bouillons in Senegal as a case study, this research aimed to analyse how scientific knowledge is utilised in policy processes. The study's findings lead to the following policy recommendations for governments to strengthen the research-policy interface and better integrate existing scientific knowledge and controversies into policymaking processes:

1. **Enhance the role of health ministries in regulation:** Recognise the critical role of health ministries and services addressing nutrition-related NCDs in regulating food environments and UPFs, like bouillons.
1. **Strengthen robust and coherent regulations:** Advocate for strict regulatory frameworks governing AFIs that produce UPFs, particularly concerning sodium content (as opposed to focusing only on salt content, as some additives contain sodium). Ensure nutritional standards are not subordinate to AFIs' economic goals by implementing conflict-of-interest management frameworks.
2. **Promote transparency and stakeholder consultation:** Ensure transparency and inclusive consultation of nutrition stakeholders in political decision-making processes involving health and nutrition issues. Consumer associations and researchers are key actors in fostering and expanding public debate on health and nutrition issues in public policy, including those managed by ministries other than health.
3. **Support local research and scientific sovereignty:** Assert the importance of scientific sovereignty for Global South countries in contexts with diverse development actors, donors, and international researchers. North-South scientific partnerships must be balanced to foster such sovereignty. This could also encompass building in-country capacity to conduct nutritional surveillance.
4. **Encourage local innovation and alternatives:** Considering increasing global emphasis on food sovereignty, support initiatives leveraging local food resources to combat malnutrition. Development partners can play a crucial role by assisting local Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) in producing alternatives to UPFs, like industrial bouillons, from multinational corporations, while avoiding nutri-washing of mass-produced UPFs.
5. **Promote large-scale awareness campaigns:** Launch extensive public awareness campaigns on the risks of NCDs linked to excessive sodium consumption, explicitly targeting high-sodium foods like industrial bouillons. These campaigns should encourage more balanced and diverse dietary practices.

By implementing these recommendations, government will need to engage multiple stakeholders to address the multifaceted challenges surrounding bouillons in Senegal and work towards better alignment between public health priorities and economic development goals.

Introduction

More than 2-billion people suffer from malnutrition globally and this condition predominantly affects populations in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Progress has been made in addressing undernutrition, but the prevalence of diet-related non-communicable diseases (DR-NCDs) has been increasing during the past two decades. Diseases as diabetes and hypertension are spreading among several adult populations in African countries. For instance, the 2021 Global Nutrition Report states that more than a quarter of the adult population suffer from hypertension in western Africa (GNR, 2021). Increasing prevalence of DR-NCDs on the continent has been linked to unhealthy food habits, including consumption of ultra-processed foods (UPFs) (Popkin et al., 2012; Reardon et al., 2021). There is now evidence that UPF manufacturers play an important role in shaping food environments and habits of populations, including by commercial aggressive marketing practices (Holdsworth et al., 2019; Holdsworth and Landais, 2019; Nestle and Ludwig, 2010). In sub-Saharan Africa, a lack of policies addressing DR-NCDs has been pointed out (Azeez, 2022). When policies do tackle this issue, they tend to be unambitious due to a persistent underlying will to preserve freedom of consumers' choices (Popkin et al., 2020). Research on corporate political activities (CPAs) to influence policy-making processes has been documented in different settings and policy domains, but there is a knowledge gap on CPAs in nutrition policies and in Western Africa.

The research study on “major barriers to nutrition-related evidence informed decision-making (EIDM) related to UPFs” aims to contribute to filling the research gap by analysing the participation of producers of UPFs in public nutrition policy processes – among other stakeholders involved in the processes – and especially their use of research, in the content of DR-NCD policies in sub-Saharan Africa. The study is expected to provide insights on the extent to which scientific evidence is truly used in policy-making processes in relation to nutrition (which evidence, how it is used, by whom and for what purpose)¹, to explore food industry CPAs to influence the content of policies targeting UPFs.

The study investigates the political environment surrounding regulations of bouillon seasonings for understanding how CPA of UPF manufacturers manifests in Senegal. Bouillons are widely consumed sodium-dense UPFs in Senegal, while the population faces a high prevalence of hypertension. These products have been the subject of three main policy processes that are inter-related and will be the focus of this study: **i) a normalisation policy** in 2016, which consisted of standardising the composition and labelling of bouillons sold in Senegal and resulted in a mandatory standard limiting the salt content in these products to 55%; **ii) the 2021 taxation policy on bouillon cubes**, which was initially intended to impose a health-based 25% tax on imported and locally produced bouillon (regardless of its composition) and ended-up with a 15% tax without health concerns claim in the policy document; **iii) the ongoing debate on mandatory multi-fortification of bouillon cubes** which has been taking place since 2006 within the Senegalese Committee for Food Fortification with Micronutrients (COSFAM), a Committee established to discuss the feasibility of mandatory fortification for five candidate food vehicles (cooking oil, sugar, wheat flour, tomato paste, and bouillon).

A research protocol for this study has already been developed (deliverable 2.2.2. - Research protocol on "Study on major barriers to nutrition-related evidence-informed decision-making related to ultra-processed foods")², as well as one month of exploratory fieldwork for the assessment of the environment (1-31/3/2022).

¹ The importance to develop policies that are evidence informed is particularly stressed in the field of nutrition. See Deliverable 2.2.2

² See at : https://www.nutrition-research-facility.eu/IMG/pdf/pr2_annex_8_d1.3_final_approved.pdf

Research questions

The topic of the research study emerged from discussion with the EC on the need to provide a detailed analysis of the use of evidence in policymaking processes based on a concrete case study. The research study is a continuation of two previous NRF deliverables, on the concept of evidence informed decision making and the analysis of sample of national policies in relation to nutrition³. It aims to explore the following questions:

- i. What kind of research knowledge has been used in the design of DR-NCDs policies, how and by whom?
- ii. What were the practices mobilised by producers of ultra-processed food and beverages (UPFs) within policy debates and for the development and content of DR-NCDs policies?
- iii. How do producers of UPFs use scientific knowledge in their practices?

Aims and hypotheses

This study investigates policy-making processes regarding the regulation of bouillon seasonings in Senegal. Bouillons are widely consumed sodium-dense UPFs in Senegal in the context of the population experiencing a high prevalence of hypertension. An estimated 94% of households use them daily (HKI & Groundwork, 2024), with quantities consumed between 5.5-21g per day, equivalent to 52-224% of daily recommended sodium intake (Ndao Diao et al., 2023). In June 2021, a health-based 25% tax on bouillons was proposed, but a 15% tax without health concerns claim on the policy document was enacted in July 2021. Since 2018, a Ministry of Industry-led working group facilitated by HKI and involving major bouillon manufacturers, as well as other actors (for example consumer associations and nutritionists), generates evidence to evaluate needs for mandatory multi-fortification of bouillons. In addition to the excise 15% tax policy on bouillon seasonings of 2021, the exploratory fieldwork (March 2022) and subsequent main fieldwork (September to November 2023) of this study led to include two further relevant policy actions: the *2016 normalisation of the bouillon composition commercialised in Senegal* and the ongoing debate (as of 2024) on the *mandatory multi-fortification of mass-produced industrial bouillon seasonings in Senegal*.

Additionally, this analysis aims to enable the NRF to provide recommendations for improved use of scientific evidence in the decision-making process, in a context where nutrition policies have an impact on the commercial interests of major food-related firms and where some development actors, such as donors, have a significant influence within the nutrition policy landscape.

Box 1. Working hypotheses of the case study

- **Hypothesis 1:** *The institutional and political landscape in Senegal provides an enabling environment for the food industry's corporate political activities.*
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- **Hypothesis 3:** *Scientific evidence is an important issue of the policy debate on bouillons in Senegal*

³ NRF deliverable 22.001 "Study EIDM on UPFs" and NRF deliverable 21.007 "How effective are laws and regulations in improving food safety and quality?"

The study addresses these questions and hypotheses by highlighting how the question of bouillons is discussed in public debate, how the Senegalese government is organised to manage and frame DR-NCDs, and how the food industry organises itself and its relationships with other stakeholders to influence projects of policies that target bouillons.

Methodology

i. Ethical approval

Prior to conducting the fieldwork and with the support of our collaborators, the Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Transformations Economiques et Sociales – Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (LARTES-IFAN) of the University of Cheick Anta Diop (UCAD), the research protocol was submitted to the Senegalese national ethics committee (CNERS) on the 06/06/2023 and was approved on the 24/08/2023 (cf. Annex 1: Ethics approval letter of the research protocol by the CNERS).

Fieldwork was conducted for 3 months in Dakar, Senegal from the 4/9/2023 to 30/11/2023 by AW (lead author). It focused on collecting data to shed light on our three-case study-oriented operational hypotheses set before the fieldwork. Data collection consisted of three components:

1. *Stakeholder interviews*- 48 individual interviews, including 23 individual interviews with key stakeholders pre-identified during the exploratory fieldwork conducted by AW from the 1-31/3/2022 and 25 key stakeholders identified following the snowball method during the course of the fieldwork in 2022;
2. *Multi-stakeholder observations*- 4 non-participative observations in 4 relevant multi-stakeholder consultations; and
3. *Documentary analysis*- the collection of 9 institutional documents, 22 internal documents from various organisations/institutions, one PowerPoint contribution to a scientific event and 5 media documents

The key conclusions were drawn through an iterative process of organizing the data collected through these three methods into major themes, facilitated by the use of Nvivo software for comprehensive analysis of verbatim transcripts, observation notes and documentary materials. This approach to integrating scientific findings from different sources to test emerging hypotheses is the standard approach used in political science (ex: Surel., 2015).

ii. Stakeholder interviews

Data collection

Six categories of stakeholders were interviewed as relevant informants for this research study. These categories are an important part of the public debate surrounding issues related to industrial food, either as stakeholders in the definition processes of public regulations on these products, evaluation of food safety risks, production of recommendations aimed to inform the decision-making process, defense of social, health or commercial interests or as observers/contributors that provide information feeding the public debate. Following the recommendation of Hennink et Kaiser (2022), the target sample size ranged between 9-17 stakeholders per category, until data triangulation saturation point. As this is a qualitative study, access to stakeholders and/or sample sizes could not be guaranteed, and the choice of following the snowball method for the building of the sample, the number of interviews and stakeholders aimed per category was not considered rigidly and depended on the opportunities that emerged in the field.

LARTES-UCAD played a crucial role in facilitating meetings with the selected stakeholders. A total of 48 individual interviews (Table 1) were conducted during the fieldwork⁴. Of these, 29 were audio-recorded and 19 involved note taking instead of audio-recording. The decision to record required the participant's approval, which was requested through the sharing of the consent form (cf. Annex 2: Individual interview consent form) at the beginning of the interview. Each participant was contacted by email and received a formal letter of invitation (cf. Annex 3: Individual interview invitation letter). Interviews ranged from 23-159 minutes (average 101 minutes) and depended on the availability of the participant.

The coding used in the following table emerge from a French translation as the study was initially conducted in French.

Table 1: Distribution (%) per category of stakeholders (n=48)

Category of stakeholder	n	Code
Academic/scientist	14	S
Non-governmental organisation (NGO)	8	O
Private sector	7	SP
Decision maker	12	D
Donor	3	B
Consumer organisation	4	A

A tablet (*iPad*) was used as a support during the interviews (i.e. semi-directed interview guide adapted to each stakeholder categories) rather than a laptop to be more discreet and enable more natural exchanges between interviewer and interviewees. Audio recording was undertaken using the voice recorder “*Olympus WS-852 4Go*”. All audio-recorded interviews were transcribed. Data from interviews that were not audio-recorded were noted by hand on the tablet (using a *Logitech* keypad for improved note-taking efficiency). Note-taking was made as exhaustively as possible, including verbatim, and the interviewer reviewed the notes directly after the end of the interview to fill any gaps. During the interview, audio-recorded or not, if some key points needed to be clarified, the interviewer asked the interviewee to rephrase and/or elaborate.

Individual interviews were conducted one-on-one, which was guaranteed by the interviewer’s request to conduct the interview in an isolated room and behind closed doors to avoid any potential risk of overhearing to preserve the confidentiality of the interviews. Aside from the necessity to abide by the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and ethics approval of the study by the CNERS, and due to the sensitive research topic explored in this study, ensuring a confidential context aimed to reinforce an environment in which the interviewee felt they could share their insights freely.

Interview guides adapted to each of the stakeholder categories were used as support for the individual interviews (cf. Annex 4: Interview guides for each stakeholder category).

The interviews were coded to ensure anonymity (cf. Annex 5: detailed coding of interviews per stakeholder category). The identity of the participants remains confidential with respect to the GDPR and ethics approval of the study by the CNERS.

⁴ To these 48 interviews can be added the 10 informal interviews conducted during the exploratory fieldwork (March 2022), of which the purpose was to have a better understanding of the context and feasibility of the study.

Data analysis

Data were categorised into themes defined before the fieldwork, and the themes evolved iteratively during the analysis. Particular attention was given to the links, either past or present, of the participants with one or more bouillon-related agri-food industries. For instance, these connections could manifest as having held a position within one of these companies or participating in their activities as a shareholder.

Analysis of the content of semi-structured interviews

1. *Identification of information related to the spatio-temporal dimension of the three political processes targeting bouillon seasonings in Senegal, the stakeholders involved in these discussions, and power dynamics:* Extracting information to trace the chronological trajectory of nutritional policies regarding the taxation and mandatory fortification of bouillons seasonings, the institutional fora where formal discussions took place, and the fora where informal discussions occurred. Also, interest in understanding the participants' perception of the building of institutional debates fora and the definition process of nutritional interventions (especially the taxation of bouillon seasonings and their mandatory fortification), their operational mechanisms, and the perception of these processes by other actors. Analysis of the actors mentioned as participating in the discussions, their perceived implications and roles, the timing of their participation, and any information that can provide insights into the power dynamics among various stakeholders, situated in time.
2. *Framing of DR-NCDs issues, especially those regarding the excessive consumption of unhealthy foods:* Emphasis on how participants frame these nutritional questions and their perception of the institutional framing of these issues or the framing proposed by other actors. Particular interest in their personal perception of desired strategies to address NCDs related to the excessive consumption of industrially produced foods, including the issues related to bouillon consumption in Senegal. Additionally, perceptions of the approaches, positions, and roles of other actors, as well as the nutritional intervention of mandatory fortification of industrial foods, particularly bouillon seasonings.
3. *Perception of the use of scientific knowledge in decision-making processes related to nutrition:* Analysis of the personal approach and the perception of other actors regarding the utilisation of scientific knowledge in decision-making processes in public nutrition. This includes examining the presence and use of institutional mechanisms that either facilitate or hinder this utilisation, the criteria for selecting scientific knowledge, the independence of scientific input, and how decision-makers view science as a political tool.
4. *Involvement of the bouillon seasonings food industries in the definition of public nutrition policies in Senegal:* Analysis of the personal approach and the perception of other actors regarding the involvement of the private sector, particularly the industrial sector, in decision-making processes related to public health nutrition. This involves exploring the public debate on bouillon consumption in Senegal and the option of mandatory fortification of industrial foods.

iii. Multi-stakeholder observations

Data collection

Four non-participative observations were conducted during multi-stakeholder consultations (Table 2: *Multi-stakeholder non-participative observations*). Observations were not audio-recorded, instead detailed written notes were taken by the lead author (AW) of each event. With the exception of the FANUS conference, to which participation was based on open subscription to the event, selection of the consultations depended on the snowball method and ability to be invited to attend. In addition to the collect of verbatim, the note taking during

non-participative observations was supported by a predefined guide (Annex 6: Guide for non-participative observations):

Table 2: Multi-stakeholder non-participative observations (n=4)

Multi-stakeholder non-participative observations	Setting	Date	Type of event
1.National Working Group on Fortification of Bouillon seasonings	Hotel, Dakar	12/10/2023	Institutionalised
2.National committee of the Codex Alimentarius X Nestlé Senegal consultation at the Nestlé manufacture	Pikine	20/10/2023	Institutionalised
3.Multi-stakeholder consultation of the Direction of the Fight against Non-Communicable Diseases of the Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health, Dakar	31/10/2023	Non-institutionalised
4.The Federation of African Nutrition Societies (FANUS) 5th Conference	King Fahd Palace, Dakar	19/11/2023 - 24/11/2023	Non-institutionalised

Two of the four non-participative observations were institutionalised (Table 2) as their purpose was to reunite institutional actors as part of the definition of public nutrition policies. Although the National Codex Alimentarius Committee (NCCA) Nestlé workshop reunited members of the NCCA with Nestlé employees, this consultation was not considered as institutionalised as its official motive was to reinstate Nestlé's compliance with Senegalese food safety regulations towards NCCA members. Finally, the FANUS conference (reunited the main scientific actors, although statutory members made appearances (e.g. Ministry of Health during the plenary session).

Data analysis

The objective of non-participant observations was to identify how discussions are conducted, particularly regarding the chosen fora for these discussions, and the relationships among various stakeholders involved in policies targeting NCDs related to nutrition within these discussions. This includes the presence of invited and non-invited actors, along with ratios per actor types. The analysis aims to uncover power dynamics, alliances or oppositions among actor groups, the dominant and parallel framing of the debated issue, and to understand the issues at stake in the discussion (topics discussed, consensus, dissensus, etc.). Additionally, analysis explored the role of scientific knowledge during the debate (brought by whom, to argue on which topic, to what extent it is discussed, it orientates the discussion, etc.).

Analysis of the multi-stakeholder consultations' content:

1. *Power dynamics, alliances, and oppositions:* Analysis of actor ratios per categories (e.g. the number of representatives from the scientific sphere, consumer associations, or the industrial private sector), facilitation dynamic, identification of absent actor categories, group dynamics in terms of the tone of the debate, active listening or lack thereof to interlocutors' interventions, support or association of ideas, and voting responses (if applicable).
2. *Framing of the issue:* Analysis of the formulation of ideas, description of social, health, and economic issues, identification of the presence or absence of certain issues, association of ideas among stakeholders, emphasis or neglect of certain dimensions of the debate, the space where the debate takes place, the choice of its presidency, the predetermined structure of the debate, and any potential conflicts and controversies.
3. *The role of scientific evidence:* Analysis of the mention of scientific knowledge within the arguments of the actors, how it influences the debate or not, the nature of the knowledge submitted to the consultation, how they are translated and by which actors, the presence or absence of actors from the

scientific sphere, the speaking time, and their ability to contribute directly to the decision-making process.

A narrative summary of the multi-stakeholder observations is summarised in Annex 9.

iv. Documentary analysis

Data collection

A total of 37 documents were shared by key stakeholders during the data collection fieldwork. The documents were either shared during the interviews or mentioned and identified later-on by the main researcher (AW). This included 9 institutional documents, 22 internal documents from various organisations/institutions, 1 PowerPoint contribution to a scientific event and 5 media documents. (for further details, cf. Annex 7: Documentary analysis: documents shared by stakeholders during the fieldwork). The documents were collected until saturation was reached during the interviews.

Data analysis

The analytical approach of the grey literature depended on the type of document. We identified three types of grey literature relevant to our research study: official documents of Senegalese governmental agencies or international organisations related to nutrition issues; documents published by the private companies or organisations related to nutrition issues; and media articles related to the debate on bouillon seasonings and its impact on health, social norms and economic development.

1. Official documents of Senegalese governmental agencies or international organisations related to nutrition issues:

The analysis of this documentary corpus had a triple objective: (i) to characterise the institutional treatment of NCDs related to nutrition within Senegalese public policies (institutional organisation for managing these issues and framing of the issue) or within documents of international organisations that produce recommendations in managing these issues; (ii) To identify the actors considered stakeholders in the fight against malnutrition and the role attributed to them, especially for actors in the private sector; and (iii) to assess the role of scientific knowledge in defining recommendations for policies or the formulation of nutritional policies in Senegal (types of knowledge mobilised, how, and by whom). A final step involves identifying temporal markers to inform the chronology of the process of the policy on the taxation of bouillon seasonings, their normalisation and their candidacy reintroduction for mandatory fortification with multiple micronutrients. To achieve this, the documents were analysed to extract which nutrition-related NCDs are addressed, how they are framed, whether scientific knowledge is mobilised, which ones and in what way, and which actors are associated with the causes, consequences, or solutions to these problems. Finally, all elements informing the chronology of public policies of interest were extracted. This analysis is summarised in more detail in Table 3.

Table 3: Analysis method of different types of documents

Type of documents	Analysis method of documents
1. Official documents of Senegalese governmental agencies or international organisations related to nutrition issues	• <i>Identification of references to DR-NCDs</i>: analysis of framing of these issues; documents are coded based on the type of DR- NCD they refer to and how the causes, consequences, and solutions to these are framed. ○ <i>Identification of references to scientific evidence</i>: analysis of the presence or absence of scientific evidence (such as a causal relationship between excessive consumption of a food and DR-NCDs), the presence of scientific references, and in cases where applicable, the nature and source of the cited scientific knowledge.
2. Documents published by the private companies or	

organisations related to nutrition issues:	○ <i>Identification of references to actors as stakeholders in nutritional issues</i>: analysis of the presence or absence of mentioning of types of actors to study the framing of this role regarding solutions or designate their responsibility regarding the causes or consequences of DR-NCDs issues. Special attention is given to extracting elements that establish a connection between the organisation or company and stakeholders in the policy processes of taxation, normalisation and mandatory fortification of bouillon seasonings in Senegal, especially within activity reports. ○ <i>Identification of elements informing the chronology</i> of the process of taxing bouillon seasonings and the agenda for their mandatory fortification with multiple micronutrients.
3. Media articles related to the debate on bouillon seasonings and its impact on health, social norms and economic development	• <i>Links between bouillon seasonings and public health</i>: Articles addressing the health risks or benefits associated with bouillon consumption fall under this category. For example, whether bouillon consumption poses a health risk due to their high sodium content or serve as a tool to address micronutrient deficiencies through the mandatory use of iodised fortified salt. • <i>Links between bouillon seasonings and cultural practices</i>: Articles discussing the merits or drawbacks of bouillon consumption in Senegal with regard to social norms (in particular, cooking practices) belong to this category. For instance, whether bouillon use empowers women by reducing time spent in the kitchen or contributes to the degradation of traditional Senegalese culinary practices. • <i>Links between bouillon seasonings and the economy</i>: Articles discussing the benefits or drawbacks of bouillon consumption for economic development in Senegal are categorised here. For example, whether Dakar-based bouillon manufactures contribute to job creation and economic growth or if the widespread consumption negatively affects local spice producers who have been replaced by mass-produced industrial bouillon seasonings.

2. Documents published by the private companies or organisations related to nutrition issues:

The objectives of the analysis of this corpus of grey literature were similar to those above. The focus was primarily on analysing the framing of issues related to DR-NCDs, particularly those resulting from excessive consumption of certain foods, the actors considered stakeholders and how they were called upon to be involved, and the use of scientific knowledge to support their statements. This corpus could also provide further information on the presence of links between private organisations and others (such as university research centres or public health agencies), as well as the stance they take during the process of policies of interest. This analysis is summarised in more detail in Table 3.

3. Media articles related to the debate on bouillon seasonings and its impact on health, social norms and economic development

The objective of analysing media articles was to characterise the trajectory of the public debate on bouillon seasonings in Senegal and identify the actors who participated in the public debate and the framing of the issue. To achieve this, the analysis proceeded in three steps: chronological classification of articles based on the publication date, thematic classification based on the overall framing of the press article regarding bouillon seasonings associated issues, and finally, identification of references to scientific knowledge. In turn, understanding the mediatic treatment of issues related to bouillon seasonings consumption enables the controversy surrounding those products to be deconstructed while providing information on the emergence of the problematic in political arenas. Before conducting the fieldwork, a total of 186 press articles had already been collected for the period of January 2011 to July 2023 (after extraction of 27 duplicates⁵). After a screening

⁵ The extraction of duplicate articles is necessary because some websites repost articles from different news websites. The selection of the source to be retained was based on the publication date, with a preference for the most recent ones.

of the online press, no press articles about bouillons in Senegal were identified prior to 2011. Among these, 100 articles (53.8%) originated from 8 of the most frequently visited press websites in Senegal⁶ (online press, most visited sites = 100), and 2 of the most visited websites in Senegal⁷ did not publish any articles on the topic of bouillons in Senegal. A total of 86 articles (46.2%) were found through keyword searches on the Google search engine (online press, others = 86) and came from 45 websites that were not identified as highly visited in Senegal (although this does not rule out the possibility of them reaching a large audience through social media). These results indicate comparable media coverage of the topic of bouillons in Senegal between the websites identified as the most visited and the others. The analysis period begins in 2011, the year when the first online press articles about bouillons were identified.

A chronological classification of articles (based on publication date or dissemination of the units of analysis) allowed the intensification/weakening of media coverage on bouillons to be assessed. This helped identify the frequency of publications across the entire corpus and their recurrence by themes, pinpoint the arrival, level of presence, and/or withdrawal of protagonists, as well as the nature of their intervention and positioning in the debate. The first analytical strategy aimed to identify the treatment of bouillon seasonings in the press based on three major questions (identified through a pre-analysis of different framing adopted by the media when discussing bouillon issues in Senegal). The three themes that emerged were: *links between bouillon seasonings and public health*; *links between bouillon seasonings and cultural practices*; and *links between bouillon seasonings and the economy*. This analysis is summarised in more detail in Table 3.

Results

Five main themes emerged from the analysis of the data emerging from the three methods outlined above (stakeholder interviews, multi-stakeholder observations, documentary analysis). The themes are summarised here:

Theme 1: A controversy surrounding bouillon seasonings through an online media press analysis

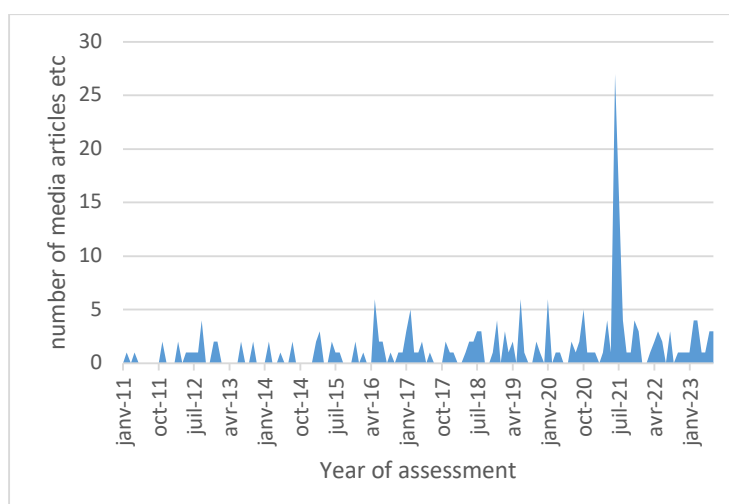
1.1. The media's treatment of the bouillon seasonings topic: evolutions related to political decisions

The issue of bouillons received extensive and diverse media coverage. It is presented in a critical light, often driven by concerns of civil society, health professionals and political representatives. The analysis highlights the recurring nature of public debate on bouillons for over a decade (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Chronological distribution of media coverage of bouillons based on publication date (year of assessment: 2024)

⁶ Par ordre de grandeur, *Seneweb* (25), *Senepius* (14), *IGFM* (12), *PressAfrik* (11), *Dakaractu* (9), *LeQuotidien* (9), *Sunubuzz* (7).

⁷ E.Média et Setilmaa.



Media coverage of bouillons began at the start of the analysis period in January 2011 and persisted with varying frequency until July 2023. A sharp peak was observed around June-July 2021, corresponding to the implementation of the bouillon taxation policy. The data indicates an increase in media coverage in 2016, 2019, and 2021, although it declined gradually between 2017 and 2018, and again from 2021 to the present. This trend reflects fluctuating attention on the topic, often linked to political events, regulatory initiatives, or interventions by various stakeholders, such as AFIs producing bouillons and health professionals.

In 2014, a parliamentary question directed at the Minister of Commerce prompted a study to be commissioned on the safety or harmfulness of bouillons. This initiative aimed to drive regulation by requiring clear labelling on bouillon packaging and introducing a salt content limit of 55% (a measure also supported by other deputies in 2015⁸). Subsequently, in November 2014, the Minister of Commerce requested a study from a technical committee of the NCCA⁹, composed of toxicologists, physiologists, and food scientists from UCAD, to assess the health effects of bouillon consumption. The objective of this request was to produce a comprehensive study on the globally accumulated knowledge regarding the health impacts of bouillons, in order to provide an opinion on the relevance of public regulations aimed at discouraging the consumption of these products. Issues related to MSG were not assessed in this report, and the investigators were unable to access the exact composition of bouillons sold in Senegal because manufacturers refused to share it (citing business confidentiality), and the National Laboratory of Analysis and Control (LANAC) under the Ministry of Commerce lacked the technical resources to identify the composition. Following the study, the working group recommended launching an awareness campaign on the risks associated with excessive salt consumption among the general population, monitoring salt consumption within the Senegalese population (although the recommendations did not specify how this would be implemented), improving bouillon labelling to clarify their salt content, and limiting their consumption.

These recommendations were not formally implemented, but in December 2016, the Senegalese Normalisation Association (SNA), the national standardisation body, initiated a process to standardise the composition and labelling of bouillons sold in Senegal. By January 2017, the salt content in these products was limited to 55% when the standard was made mandatory through an interministerial decree¹⁰, marking a first in West Africa.

⁸ For example, https://www.pressafrik.com/Assemblee-nationale-les-deputes-interpellent-Alioune-Sarr-sur-les-bouillons-culinaires_a143946.html

⁹ The National Codex Alimentarius Committee of Senegal is responsible for coordinating activities related to food standards in the country. Its mission is to protect consumer health, ensure food safety, and facilitate trade by aligning local standards with those established by the Codex Alimentarius Commission, a joint initiative of the FAO and WHO.

¹⁰ Interministerial Order No. 18504 of 13-12-2016 making the application of the NS 03-146 standard on seasoning food bouillons mandatory.

This initiative aligns with the 2017 and 2023 recommendations of the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2017, 2023), as well as more recent studies suggesting that reformulating bouillon composition is an effective strategy to reduce sodium intake in diets (Archer et al., 2022). Despite this effort, many health experts, particularly nephrologists, have lamented the lack of more ambitious policy measures to curb bouillon consumption and the absence of clear data on the link between NCDs and the consumption of these condiments, which could better inform policymakers¹¹.

The Senegalese initiative for the NS 03-146 standard on seasoning bouillons, made mandatory in 2017, was reviewed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Parliament in June 2022. The project aimed at harmonising the composition, quality requirements, and sampling and testing methods for bouillons (and consommés) was adopted in July 2022 with the objective of "promoting the private sector"¹².

After the normalisation of bouillon seasonings of 2016, in June 2021, an initiative by the Ministry of Finance was launched to impose a 25% tax on imported and locally produced bouillon (regardless of its composition) as part of the general policy project, "Revised Finance Law on the 2021 Budget" (LFR1, 2021). The proposal was supported as an opportunity to increase national revenue in the context of the COVID-19 health crisis and to "(...) *combat the negative externalities induced by the consumption of these products*" (although these externalities were not specified) (LFR1, 2021), in line with WHO recommendations (2015). In response to this proposed law, major bouillon manufacturers expressed strong opposition, asserting in the media that the decision was not based on robust scientific evidence and would have detrimental effects on the country's economic growth¹³. Other responses from the industry highlighted the need to "re-educate" the Senegalese population on how to use condiments and increase physical activity¹⁴.

In parallel with the debates surrounding the 2016 standardisation of composition and labelling, as well as the 2021 taxation of bouillons, another political process has been underway regarding the candidacy of bouillons as a food vehicle for fortification with multiple micronutrients.

Since 2006, the Senegalese Committee for Food Fortification with Micronutrients (COSFAM) has been established to discuss the feasibility of mandatory fortification for five candidate food vehicles: cooking oil, sugar, wheat flour, tomato paste, and bouillon. The aim was to fortify these foods with at least one of the following micronutrients: iodine, folic acid, and vitamin A. Based on the Fortification Rapid Assessment Tool (FRAT) study conducted in Senegal in 2006 on the technical feasibility of fortifying these foods, COSFAM selected only two: cooking oil (with vitamin A) and wheat flour (with iron and folic acid). Apart from wheat flour and cooking oil, only bouillon was confirmed as relevant because of its widespread consumption. However, fortifying bouillon posed a significant risk of altering its organoleptic properties (COSFAM, 2006). Moreover, authors summarising 12 FRAT studies from sub-Saharan African countries highlighted concerns about fortifying bouillon as a public health nutrition intervention due to the risk of promoting the consumption of these sodium-rich "food additives" (Hess et al., 2013).

The situation shifted in 2018 with the launch of discussions on reintroducing bouillon as a candidate food vehicle for multiple micronutrient fortification at the national level. This initiative was spearheaded by HKI, which received a grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) in November 2016 to promote this nutritional intervention under the project "The Bouillon Initiative"¹⁵. The goal was to standardise this fortification approach and eventually scale the initiative to the ECOWAS level. The project included three countries—Senegal, Nigeria, and Burkina Faso—and aimed to generate scientific data to inform political decision-making. It was supported

¹¹ According to a member of NCND during the exploratory fieldwork

¹² FDHS 093 :2022 https://ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/FR_Final-Communique-Sommet-juillet-2022-VF.pdf

¹³ <https://lequotidien.sn/utilisation-et-taxe-sur-les-epices-le-pdg-de-patisen-bouillonne/>

¹⁴ <https://teranganews.sn/2021/10/respect-de-la-norme-des-bouillons-alimentaires-nestle-senegal-rassure-les-consommateurs-les-bouillons-sont-le-fruit-daliments-que-lon-trouve-sur-le-marche/>

¹⁵ <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/about/committed-grants/2016/11/opp1163715>

by the University of California, Davis (UC Davis), whose research team conducted a clinical trial in Ghana to evaluate the impact of micronutrient intake from fortified bouillon^{16,17}. This study was funded by HKI through BMGF, with \$4.1 million allocated to the Ghana trial, according to the latest publicly available data¹⁸. “The Bouillon Initiative” also sought to assess the cost effectiveness of bouillon fortification in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Senegal.

The experimental study by UC Davis in Ghana examined the health impact of fortifying bouillons with six micronutrients: iodine, iron, zinc, vitamin A, folic acid, and vitamin B-12¹⁹. The micronutrients identified as priorities in COSFAM's 2006-2011²⁰ strategic plan are iodine, vitamin A, and folic acid (COSFAM, 2006). It is noteworthy that processed, salted, and commercially sold foods in Senegal are required to use iodised salt, as salt itself has been a vehicle for mandatory iodisation since 2001²¹.

The media extensively covered debates on ingredient transparency and reducing salt content in bouillons. In response to the 2014 calls for bouillon standardisation, Nestlé publicly supported regulations to clarify issues surrounding bouillons while assuring their safety. A Nestlé Senegal representative emphasised the importance of consumer education, noting that many do not regularly check packaging information, and highlighted the introduction of bouillons fortified with iron and iodine (the latter resulting from state-mandated iodisation of salt^{22 23}). Media coverage of the proposed 25% bouillon tax in 2021 revealed swift reactions from industrial and political circles. Leading manufacturers, including multinationals like Patisen, opposed the tax in the press²⁴. Parliamentary debates exposed a stark divide: some deputies supported the tax as a necessary public health measure, while others advocated for its reduction, citing adverse effects on low-income consumers²⁵.

1.2. Health, economy and culture: three main themes of debate on bouillons

By classifying how bouillons in Senegal are addressed in press articles, three main recurring themes emerged: the connection between i. bouillons and health, ii. bouillons and economic development, and iii. bouillons and cultural practices.

1.2.1. The link between bouillon seasonings and public health: the rise of critical discourses

Health risks associated with bouillon consumption have become a recurring topic in Senegalese media over the past decade. Since 2012, online articles have echoed warnings from health professionals, especially diabetologists²⁶ and consumer associations²⁷, about the dangers of hypertension, cardiovascular diseases, and kidney disorders linked to high levels of salt and additives like MSG. These critiques often reference regional

¹⁶<https://globalnutritionreport.org/resources/nutrition-growth-commitment-tracking/helen-keller-international-hki/>

¹⁷ See the research protocol : <https://clinicaltrials.gov/ct2/show/NCT05178407>

¹⁸ The total amount of the BMGF investment in the "The Bouillon Initiative" project is not publicly available.

¹⁹ <https://research.ucdavis.edu/ghana-clinical-trial/>

²⁰ Strategic plans for COSFAM for the following periods have not been identified.

²¹ Decree making the iodisation of salt mandatory, No. 2001/1154, Republic of Senegal: According to the Senegalese national decree on salt iodisation, food manufacturers are required to use iodised salt at a level of 30-60 ppm of iodine (KIO₃) in production, importation, and exportation, and at a level of 20-60 ppm for commercialisation.

²² Decree No. 2000-1154 of December 29, 2000, making the iodisation of salt mandatory.

²³ https://www.seneweb.com/news/Societe/bouillons-alimentaires-une-multinationale-milite-pour-des-normes_n_133993.html

²⁴ <https://lequotidien.sn/utilisation-et-taxe-sur-les-epices-le-pdg-de-patisen-bouillonne/>

²⁵ For example, <https://www.senepius.com/economie/la-lfr-arrete-45446-milliards-f-cfa>

²⁶ For example, <https://www.enqueteplus.com/content/besoins-nutritionnels-les-bouillons-culinaires-en-debat> ou <http://www.santetropicale.com/actus.asp?id=14863&action=lire>

²⁷ For example, <https://www.santetropicale.com/actus.asp?id=19574&action=lire#haut>

studies, though not always well-documented, that suggest rising rates of such conditions among low-income populations heavily reliant on inexpensive bouillons²⁸.

In response to promotional campaigns by bouillon producers claiming MSG is deemed safe by international bodies²⁹, media critiques emphasise the lack of independent studies on the cumulative effects of daily bouillon consumption³⁰. Medical experts argue that the issue extends beyond salt intake to include consumer dependency on bouillons with potentially harmful chemical additives, particularly in the absence of strict health regulations. Some articles acknowledge that bouillons, through mandatory iodised salt or voluntary micronutrient fortification, could help address nutritional deficiencies.

The debate intensified in 2021 with the proposed 25% tax on bouillons. Senegalese online media amplified calls from UCAD researchers and doctors for stricter regulation of additives in these products. Critics lamented that instead of adopting responsible production practices, manufacturers focused on communication campaigns to counter public health criticisms³¹.

1.2.2. The link between bouillon seasonings and the economy: critical perspectives on the socio-economic impacts

Economically, the debate over taxing food bouillons in Senegal has sparked sharp opposition between producers and critics. Companies like Patisen highlight the industry's role in the national economy, emphasising job creation and support for low-income families³². However, this economic justification is challenged by experts and civil society voices, who argue that widespread bouillon consumption adversely impacts local spice producers.

Analysts warn that the public health costs associated with NCDs, such as hypertension caused by excessive bouillon consumption, could outweigh the short-term economic benefits. These diseases impose significant financial burdens on both the state and society at large³³.

Health professionals, including nutritionists, advocate for local alternatives to industrial bouillons, emphasising their potential to boost domestic production and reduce dependency on multinationals³⁴. Such an approach could strengthen public health and the economy by promoting self-sufficiency and providing healthier food options that do not risk to compromise consumers' health.

1.2.3. The link between bouillon seasonings and cultural practices: a debate on the culinary identity of Senegal

Senegalese online media increasingly addresses the issue of bouillons from a cultural perspective, echoing the concerns of traditional chefs and academics about changing eating habits. Since the 2010s, many publications have highlighted how industrial bouillons are seen as eroding local flavours and diminishing the value of traditional spices like *nététou*³⁵. Ethnologists and traditional cooks have expressed concern that reliance on

²⁸ For example, https://www.pressafrik.com/Consequences-des-bouillons-alimentaires-l-hypertension-et-le-diabete-ravagent-le-nord-du-Senegal-etudes_a89493.html

²⁹ For example, <https://lequotidien.sn/utilisation-et-taxe-sur-les-epices-le-pdg-de-patisen-bouillonne/> ou <https://lequotidien.sn/defense-des-bouillons-alimentaires-le-depute-theodore-monteil-aux-fourneaux/?sfw=pass1684232920>

³⁰ https://www.dakaractu.com/Le-glutamate-mono-sodique-dans-les-bouillons-chips--l-aspartame-dans-les-boissons-yaourts-medicaments-%C2%A0-deux_a156403.html

³¹ For example, https://www.dakaractu.com/SANTE-Tueurs-silencieux--les-bouillons-alimentaires-taxes-par-le-President-de-la-Republique-Macky-Sall_a204410.html

³² Par exemple, <https://lequotidien.sn/utilisation-et-taxe-sur-les-epices-le-pdg-de-patisen-bouillonne/>

³³ For example, <https://afrique.le360.ma/senegal/societe/2019/06/02/26669-senegal-cuisine-de-la-necessite-de-sensibiliser-sur-la-dangerosite-des-bouillons-en-cube-26669/>

³⁴ For example, <https://afrique.le360.ma/senegal/societe/2019/06/02/26669-senegal-cuisine-de-la-necessite-de-sensibiliser-sur-la-dangerosite-des-bouillons-en-cube-26669/>

³⁵ The Senegalese *nététou* is a traditional condiment widely used in Senegalese cuisine, particularly to enhance the flavor of dishes such as *thiéboudiène* (rice with fish) or sauces. It is made from fermented seeds of the *néré* tree (*Parkia biglobosa*), which is commonly found in West Africa.

bouillons represents a form of cultural assimilation, where local tastes and culinary practices are transformed by the use of standardised, industrial products³⁶.

In response to industry perspectives, which tend to present bouillons as a key component of modern Senegalese cuisine, and as empowering for women by saving time in cooking, some critical articles focus on initiatives to revive traditional seasonings³⁷. Critics argue that industrial bouillons only became widespread in the 1980s, suggesting their integration into Senegalese culinary practices is relatively recent and not deeply rooted in tradition. Some authors link this reliance on bouillons to a postcolonial economic model, where African countries consume standardised, imported products at the expense of their own resources and know-how³⁸.

Critics also point out that while bouillons are convenient and timesaving compared to communal cooking practices, this shift might lead to the loss of a part of Senegal's cultural heritage. Many articles support a return to local products and traditional cooking methods, and encourage households to choose healthier, local alternatives³⁹. These voices also warn against the growing influence of multinational companies on Senegalese food choices⁴⁰.

1.2.4. Conclusion

The media's treatment of bouillons in Senegal reveals a growing critique of the health, economic, and cultural impacts of industrial bouillons. While bouillon manufacturers maintain a narrative centred on the safety and cultural integration of their products, critics, particularly nutritionists and civil society organisations, emphasise the public health risks, the long-term economic costs of risky eating habits, and the transformation of Senegalese culinary practices. Highlighting local alternatives and healthy eating practices, many articles advocate for a more autonomous food model better suited to Senegal's health and cultural realities.

Theme 2: A fragmented governance in the management of industrial foods like bouillon seasonings

2.1. The asymmetry of resources for undernutrition and NCDs management within the Ministry of Health

In Senegal, malnutrition has historically been addressed by the Ministry of Health and Social Action (MHSA), particularly by two departments that do not have the same level of budgetary resources. The first is the Directorate of Maternal and Child Health (DMCH), which specialises in managing, coordinating, and implementing health programmes for women, children, and adolescents. The DMCH includes the Division of Food and Nutrition (DFN), which is responsible for coordinating and implementing all policies related to food and nutrition. As such, this department is the reference entity for nutrition within the MHSA, even though it is housed within a directorate targeting mothers and children. According to our interviews, the DFN has had a much larger budget allocation than the other health divisions for nearly two decades⁴¹ (E18-D).

The second department responsible for nutrition-related issues within the Ministry of Health is the Directorate for the Fight Against Diseases (DFAD), which is in charge of planning, coordinating, and implementing national policies for the prevention and control of both communicable and non-communicable diseases. The DFAD focuses its activities on communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria, as well as NCDs considered "public health related." Within the DFAD, the Division for the Fight Against Non-Communicable Diseases (DFNCD) specifically addresses the prevention, management, and control of NCDs. Although the terms "nutrition" or

³⁶ For example, <https://www.tract.sn/2023/04/gourmand-awards-2023-les-senegalais-fatima-fall-niang-et-amadou-alpha-sy-iront-a-stockholm-en-finale-pour-defendre-le-tieboudiene/>

³⁷ For example, <https://afrique.le360.ma/senegal/societe/2019/06/02/26669-senegal-cuisine-de-la-necessite-de-sensibiliser-sur-la-dangerosite-des-bouillons-en-cube-26669/>

³⁸ For example, <https://www.ege.fr/infoguerre/les-affrontements-informationnels-autour-des-bouillons-de-cuisine-en-afrique>

³⁹ https://www.ndarinfo.com/Ces-bouillons-qui-tuent-les-Senegalais-Jumbo-maggi-adja-etc_a16018.html

⁴⁰ For example, <https://www.seneplus.com/societe/le-tieboudiene-plat-de-resistance-et-de-resilience>

⁴¹ The exact amounts of these budgets were not publicly available and could not be identified.

"food" are not mentioned in the decree establishing the department in 2012⁴², a staff member from the MHSA explained that nutrition plays an important role in the strategic plans for fighting NCDs⁴³ developed by the DFAD (E15-D). The intervention framework for these strategic plans mainly involves awareness-raising activities aimed at populations about their eating habits and culinary practices, as well as promoting locally produced foods (understood as minimally or non-processed).

Regulation of the advertising environment is not on the agenda of the DFAD to date. Efforts to improve the Senegalese food environment are based on diversifying nutritional interventions and support policies, particularly in collaboration with the Ministry of Trade:

"(...) support policies, a multisectoral fight, particularly with the Ministry of Commerce, regarding the availability of these products (those considered healthier and locally produced). But especially, taxation on imported products, I'm also thinking of bouillons. But all these supermarket foods that are particularly salty—processed foods, imported foods, canned goods... And the training of our agents on the management of these diseases"⁴⁴ (E15-D)

The individuals met within the MHSA agree that the DFNCD is largely underfunded (E15-D; E17-D; E18-D), as mentioned by a staff member of the Directorate of Planning, Research, and Statistics (DPRS) of the MSAS:

"(The DFAD is) the poor relative in terms of funding. The 2022 national health accounts report⁴⁵ shows that NCDs are the leading cause of death, yet they receive less than 1% of the funding"⁴⁶ (E18-D)

Moreover, the DFN not only has more resources, but it is also the preferred interlocutor in all internal consultation or coordination mechanisms within the state or with development partners. It is the DFN, and not the DFAD, that is invited to represent the Minister of Health (E14-D; E39-O; E43-D).

In conclusion, the analysis of the role and capacities of the different entities within the MHSA in Senegal reveals a significant imbalance in the handling of nutritional issues. The DMCH, through its DFN, plays a central role in nutrition management, benefiting from institutional recognition and substantial financial support. In contrast, the DFAD, responsible for NCDs related to food, remains marginalised in nutritional discussions, with limited financial resources and actions mainly focused on awareness-raising. This institutional imbalance reflects a historical framing of nutritional issues in Senegal, marked by a focus on combating malnutrition and infectious diseases, with less attention to NCDs linked to "modern" eating habits. It also implies that there is no strong institutional or political force within the MHSA regarding food-related NCDs that can influence public policy on bouillons. However, while there are unequal power dynamics within the MHSA, it is also part of interministerial relations where it struggles to exert influence compared to more powerful ministries.

2.2. The taxation of bouillons: an issue of tax revenues rather than health concerns

The decision-making process that led to the taxation of bouillons, introduced in the 2021 LFR1, sparked controversies that highlight the difficulty for nutrition stakeholders to assert themselves in public policy decisions. The Ministry of Finance is said to have led this policy without consultation or collaboration, neither

⁴² <https://www.sante.gouv.sn/sites/default/files/Décret%20portant%20organisation%20du%20Ministère%20de%20la%20Santé%20et%20de%20l'Action%20sociale.pdf>

⁴³ There are two strategic plans for the fight against NCDs that have been developed since 2017 (the first for the period from 2017 to 2020, followed by a second for the period from 2022 to 2024).

⁴⁴ Translated from French by AW : « (...) des politiques d'accompagnement, une lutte multisectorielle, avec le ministère du Commerce particulièrement, sur la disponibilité de ces denrées (les denrées considérées comme plus saines et locales). Mais surtout, la taxation sur ces produits importés, je pense aussi aux bouillons. Mais tous ces aliments de supermarché qui sont particulièrement salés. Les aliments transformés, les aliments importés, les conserves... Et la formation de nos agents sur la prise en charge de ces maladies-là »

⁴⁵ This report was not identified on public platforms and was not shared by the interviewee.

⁴⁶ Translated from French by AW: « (La DLM est) le parent pauvre en termes de financements. Le rapport 2022⁴⁶ des comptes nationaux de la santé montre que les MNT est première cause de décès, mais a de moins de 1% de financement »

with other sectoral ministries nor with the interministerial body formally responsible for nutrition issues for the Senegalese state, the National Council for Nutrition Development (NCND). However, the explicit mention of the "negative externalities induced by the consumption of these products"⁴⁷ in the bill draft would, in the eyes of many interviewees, have justified such a consultation.

The NCND is the multisectoral and multi-actor reference body for nutrition. Created in 2001 under the Prime Minister's office, it is responsible for coordinating nutrition policies in Senegal. Its role includes defining national nutritional guidelines and implementing strategies aimed at reducing micronutrient deficiencies. It is, in a sense, the guarantor of the National Nutrition Development Policy (NNDP 2015-2025)⁴⁸. However, as highlighted in several interviews, in practice, there is a lack of coherence in the implementation of nutrition policies in Senegal, due to difficulties in collaboration between ministries. For example, a public health nutrition researcher expressed regret about the absence of a cross-cutting food and nutrition policy and its consequences:

"When we did the EPI-Food⁴⁹, it was very difficult at the beginning because they (the ministries) say a policy exists, but in the operationalisation of the decree, there is nothing behind it (...) We don't have a food policy... let's be honest. The government has taken high-income country indicators and applied them in Africa. We have a Ministry of Agriculture, Health, the NCND... but when I talk about a food policy, I mean a coherent policy that addresses all issues related to food, nutrition, education, or agronomy. It's a cross-cutting policy. In Senegal, we talk about hypertension, but right now there is no salt reduction policy. We even have WHO recommendations, but today we don't talk about it in Senegal. (...) Today we talk about fortifying bouillons, but be careful, does that not mean increasing salt consumption? That's why I talk about coherence. Taking into account the realities, the context (...). We need to address all nutrition issues coherently" ⁵⁰(E19-S).

Thus, despite its role as a coordinator between the various sectors related to nutrition, the NCND was not consulted in the decision to tax bouillons. This exclusion was considered surprising by three of the participants who had been involved in the discussions on bouillon standardisation and labelling in 2016 and its revision in 2018, as well as in those concerning their potential fortification. Regarding the tax, they stated that they learned of its existence through the media or during multi-stakeholder consultations that included Senegalese bouillon producers (E5-D; E14-D; E34-D):

*"What is surprising is that we were not officially informed. We heard about this tax through the newspapers, not through a government note or an official consultation"*⁵¹ (E5-D).

Two officials from the NCND suggest that this lack of information and consultation could stem from the predominance of budgetary interests over health interests in a specific context, such as the Covid-19 crisis,

⁴⁷ The 2021 Rectificative Finance Law

⁴⁸ The NNDP 2015-2025 is the strategic reference document outlining Senegal's nutritional interventions since 2015. It is part of Axis 2 of the Senegalese Emerging Plan (PSE) for "human and capital development." <https://cndn.sn/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/pndn.pdf>

⁴⁹ EPI-Food studies are a type of epidemiological research focusing on eating behaviours, food exposure, and their impacts on health. These studies are often designed to better understand the relationship between dietary habits, food environments, and public health issues such as malnutrition, chronic diseases (such as obesity, diabetes, or cardiovascular diseases), and nutritional deficiencies.

⁵⁰ Translated from French by AW : « *Quand on a fait l'EPI-Food⁵⁰, c'était très difficile au départ parce qu'ils (les ministères) disent qu'une politique existe, mais que dans l'opérationnalisation du décret, il n'y a rien derrière (...). On a pas de politique alimentaire... qu'on se le dise. Le gouvernement a pris des indicateurs de pays à hauts revenus pour les appliquer en Afrique. On a un ministère de l'Agriculture, de la Santé, le CNDN... mais quand je parle, moi, d'une politique alimentaire, c'est une politique cohérente qui prend en charge toutes les questions liées à l'alimentation, la nutrition, l'éducation ou l'agronomie. C'est une politique transversale. Au Sénégal, on parle de l'hypertension, mais pour l'instant il n'y a pas de politique de réduction du sel. On a même des recommandations de l'OMS, mais aujourd'hui on n'en parle pas au Sénégal. (...) Aujourd'hui on parle de la fortification des bouillons, mais attention, est-ce que ça ne veut pas dire d'augmenter la consommation de sel ? C'est pour ça que je parle de cohérence. Tenir compte des réalités, du contexte (...). Il faut adresser de manière cohérente toutes les problématiques de la nutrition* »

⁵¹ Translated from French by AW: « *Ce qui est étonnant, c'est qu'on n'a pas été informés officiellement. On a entendu parler de cette taxe à travers les journaux, pas à travers une note gouvernementale ou une consultation officielle.* »

where bouillon represented an opportunity to generate tax revenue (E5-D; E14-D). According to a former official from the Ministry of Commerce, the fact that public finances do not always consider it necessary to base their decisions on scientific data or multi-sectoral consultations could also explain the exclusion of the NCND, which serves as a forum for discussing the state of knowledge in nutrition. The finance department may have relied on the controversy surrounding bouillons to justify their decision:

"All it takes is the public outcry (...) and it's a product that can pose consumption risks due to the salt it contains, so in my opinion, for them, that's enough to proceed with a tax on the product"⁵² (E25-D).

In general, since March 2018, taxes on food products have been justified by their negative externalities, as evidenced by Law No. 2018-10 concerning the General Tax Code⁵³. However, in the case of bouillons, taxation was incorporated into a finance law, which allows for quicker processing and a departure from the usual consultation procedure that involves a Technical Committee for the Validation of Legislative and Regulatory Texts.

The text was adopted in a plenary session on June 24, 2021, and signed by the President of the Republic on July 5, 2021, published in the Official Journal, and then shared for information with the Council of Ministers on July 6, with the document marked "very urgent"⁵⁴. Some legal experts question this urgency, which they believe was unjustified (E26-S; E27-S).

The lack of consultation with the NCND and other stakeholders in the decision-making process for the bouillon tax shows that coordination between the Ministry of Finance and other ministries on nutrition-related matters is unsystematic. This raises concerns among nutrition experts who were not consulted on the public health objectives of this fiscal policy. It also illustrates that the relatively high taxation of bouillons was less about a nutritional policy and more about a fiscal policy, set in the context of the COVID-19 crisis and the search for tax revenue. The contextual nature of this tax policy is undoubtedly a weakening factor, which helps explain why the tax rate was subsequently reduced from 25% to 15%.

2.3. An industrial approach of bouillons that tends to overlook health concerns

The Ministry of Finance is not the only one to bypass the MHSA and intersectoral mechanisms related to nutrition. The Ministries of Industry and of Commerce are also responsible for managing issues related to industrial foods. While the NCND and the Ministry of Health can, through interministerial discussions, encourage these ministries to consider the nutritional issues surrounding bouillons, regulation of these industrial foods is carried out by the Ministries of Commerce and of Industry, primarily through an industrial policy lens.

The Ministry of Industry, responsible for modernising and strengthening the national industrial sector, plays a central role in policies related to bouillons. Through the Directorate of Industrial Redeployment (DIR), it chairs the Committee for the Fortification of Micronutrients in Foods (COSFAM) and the Country Working Group (CWG) on bouillon fortification, established by the U.S.-based nutrition NGO HKI as part of the "The Bouillon Initiative" project. Unlike neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, or Mali, where mandatory fortification falls under the Ministry of Health (which oversees their respective national fortification agencies), in Senegal, this responsibility lies under the Ministry of Industry (as in Nigeria)⁵⁵. The presidency of COSFAM was established by a ministerial decree in 2006⁵⁶. Thus, unlike other countries where fortification is a major

⁵² Translated from French by AW : « Il suffit qu'il y ait déjà la clameur publique (...) et c'est un produit qui peut présenter des risques à la consommation avec le sel qu'il y a là-dedans, donc à mon avis, pour eux, ça, c'est suffisant pour procéder à une taxation sur le produit. »

⁵³ Official Journal of the Republic of Senegal, 163rd Year No. 7082, Friday, March 30, 2018, p. 340340, Law No. 2018-10 of March 30, 2018, amending certain provisions of the General Tax Code.

⁵⁴ Notification of Law No. 2021-29 of July 5, 2021, concerning the Rectificative Finance Law for the year 2021, by the Ministry of Finance and Budget and the Secretary General of the Government, addressed to the Council of Ministers on July 7, 2021.

⁵⁵ https://www.unicef.org/wca/media/8626/file/West%20Africa%20and%20Cameroon%20LSFF%20Landscape%20analysis_FR.pdf

⁵⁶ Decree establishing the Senegalese Committee for Micronutrient Food Fortification, COSFAM 2006.

responsibility of public health, in Senegal, the Ministry of Health is not at the heart of these discussions. According to several participants (e.g., E8-S; E12-D; E14-D), this decision stemmed from an institutional logic that viewed fortification as an intervention based on food technology needs, with these technologies falling under the purview of industry actors rather than health professionals. The Ministry of Industry also engages in nutrition-related areas through the Food Technology Institute (FTI), which provides services to industrial producers for product analysis and supports technical debates on fortification. The FTI is a support organisation and does not have a regulatory role; its mission is more focused on agro-industrial development than regulation.

Also, under the Ministry of Industry, the SNA is responsible for developing food standards, including those for bouillons. Since 2017, as part of the National Quality Policy, the SNA has coordinated initiatives aimed at ensuring the compliance of both national and imported products with mandatory national and international standards⁵⁷. In 2016, it oversaw the standardisation of bouillons concerning % salt content, and its revision in 2018⁵⁸. This process relied on frameworks such as the Codex Alimentarius standards, as well as contributions from SNA members, particularly from industrial actors. It is important to note that, as in other countries like Côte d'Ivoire, the private sector is the most widely represented in SNA decision-making bodies (60% private sector vs. 40% government representatives)⁵⁹.

The Ministry of Commerce is another key institution in the regulation of bouillons. Within this ministry, the Directorate of Domestic Trade (DDT) oversees imports and ensures that food products on the market comply with mandatory standards. According to Law No. 6648 of 1966⁶⁰, the DDT is designated to centralise all disputes related to food products, particularly regarding regulations for imports. For example, if an economic operator wishes to import a product into Senegal, customs require a declaration signed by the DDT. Through its Food Safety Control Division (FSCD), it also conducts inspections and takes samples to ensure that food products, such as bouillons, meet quality and safety standards. However, the limited resources available to the DDT hinder these activities, and it heavily depends on the occasional support of technical and financial partners (TFP) such as UNICEF or the NGO Nutrition International. This results in gaps in food control on markets, particularly for foods subject to mandatory fortification (E14-D; E25-D). Food quality control, including for bouillons, mainly relies on the LANAC, which is under the supervision of the DDT. Samples collected during inspections are analysed there to verify compliance (E25-D).

The institutional analysis of the responsibilities surrounding the management of industrial foods such as bouillons in Senegal shows that the Ministries of Industry and Commerce play a predominant role in regulating these products, with the Ministry of Health having a secondary role. The Ministry of Industry, through the DIR and its involvement in COSFAM, is at the heart of food fortification policies, supported by industrial modernisation initiatives and an intervention approach focused on the technological needs of the agro-food sector. On the other hand, the Ministry of Commerce, particularly through the DDT, ensures the regulation and sanitary safety control of both imported and local food products, although the lack of funding limits the frequency of these controls. Research and standardisation institutions, such as FTI and SNA, reinforce this industrial approach by acting as technical partners to these ministries.

2.4. Challenges in regulating the consumer food environment due to a lack of technical and financial capacities, as well as an inadequate legislative framework

Senegal has an under-equipped administrative apparatus to influence bouillon consumption through the regulation of food environments. Interviews conducted converge in highlighting the lack of measures aimed at

⁵⁷<https://www.iso.org/fr/member/2068.html#:~:text=L'Institut%20Sénégalais%20de%20Normalisation,en%20charge%20de%20l'Industrie>.

⁵⁸ This revision primarily concerned the levels of certain additives present in bouillons, such as colorants.

⁵⁹ Draft decree relating to the standardisation and certification system for compliance with standards, Ministry of Crafts and Industry, July 19, 2002, p.1. <https://www.asn.sn/sites/default/files/Decret%20création%20asn.pdf>

⁶⁰ <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/Sen174045.pdf>

controlling the marketing of industrial foods that pose a risk in case of overconsumption. Highly sugary, salty, or highly processed products (such as bouillons and crisps) are widely promoted without restriction, particularly on television, radio, or near schools and universities. Current laws appear to be insufficient and poorly adapted to address the growing issue of diet-related NCDs, especially regarding regulation around schools and in the media (E2-S; E7-S; E19-S; E15-D; E17-D).

*"For example, today, regarding food marketing, we see that televisions air advertisements for unhealthy foods at any time. Crisps, sugary, salty foods are consumed or promoted. Whereas in other countries, for example, an industrial company cannot do that on television. And that's the law. Especially during peak viewing times, certain foods cannot be advertised."*⁶¹ (E2-S)

In general, the Senegalese legislative framework around industrial foods is described as "obsolete" (E25-D). It does not include "modern" practices such as nutritional scoring, as the laws in force dates back to 1966⁶². For a former official at the Ministry of Trade, these laws do not meet current needs. The Ministry of Health alone cannot carry out public action on the regulation of food environments. Collaboration with other ministries, such as the Ministry of Trade, is necessary, but it is difficult (E15-D; E17-D). Furthermore, the challenges of inter-ministerial collaboration seem exacerbated by issues of politicisation of positions. Appointments are based more on political affiliations than competence, which hinders reforms by blocking the evaluation and accountability of government actions (E31-SP).

*"It's because many positions are given to our politicians instead of being given to competent people. And then, there is no evaluation system. Because normally, all these people should be held accountable. At the end of the year, a report should be made, saying what was done, what wasn't done, and why it wasn't done. This work doesn't exist today."*⁶³ (E31-SP).

Furthermore, regulations on food fraud are insufficient (E25-D). Existing standards, such as those on iodised salt⁶⁴, are not applied rigorously enough, and fraud is perceived as consequence-free, because inspections are inadequate (E8-S; E25-D). Food control is therefore described as more reactive than preventive, meaning it results from complaints filed by consumer associations (E25-D).

Weaknesses also emerged within food control structures, such as LANAC and other regulatory bodies, due to their lack of resources to implement regular and rigorous inspections (E25-D; E29-A). The laboratory is said to focus more on document-based control rather than compositional analysis (E29-A; E3-A). Unannounced inspections are limited, and regular inspections depend on external funding⁶⁵ (E8-S). These sporadic funds are a major issue, as agencies like LANAC have little, if any, control over the amounts and frequency of such support. To address this instability, the DDT reformed the laboratory's status in 2014 to make it a public industrial and commercial establishment (PICE)⁶⁶, allowing it to offer paid services to actors wishing to have their products

⁶¹ Translated from French by AW : « Par exemple, aujourd'hui, par rapport au marketing des aliments, on voit que les télévisions mettent des publicités sur les aliments malsains à n'importe quelle heure. Les chips, les aliments sucrés, salés sont consommés ou bien sont promus. Alors que dans d'autres pays par exemple, un industriel, à la télévision, ne peut pas le faire. Et ça, c'est la loi. Surtout à des heures de forte audience, on ne peut pas faire la publicité de certains aliments. »

⁶² <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/Sen174045.pdf>

⁶³ Translated from French by AW : « C'est parce que beaucoup de postes sont donnés à nos politiciens au lieu de les donner aux gens qui sont compétents. Et après derrière, il n'y a aucun système d'évaluation. Parce que normalement tous ces gens-là devraient rendre des comptes. En fin d'année on fait le bilan, qu'est ce qui a été fait, ce qui n'a pas été fait, pourquoi ça n'a pas été fait. Ce travail-là, aujourd'hui, il n'existe pas. »

⁶⁴ Decree No. 2000-1154 of December 29, 2000, making the iodisation of salt mandatory.

⁶⁵ The official reports of external funding received by LANAC are not publicly available and could not be identified through the interviews. However, support from NGOs such as HKI or Nutrition International, or from organisations such as UNICEF or WFP, was mentioned by some stakeholders (e.g., E8-S; E14-D; E25-D), although they did not specify the amounts of these occasional aids.

⁶⁶ Law No. 2014-21 of May 7, 2014, establishing a public industrial and commercial institution (EPIC) named the National Laboratory of Analysis and Control (LANAC).

analysed, thus generating revenue for its operation. This reliance on irregular external funding has led the Senegalese Ministry of Trade to open its public laboratory to paid collaborations with the private sector.

These issues of product control are particularly problematic when it comes to food fortification. Indeed, many products are voluntarily enriched with nutrients without adequate control. LANAC, which is responsible for controlling the nutrient levels in fortified foods on the Senegalese market, lacks sufficient control mechanisms. Due to its lack of resources, when it does control fortified foods the LANAC limits itself to the mandatory fortified foods present in Senegal. This raises concerns about haphazard fortification, which exposes consumers to the risk of overconsumption (E1-A; E25-D; E23-O), and pushes some actors (e.g., E8-S; E14-D; E25-D) to favour mandatory fortification, which is better regulated by COSFAM. Furthermore, the multiple fortification policies implemented in Senegal since 1994 have not been evaluated, sparking concerns from some actors:

"(...) it's voluntary fortification, which, in my opinion, should be regulated, and it is not. But well, I don't think, actually, my position on fortification is not just about bouillons, my position on fortification is that we should evaluate what all these fortification policies have achieved since 1994. Because since 1994, we've been fortifying; we started iodisation in 1994. But there is no evaluation... And then we keep fortifying, we keep fortifying. But at some point, this could be dangerous. That's my position, my position as a technician and even as a consumer. ... I prepare my daughter's breakfast. I see the cocoa powder fortified with iron, zinc, etc. I know the oil is already fortified, the bread too, and at one point in ECOWAS, they talked about fortifying sugar. But at some point, what is not fortified in what she eats? ... We're going blindly and we don't know the consequences in 15 or 20 years. What will the consequences of all this be?"⁶⁷(E25-D)

In conclusion, in Senegal, control of food environments and food products faces legislative and financial gaps, as well as weak coordination between ministries. As a result, regulatory measures remain limited in addressing public health challenges related to NCDs. In Senegal, the institutional environment and public action processes regarding bouillons are led by the Ministries of Industry, Commerce, and Finance, which maintain close ties with the food industry. The Ministry of Health appears to be on the sidelines, with internal priorities in health and nutrition that are not focused on bouillons. This context tends to frame the public policy debate on the industrial and economic logic of the food industry.

Theme 3: A range of strategies to defend bouillons from regulations

In addition to the fact that the Ministry of Health is not on the front line and that no ambitious nutrition policy exists to regulate the food environment for Senegalese consumers, the AFIs are engaging in political activities to influence public policy processes. In response to the growing regulations on bouillons in Senegal, companies are mobilising to limit the impact of potential regulations on their businesses. These strategies are facilitated by public policy that assigns a significant role to the industrial private sector in the fight against malnutrition and the overall development of the country.

⁶⁷ Translated from French by AW : « (...) c'est la fortification volontaire, qui à mon avis devrait être encadrée et qui ne l'est pas non plus. Mais bon, moi je ne pense pas, en fait, ma position en matière de fortification, ce n'est pas uniquement les bouillons, ma position en matière de fortification, c'est qu'on devrait évaluer qu'est-ce que ça a donné toutes ces politiques de fortification depuis 1994. Parce que depuis 1994, on fortifie, on a commencé l'iode en 1994. Mais il n'y a pas d'évaluation. (...) et après on continue à fortifier, on continue à fortifier. Mais à un moment donné, ça peut être dangereux. Moi, c'est ça ma position, ma position en tant que technicienne et même ma position en tant que consommatrice. (...) ma fille, je lui prépare son petit déjeuner. Je vois la poudre de cacao fortifiée en fer, en zinc, etc. je sais que l'huile est déjà fortifiée, le pain aussi, à un moment donné au niveau de la CEDEAO on a parlé de fortifier le sucre. Mais à un moment donné, qu'est-ce qui n'est pas fortifié dans ce qu'elle mange ? (...) On y va à l'aveugle et on ne sait pas les conséquences dans 15 ans ou 20 ans. Quelles vont être les conséquences de tout ça ? »

3.1. Public policy processes tend to be receptive to the private sector, including the importance given by the state to the IAA.

The Plan Sénégal Émergent (PSE) 2014–2023⁶⁸, the country's reference policy document to which all other policy frameworks must align, clearly illustrates the prominent role assigned to the private sector by the Senegalese government. Developing public-private partnerships (PPP) is a key principle of this plan, aimed at mobilising the funding needed for planned investments. To support this, Law No. 2004-13 of March 1, 2004, on PPPs was revised in 2014 and again in 2021 to facilitate their use. These revisions include measures like establishing a unified and simplified legal framework for PPPs and introducing tools to expedite project implementation⁶⁹. The Adjusted and Accelerated Priority Action Plan (PAP2A), designed for the period 2019–2023, was projected to cost a total of 14,812 billion FCFA, with 40% of this funding expected to come from private sector participation⁷⁰.

Similarly, Senegal joined the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition (NASAN)⁷¹ in 2014, an initiative aimed at mobilising private investors to combat food and nutrition insecurity. Among the private investors involved in NASAN-Senegal is the bouillon company Patisen, which stands out as the largest investor with a declared commitment of 80 million USD. By comparison, the second-largest investor is Vital Agro-industries, focused on white rice, with a pledged investment of 70.6 million USD, followed by Novel Groupe, also in the rice sector, with a commitment of 50 million USD⁷².

Our interviews highlight the strong desire of various stakeholders to include the private sector, particularly multinational AFIs, in shaping the country's public nutrition policies. This inclusion is actively supported by key players such as the NCND and certain international NGOs. It is reflected in the push to involve AFIs in public nutrition policy forums (e.g., NCND meetings), seeing them as stakeholders in the fight against malnutrition (E3-A; E13-O; E21-A; E34-D). Several interviewees raised that the primary objective of these companies is profit generation rather than contributing to public health goals (E3-A; E21-A; E34-D; E13-O; E16-O). Thus, the approach adopted by actors like the NCND focuses on finding a compromise with the private sector (E3-A; E13-O; E21-A; E34-D).

The negotiation of this compromise is primarily led by the State, particularly through the Ministry of Commerce, which facilitates the understanding, acceptance (E3-A), and ownership (E21-A) of public regulations. The State assumes its role of an arbiter between public health advocates and private sector interests, and a moderator to maintain a balanced relationship with AFIs while protecting job markets (E2-S). As expressed by a NCND representative, the reasoning is that private companies are more likely to comply with public regulations if they are directly involved in their design:

“We work together, we discuss together, we make decisions together, and everyone is comfortable. But if we reflect on it [without private sector involvement], we do everything, and then we come and say, ‘Here it is,’ they will implement it. You see, but maybe that’s not the right approach.”⁷³ (E34-D)

⁶⁸ Plan Sénégal Émergent, 2014–2023, février 2014, http://www.ambasseneparis.com/tl_files/ambseye/Plan%20Senegal%20Emergent_Or.pdf

⁶⁹ Law No. 2021-23 of March 2, 2021, <http://www.droit-afrique.com/uploads/Senegal-Loi-2021-23-partenariat-public-privé1.pdf>

⁷⁰ <https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/fr/c/LEX-FAOC216376/>

⁷¹ The NASAN is an initiative launched in 2012 by the G8 in response to the food price surge of 2010–2011. This alliance aims to stimulate private sector investments in measures to improve food and nutrition security for African populations. However, it has been widely criticised by civil society organisations (CSOs) for serving the interests of multinational agribusinesses. (voir par exemple https://www.iedafrique.org/IMG/pdf/lettre_d_interpellation_au_gouvernement_se_ne_galais_version_finale_08062018.pdf)

⁷² Framework for cooperation to support NASAN in Senegal., <https://www.dapsa.gouv.sn/sites/default/files/publications/nasan.pdf>

⁷³ Translated from French by AW : « On travaille ensemble, on discute ensemble, on prend des décisions ensemble, tout le monde est à l'aise. Mais si déjà nous on réfléchit (sans l'implication du secteur privé), on fait tout et ensuite on vient, on le dit, voilà, ils vont appliquer. Vous voyez, mais peut-être ce n'est pas la bonne manière. »

This pursuit of compromise aligns with the government's aim to position AFIs as "part of the solution" in addressing malnutrition (E13-O; E21-A; E34-D). One proposed example of compromise, cited by multiple interviewees, is to enhance the nutritional quality of AFIs products in exchange for reduced taxes or other fiscal incentives. This would help offset production costs and avoid affecting consumer purchasing power (E21-A; E34-D):

*"The idea is to push them to propose nutritional solutions that can help address the problems without being harmful. That's the logic I have about integrating them. Because if they don't know, they can't do it."*⁷⁴(E34-D)

An official formerly with the Ministry of Commerce confirmed that the views of AFIs are systematically informed of nutritional measures (although this was not the case with the tax on bouillons, where AFIs learned about it through the media, alongside other actors like public health researchers, international NGOs, consumer associations, and the NCND). These consultations typically occur in an informal setting (E25-D) between ministers or ministerial directors and AFIs, occasionally including consumer associations (E3-A).

*"The State has always engaged with economic operators and consumer associations. The State can regulate directly, but it makes things difficult and creates tensions. They [economic operators] can present their position, and the State can make a different decision, but at least they are informed."*⁷⁵ (E25-D)

According to a representative of a Senegalese private company, the inclusion of agro-industrial actors in decision-making processes appears to be selective. Only the largest companies, namely Patisen, GBFoods, Senico, and Nestlé Senegal, are systematically invited (E33-SP; E35-SP), which has caused frustration for the representative and her team (E33-SP). This was notably the case during the development of the 2016 standards on the composition and labelling of bouillons. The official document⁷⁶ claimed to include "all" private sector actors involved in bouillon production, but only Nestlé, Patisen, GBFoods, and Senico participated, with the absence of INASEN and small and medium-sized Senegalese enterprises (SMEs).

In conclusion, the consultation approach between the Senegalese government and AFIs reflects a dynamic of compromise and collaboration, primarily with the largest companies. The desire to involve AFIs in nutrition-related decisions stems from the belief that industrial players are key actors in the food supply chain, and their involvement is viewed as essential for the implementation of nutritional standards. These discussions aim to foster shared responsibility, where AFIs are made aware of public health issues while benefiting from incentive measures (such as the facilitated deployment of PPPs) to mitigate the economic impact of improving the nutritional quality of their products.

3.2. Influencing strategy with the establishment of the COTEC as an advocacy organisation

Several bouillon-producing AFIs in Senegal have successfully employed strategies to counter state regulations on their products. Nestlé Senegal, GBFoods, Senico, and Patisen established a professional consultation forum aimed at developing a common strategy to have more leverage in negotiations with the state: the COTEC. Convened during the first regulations in 2016, then again at the end of 2017 regarding the standardisation of salt content and labelling of bouillons⁷⁷, this forum was reactivated in the context of the 2021 bouillon tax to

⁷⁴ Translated from French by AW: « Mais l'idée c'est de les pousser vraiment à proposer des choses nutritionnelles qui peuvent nous appuyer à régler les problèmes sans que ça soit nuisible. C'est la logique que j'ai par rapport à les intégrer. Parce que s'ils ne le connaissent pas, ils ne peuvent pas faire. »

⁷⁵ Translated from French by AW : « L'État a toujours parlé avec les opérateurs économiques et les associations de consommateurs. L'état peut réguler directement, mais ça rend difficile il y a des tensions. Ils peuvent venir exposer leur position, et l'état peut prendre une autre décision, mais au moins ils sont informés. »

⁷⁶ Standard NS 03-146 on seasoning food bouillons made mandatory by the interministerial decree No. 18504 of December 13, 2016.

⁷⁷ Interministerial Decree No. 18504 of December 13, 2016, making the application of Standard NS 03-146 on seasoning food bouillons mandatory.

launch a coordinated opposition to the government and the press, ultimately obtaining a reduction in the tax (E35-SP; E46-SP; E47-SP).

In addition to the four aforementioned companies, the 2016 COTEC also included employer unions, such as the Professional Union of Industries of Senegal (SPIS) and the Union of Service Providers, Industrialists, and Traders of Senegal (UPIC), as well as a member of parliament at the time, Théodore Monteil, recognised as a "bouillon expert" due to his experience with Patisen and Senico (the deputy supported the creation of these two companies) and his academic knowledge in chemistry and bromatology (E46-SP). In contrast, the Senegalese bouillon producer INASEN was not invited by the COTEC members, who considered it insufficiently significant in terms of capital and market share (E35-SP).

This forum was an *ad hoc* organisation to address public regulation projects. In the future, the industry plans the creation of a formal association to better coordinate their actions and strengthen their influence in order to respond more effectively to future regulations (35-SP). However, this formalisation had not yet been achieved at the time of the field research:

*"We got along well during the battle, and it was discussed that after all of this, we would create a formal association of bouillon producers. Unfortunately, it hasn't progressed much. We had great collaboration during the tense moments; we really felt threatened, and we stood together in a hostile environment, because we had everyone against us: religious leaders, cardiologists, people, the press... it wasn't based on scientific evidence, we had to fight."*⁷⁸ (E35-SP)

In addition to these *ad hoc* strategies, the industry sector also individually follows a strategy of regulatory and scientific monitoring to actively participate in discussions on standards and defend their products with arguments based on data deemed reliable (E35-SP). For example, during the bouillon tax law debate, these efforts allowed for negotiations with the government, particularly the Ministry of Finance and the Directorate General of Taxes (E47-SP), as well as organising a hearing to advocate at parliamentary level, led by the "bouillon expert" deputy (E46-SP).

In conclusion, bouillon AFIs in Senegal have implemented structured strategies, such as COTEC, to counter regulations and defend their financial interests with public authorities. Through political mobilisation and scientific monitoring, they have engaged in active negotiations with the government and defended their position both legislatively and at the parliamentary level.

3.3. The argument of economic and juridical threats

The advocacy strategy of Senegalese bouillon AFIs, gathered under COTEC, involved several arguments aimed at contesting the government's 25% tax on their products, which was later reduced to 15% following their actions.

In response to rumours and the confirmation of the state's intention to tax bouillons, the AFIs, particularly Patisen, raised public awareness about their concerns, organising media campaigns and calling on the Ministry of Finance to reduce the tax (as shown in the analysis of online press). They also gave interviews and organised public demonstrations with their employees, arguing that the economic impact of the measure would harm their competitiveness, the survival of their companies, and the job market. They emphasised that it would be difficult for them to absorb this cost without raising prices, thereby reducing consumers' purchasing power. For example, the following statements appeared in Senegalese print media, shared by a representative of one of the bouillon AFIs (see annexe 10 and 11):

⁷⁸ Translated from French by AW : « On s'entendait bien au moment de la bataille, il était question qu'après tout ça on crée une association formelle de producteurs de bouillons, malheureusement ça n'a pas fort avancé. On avait une belle collaboration pendant les moments de braise, on se sentait vraiment menacé tous et on fait front ensemble dans un environnement assez hostile, car on avait tout le monde contre nous, les marabouts religieux, les cardiologies, les gens, la presse... ça ne repose pas sur des preuves scientifiques, il a fallu se battre.

*"Five thousand workers at Patisen threatened. No to the tax on bouillons. This is the rallying cry of agro-industrial workers. Yesterday, those from Patisen protested against the taxes that, according to them, threaten their jobs and companies. (...) They are urging the government to abandon its project"*⁷⁹ (Walf Quotidien paper issue No. 8773, Wednesday, June 23, 2021).

*"Tax on bouillons, industries in danger! Through the new 15% tax on bouillons, the government is endangering our industrial champions and limiting the possibility of offering more jobs to young people. (...) The new tax on bouillons will be borne by consumers. This is how Finance Minister Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo expressed himself. Thus, the government of Senegal has unscrupulously decided to further burden the household's shopping basket to raise revenue. (...) Another argument raised to justify the increase in the bouillon tax is to say that bouillons are harmful, so they must be taxed. These claims are even more serious when they come from a deputy, a representative of the people who should convey accurate information. (...) This new situation imposed on Senegalese agro-food companies is full of dangers. It could jeopardise their supremacy at the sub-regional level, using Patisen, a major player in West Africa, as an example"*⁸⁰ (Lii Quotidien paper issue No. 295, Friday, June 25, 2021).

Meanwhile, behind the scenes of the debate, the AFIs lobbied the government to negotiate a fiscal adjustment, resulting in a two-month moratorium for the payment of the tax (E47-SP; E46-SP; E35-SP). Additionally, according to a representative from one of the bouillon AFIs, they mobilised legal arguments provided by a tax expert to support their position, arguing that the tax violated the rules of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA). According to this argument, since bouillons are not classified as harmful products like tobacco or alcohol, they should not be subject to heavy taxation (E35-SP). These arguments were presented in a *memorandum* addressed to the government, to obtain a reduction or exemption from the tax (E35-SP; E47-SP).

In conclusion, the reduction of the bouillon tax from 25% to 15% can be seen as the result of the multiple strategies implemented by the Senegalese AFIs in the sector, reunited under COTEC. By mobilising the media to raise public awareness, calling for the mobilisation of their employees and the public, and engaging in direct lobbying of government, these companies argued that the tax represented an economic threat. Additionally, by relying on legal arguments provided by an expert hired for the purpose, they strengthened their advocacy by challenging the tax's compliance with UEMOA rules. However, it should be noted that their efforts did not lead to the total removal of the tax, which suggests that the effectiveness of their influencing strategy may be limited when weighed against the financial needs of public authorities.

3.4. Strategies based on scientific knowledge

In response to criticisms from consumer associations and health professionals regarding the alleged harmful effects of bouillons on health, the AFIs also presented scientific data.

As part of their advocacy against the tax, the *memorandum* shared with the public authorities included a 2016 study led by a professor from UCAD in public health, emphasising that the health consequences of excessive salt intake did not specifically concern bouillons, but rather that in the diet in general (E35-SP). The original study

⁷⁹ Translated from French by AW: « Cinq mille travailleurs de Patisen menacés. Non à la taxe sur les bouillons. C'est le cri de ralliement des travailleurs des industries agroalimentaires. Hier, ceux de Patisen ont manifesté contre les taxes qui, selon eux, menacent leurs emplois et leurs entreprises. (...) ils demandent, avec insistance, au gouvernement de renoncer à son projet

⁸⁰ Translated from French by AW: « Taxes sur les bouillons, industries en danger ! À travers la nouvelle taxe de 15% sur les bouillons, le gouvernement met en danger nos champions industriels et limite les possibilités d'offrir plus d'emplois aux jeunes. (...) la nouvelle taxe sur les bouillons est prise en charge par les consommateurs. C'est ainsi que s'est exprimé le ministre des Finances, Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo. C'est donc sans scrupule que le gouvernement du Sénégal a décidé de peser encore sur le panier de la ménagère pour se faire des recettes. (...) Un autre argument brandi pour justifier la hausse de la taxe sur les bouillons consiste à dire que les bouillons sont nocifs, donc il faut les taxer. Ces allégations sont encore plus graves quand elles sortent de la bouche d'un député, c'est-à-dire d'un représentant du peuple sensé véhiculer la bonne information. (...) Cette nouvelle situation imposée à des entreprises de l'agro-alimentaires sénégalaises est pleine de dangers. Elle pourrait compromettre leur suprématie au niveau sous régional si on devait prendre l'exemple de Patisen, acteur majeur en Afrique de l'Ouest.

could not be identified, either after researching public databases or after contacting the main author or interviewees. However, a newspaper article⁸¹ summarising its main findings indicates that the authors recommended the implementation of a monitoring and control plan on bouillon composition, as well as greater awareness among the population about the health risks associated with their excessive consumption. According to an interview with a senior official from one of the bouillon AFIs, these recommendations were absent from the *memorandum* shared by the AFIs with public authorities (E35-SP).

Deputy Théodore Monteil intervened in the media and in Parliament⁸² to defend a "monograph on food bouillons"⁸³. He argued that MSG is considered safe by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and emphasised the lack of public health studies to "incriminate" the use of bouillons. It is worth noting that the study on which the FDA bases its stance is a comprehensive review produced in 1995⁸⁴, and the deputy's argument did not rely on other scientific sources. His advocacy ended by referring to the responsibility of consumers, comparing the use of bouillon to that of salt in cooking or sugar in coffee⁸⁵.

The AFIs collaborate with officials from the Ministry of Health (E18-D) and nutritionists (E44-S) to hold conferences aimed at raising public awareness and strengthening the legitimacy of their products (E31-SP). According to a public health researcher, Nestlé invited researchers to international conferences to "reassure" them about the safety of bouillons, but these meetings did not allay their concerns:

*"Yes, Nestlé invites to conferences. They even brought us to show that the bouillon was not something unhealthy... they took us to Côte d'Ivoire for three days. When we started asking questions, they took us out of the room. There was a conference in Côte d'Ivoire, they paid for the tickets, they brought the researchers to visit their factories there (...) when we started asking questions about the composition of the bouillons and when they got too pointed, they refused to answer and ended the questions."*⁸⁶(E44-S).

In a meeting between an international NGO and one of the bouillon AFIs (E13-O; E16-O), the latter provided scientific data produced internally and not publicly accessible, which concluded that more fortified bouillon consumption should be promoted as a replacement for discretionary kitchen salt in order to better address micronutrient deficiencies at the community level (E16-O).

Finally, the industry sector mobilised awareness-raising and scientific communication strategies to share their views in various spaces, such as a forum on public nutrition policies discussing bouillon fortification (E13-S). One example is the Regional Forum on Nutrition in Accra, Ghana, in October 2018, where Nestlé addressed the role of fortified products, such as Maggi cubes, in addressing public health challenges in West Africa (E31-SP). These actions were aimed at changing perceptions of their products by associating nutritionists and experts with them, even though some of these experts later distanced themselves (E31-SP). According to a member of the COTEC, if bouillon fortification becomes mandatory, the COTEC AFIs plan to request the removal of the tax due to the additional cost of this adaptation. This goal seems to underly their positive engagement with the mandatory fortification project for their products led by HKI (E35-SP; E46-SP).

In conclusion, the use of scientific arguments and strategic mobilisation of UEMOA's fiscal norms played a key role for the bouillon industry in Senegal, both in public debates and through negotiations with government and

⁸¹ <https://www.seneplus.com/sante/les-bouillons-lorigine-de-maladies-cardio-vasculaires>

⁸² For example : <https://lequotidien.sn/defense-des-bouillons-alimentaires-le-depute-theodore-monteil-aux-fourneaux/>

⁸³ The original document was not identified

⁸⁴ <https://www.knowmsg.com/wp-content/themes/whyusemsg/assets/pdfs/FASEB-MSG-1995.pdf>

⁸⁵ Document « Monographie sur les bouillons alimentaires » de 2021

⁸⁶ Translated from French by AW : « Oui, Nestlé invite à des conférences. Ils nous ont même amenés pour montrer que le bouillon n'était pas un truc malsain... ils nous ont amenés en Côte d'Ivoire sur trois jours. Quand j'ai commencé à poser des questions, on nous a sortis de la salle. Il y avait une conférence en Côte d'Ivoire, ils nous ont payé les billets, ils ont amené les chercheurs pour visiter leurs usines là-bas (...) on a commencé à poser des questions sur la composition des bouillons et quand elles ont commencé à être trop pointues, ils ont refusé de répondre et ont mis fin aux questions.

health authorities. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that one way that industry seeks to influence regulations is by instilling doubt about the dangers associated with bouillons. This dynamic often aligns with a narrative from public authorities that is favourable to the private sector, presented as a key partner in nutritional solutions.

Theme 4: The role of CSOs in public nutrition policies; a two-tier engagement

While ministries formally lead the processes to define nutritional policies in Senegal, other actors play a formal and significant role in these, but are, in practice, rarely heard. This is the case for structures representing civil society interests, notably Senegalese consumer associations, on the one hand, and international NGOs on the other. Among the latter, HKI holds a particularly prominent position regarding bouillons.

4.1. Central role of HKI in Senegalese NPP on the issue of bouillons cube

HKI is an NGO founded in 1915 in the United States in honour of Helen Keller, an advocate for the rights of people with disabilities and a pioneer in the fight against preventable blindness. The organisation is dedicated to preventing malnutrition, diseases, and visual impairments by implementing evidence-based, locally adapted solutions in more than 20 countries across Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In Senegal, HKI plays a key role in nutritional policies. The NGO works closely with the Senegalese government, particularly with the Ministries of Health, Industry, and Commerce, especially in large-scale fortification campaigns (e.g., for wheat flour and cooking oil), including the promotion of bouillon multi-fortification as a strategy to combat micronutrient deficiencies.

4.1.1. Imposing a framing on micronutrient deficiencies (MNDs) to be answered with food fortification as a means for public health and economic growth

The national branch of HKI in Senegal is deeply engaged in promoting fortified processed foods as a means to combat micronutrient deficiencies. The primary argument supporting this strategy is the combination of public health objectives with economic development goals. Due to the practicalities of centralised production, the industries most favoured by HKI's approach in Senegal are large companies rather than local processing SMEs.

HKI has a strong focus on promoting food fortification interventions⁸⁷. Since the launch of the “Bouillon Initiative” project in 2018, funded by the BMGF, it has advocated for bouillon fortification to address micronutrient deficiencies (E1-A). According to an official from HKI Senegal, the rationale behind promoting fortified industrial foods is based on the idea that Africa, like the rest of the world, is experiencing an industrialisation of its food systems. In this transition, maintaining traditional practices is expected to become increasingly challenging, and traditional dishes may be more frequently produced industrially, with implications for public health. A balance is therefore required between economic development—through industries that create jobs and generate state revenue—and the need to reformulate products to safeguard public health.

According to this approach, it is essential to collaborate with industry players to improve food standards and gradually steer production toward healthier alternatives. As noted by an HKI Senegal official, this strategy should be combined with raising consumer awareness and encouraging responsibility. The idea is that as the population becomes increasingly aware of the importance of nutritional quality in products, changes in purchasing and consumption habits could drive industries to meet health expectations (E39-O; DFNCD Meeting, October 31).

In this context, HKI advocates for fortifying industrial foods, with bouillon as the primary candidate due to its widespread consumption (E13-O; E22-O; E39-O), provided its reformulation is considered to reduce levels of potentially harmful components (such as sodium). In summary, HKI adopts a pragmatic and gradual approach,

⁸⁷ HKI supported the establishment of National Fortification Agencies (NFAs) in Burkina Faso in 2002, Mali in 2003, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire in 2006, Guinea in 2012, and a regional NFA at the ECOWAS level in 2007 (https://www.crs.org/sites/default/files/tools-research/report_-_ppp_for_food_fortification_-_english_1_0.pdf). They also participated in fortification projects such as salt iodisation in the 1990s in several West African countries, including Senegal, as well as vitamin A oil fortification in the 2000s. Currently, they are active in rice fortification in various Asian countries (Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Philippines) since 2007, and infant food fortification since 2010 in Senegal and other West African countries (<https://helenkellerintl.org>).

involving the state, civil society, and industries to promote better quality processed and fortified foods in Africa (E39-O). As emphasised by an HKI Senegal official, collaboration with the food industry is seen as a necessity:

*"(...) we are obliged to collaborate with the private sector; otherwise, no nutrition programme will succeed. What is available on the market is not produced by HKI or UNICEF, but by these industries that supply the vast quantities of food consumed by children. These are the stakeholders we need to engage with to align their products, perhaps, with the standards."*⁸⁸(E22-O)

The rationale behind this tax was difficult to grasp for several HKI Senegal representatives, particularly regarding "negative externalities," as the NGO was still working on providing scientific evidence to validate or refute bouillon as a vehicle for mandatory micronutrient fortification. This decision to tax bouillon contradicted the project to standardise bouillon fortification, as it increased production costs for food manufacturers and portrayed bouillon as a harmful product, whereas the project aimed to promote it as a "virtuous" food in the fight against malnutrition⁸⁹ (E13-O; E16-O; E22-O; E39-O), risking nutri-washing⁹⁰ of the UPF. This prompted an HKI Senegal official to collaborate with Théodore Monteil, who planned to present arguments in parliament opposing the tax. The collaboration aimed to convey the NGO's concerns about the scientific basis of the tax and to obtain information about its underlying motivations (E39-O). This partnership with the parliamentarian also provided an opportunity to share some of the study results on bouillon consumption with parliament ahead of the debates (E39-O).

After the tax was implemented, HKI conducted a study⁹¹ to assess the effect of the 15% tax on bouillon consumption. The results revealed that the tax increase did not reduce consumption. A plausible explanation for this outcome lies in the fact that manufacturers often absorbed the additional costs, sometimes adopting marketing strategies to give consumers the impression of a price decrease, effectively bypassing the intended impact of the tax⁹². In response, HKI suggested reallocating the tax revenue to fund research for improving bouillon formulations instead of penalising its consumption. Dialogue should continue among the state, NGOs, and industry stakeholders to encourage practical solutions without discouraging the use of a widely consumed product (E39-O).

In conclusion, we have highlighted the position of HKI, a U.S.-based NGO strongly in favour of bouillon fortification, within the debate over bouillon in Senegal. This analysis underscores the tensions among various stakeholders—public health professionals, consumer associations, food manufacturers, and HKI—and their differing priorities. HKI advocates for a strategy focused on food industrialisation and fortification as a response to micronutrient deficiencies, emphasising a pragmatic approach that combines public health goals with economic development.

⁸⁸ Translated from French by AW: « (...) nous sommes obligés de collaborer avec le secteur privé, sinon aucun programme de nutrition ne marchera. Ce qui est sur le marché, ce n'est pas le groupe de HKI ni l'UNICEF qui produit cette quantité énorme d'aliments que les enfants consomment. Ce sont ces industriels avec qui on a besoin de discuter pour les ramener à peut-être être en phase avec les standards.

⁸⁹ For example, <https://www.foodmanufacturing.com/ingredients/news/22920587/fortified-bouillon-cubes-are-seen-as-a-way-to-curb-malnutrition-in-africa>

⁹⁰ Nutri-washing refers to the practice of misleading consumers about the nutritional value of food products, often through marketing or labeling strategies that emphasise certain health benefits while downplaying or hiding negative aspects. This term is similar to "green-washing" (misleading environmental claims) and is often used to describe the use of buzzwords like "natural," "healthy," or "low-fat" on food packaging, even when the product may not actually be nutritious or healthy. In this case, the nutri-washing of bouillon seasonings involves marketing bouillon as a healthful food due to its multifortification (which can be presented as a "superfood"), while overlooking other unhealthy aspects of the product, such as the high presence of food additives like coloring or MSG.

⁹¹ « Étude évaluation des effets de l'augmentation de la taxe sur le bouillon culinaire au Sénégal », Powerpoint presentation, Sylvain Faye, 2022

⁹² This marketing strategy, employed by companies such as Nestlé and GBFoods, involved doubling the unit price of the bouillon (from 25 FCFA to 50 FCFA) but offering a deal where consumers could purchase three bouillons for 100 FCFA.

4.1.2. Establishment of a public policy forum to impose their prioritisation of bouillon fortification

In 2018, HKI established the Country Working Group (CWG), which brings together various Senegalese stakeholders to work on the fortification of bouillons in the Senegalese context. It was set up simultaneously with two other CWGs in Burkina Faso and Nigeria, with these three countries being the "bouillon countries" in the BMGF-funded project (E13-O). These CWGs were established following a meeting called "Bouillon Convening" organised by HKI through BMGF in Senegal in 2016 (E38-O). In Senegal, this CWG is a consultation committee set up on the periphery of the COSFAM and is not a national entity recognised by a decree or ministerial order, as is the case for COSFAM. It is a temporary forum created to collectively discuss the potential of industrial bouillons for micronutrient fortification. It is composed of various COSFAM members⁹³, extended to the five bouillon AFIs: Patisen, Nestlé Senegal, Senico, Inasen, and GBFoods (E34-D).

The fact that bouillon fortification is not discussed within the COSFAM framework is surprising, as it is the usual place where such issues are addressed. Since 2006, COSFAM has overseen the mandatory fortification of wheat flour with folic acid and cooking oil with vitamin A⁹⁴. When questioned about the reason HKI chose to establish a peripheral forum rather than directly mobilising COSFAM, a staff member from the FTI involved in both COSFAM and the CWG explained that this was due to the "bad press" surrounding bouillons, which caused reluctance to conduct the project within the institutionalised setting of COSFAM:

*"HKI had a project on bouillons, so when it came to COSFAM, there was a lot of resistance because of the negative connotation that bouillons have. (...) What contributed to the creation of this committee was the fear of bouillons and the need to conduct studies."*⁹⁵(E11-D)

The CWG follows the same multi-stakeholder format as COSFAM (with the same list of actors as COSFAM members, plus the bouillon AFIs) and positions the debate on bouillons within a forum whose dominant logic is to evaluate the relevance of micronutrient fortification, rather than studying the impact of the candidate vehicle food on public health. The CWG includes a reflection on the impact of bouillons on the prevalence of hypertension, but the studies produced do not consider other forms of diseases caused by excessive sodium consumption, such as kidney diseases, as highlighted by a staff member of the NCND:

*"(...) salt attacks all these organs, but what I want to say is that when we set up the committee (the CWG), it wasn't a committee to look at the effects of salt, but a committee to look at hypertension, to see the contribution of this compared to that. The committee was 'bouillon, we want to fortify the bouillon,' and this committee (...) it was based on COSFAM, and COSFAM is about food fortification."*⁹⁶(E34-D)

The marginalisation of COSFAM in relation to the CWG is also because the fortification of bouillons may not be a "priority" for food fortification stakeholders in Senegal (E34-D). There are questions about which micronutrients should be added to bouillons in the case of mandatory fortification, given that COSFAM already implements mandatory fortification programmes (cooking oil and wheat flour). Bouillons contain salt, which has

⁹³ To recap, established since 2006, the COSFAM (Comité de Suivi de la Fortification des Aliments) is typically the forum where discussions about mandatory fortification interventions of staple foods with micronutrients take place. It brings together all the key stakeholders in nutrition, including the Ministries of Health, Commerce, and Industry, NGOs (such as Nutrition International and HKI), development partners (like UNICEF, WFP, etc.), consumer associations, academic institutions (e.g., the LARNAH research laboratory at UCAD), and the private sector (such as millers and oil producers in Senegal).

⁹⁴ Senegalese Committee for the Fortification of Micronutrient Foods (COSFAM), 2006. Strategic Plan for Micronutrient Food Fortification in Senegal (PSFAMS) - 2006-2011.

⁹⁵ Translated from French by AW: « HKI a eu un projet sur les bouillons, donc en venant dans le COSFAM, il y a eu beaucoup de réticences à cause de la connotation négative que les bouillons ont. (...) Ce qui a contribué à la mise en place de ce comité c'est la phobie des bouillons et la nécessité de faire des études. »

⁹⁶ Translated from French by AW: « (...) le sel attaque tous ces organes, mais ce que je veux dire c'est que quand on a mis le comité (le GNT), ce n'était pas un comité pour voir les effets du sel, mais un comité pour regarder l'hypertension, voir l'apport de tel par rapport à tel. Le comité c'était « bouillon, on veut fortifier le bouillon » et ce comité (...) il a pris comme base le COSFAM, et le COSFAM c'est la fortification des aliments. »

already been mandatory fortified with iodine, like all industrial food products containing salt sold in Senegal since 2000⁹⁷. Fortified foods, whether mandatory or voluntary, are already widespread on the Senegalese market (E25-D), and this is a topic of debate among nutrition stakeholders. A NCND staff member believes that bouillon would be a "very good vehicle" for mandatory fortification, as identified in the 2006 FRAT study⁹⁸, but argues that it makes little sense from a health perspective (due to daily recommended intake issues) and from an institutional perspective (since fortified foods have already been established for mass fortification to address deficiencies in iodine, folic acid, and vitamin A) (E34-D).

The CWG committee meets at least twice a year and is convened based on studies to be carried out (for defining research protocols or sharing results). HKI describes a "horizontal" organisation for this CWG (E11-D; E13-O; E16-O; E22-O; E39-O), but in practice, the NGO provides strong leadership (CWG of October 12, 2023). For example, in addition to having set up and structured the CWG, HKI systematically drafts the protocols for reports and studies, as well as the minutes of meetings and the terms of reference for convocations to meetings. The documents for the studies are then submitted to technical partners, such as LARNAH-UCAD, before being shared with other CWG members for collective feedback (E11-D; E22-O). In short, HKI facilitates and "ensures the work" (E16-O) within the committee. Furthermore, during the investigation, it became clear that HKI holds the intellectual property of the work produced within the CWG, with CWG members redirecting any requests for access to these documents to HKI.

The DFAD was added later to the CWG, which initially prioritised the participation of the DFN. This addition allowed the DFAD to participate in a survey commonly referred to as "urinary sodium" by CWG members: a study designed to assess the sodium content present in urine resulting from the consumption of bouillons added to home-prepared dishes, in comparison with other sources of sodium (such as discretionary salt or meals consumed outside the home)⁹⁹ (E13-O; E34-D). However, according to a representative from the DFAD (E17-D), the participation of the department proved limited, while a staff member of FTI (E11-S) stated that the inclusion of the DFAD mainly aimed at showcasing the DFAD to obtain ethical approval from the CNERS.

Regarding the collaboration with the AFIs, the CWG was the only coordinating body bringing them together with HKI on the topic of bouillon fortification (E13-O). However, there are occasional peripheral discussions between the AFIs and a "fortification specialist" working for HKI as part of the "The Bouillon Initiative" project. The role of this specialist was to better understand the AFIs' needs regarding fortification (E16-O; E39-O). Participation within the CWG is systematic, and the AFIs actively participate to communicate their perspectives. According to a representative of HKI:

*"They still come to the meetings, they could have chosen not to. They participate in the discussions, they share their concerns... they talked about the tax. For example, the impact of the tax, they said that since it was implemented, inputs have become more expensive, fortificants are more expensive, etc. So, these are debates that this CWG body allows us to have. Because we don't know all the challenges the industrialists face and all the problems they encounter. They also don't know our concerns, our issues regarding this fortification."*¹⁰⁰(E13-O)

⁹⁷ Decree No. 2000-1154 of December 29, 2000, making the iodisation of salt mandatory.

⁹⁸ The original study could not be identified online or through interviews with various stakeholders. Its results are summarised in the paper by Hess et al., *Results of fortification rapid assessment tool (FRAT) surveys in sub-Saharan Africa and suggestions for future modifications of the survey instrument*, 2013. The authors suggest that, although bouillon is a widely consumed food in Senegal, the amounts of sodium it contains make it an undesirable candidate for mandatory fortification.

⁹⁹ Salt and sodium intake survey (SSIS) in Senegal, final report, March 2024, Groundwork et al. 2024 https://groundworkhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/E_SIS-SENEGAL_report_FINAL_240426.pdf

¹⁰⁰ Translated from French by AW: « Ils viennent aux réunions quand même, ils pouvaient ne pas le faire. Ils participent aux débats, nous disent leurs préoccupations (...) ils ont parlé de la taxe. Par exemple, l'effet de la taxe, ils ont dit que oui depuis qu'elle est là, les intrants sont chers, les fortifiants sont chers, etc. Donc ça, c'est des débats que cette instance de GNT nous permet d'avoir. Parce que nous, nous

Representatives from UN agencies, particularly UNICEF (CWG, October 12), participate in the CWG, but their involvement is limited. According to an HKI staff member, they are legitimate participants, but do not due to time constraints (E16-O). However, disagreements between UNICEF country and regional offices were highlighted during the CWG meeting on October 12, 2023: the country office representative, formerly with HKI, supported the bouillon fortification project, while the regional office representatives strongly opposed it. This opposition is notably related to concerns about a potential conflict of interest within the project: as a staff member from the UNICEF regional office, believed the fortification of bouillons would serve the interests of industry rather than the population. Additionally, such a collaboration would contradict UNICEF's Code of Practice¹⁰¹, which prohibits collaboration between the agency and industries producing UPFs, including bouillons (E40-B).

This issue of conflict of interest raises concerns within the CWG. Several interviewees from the nutrition sector (e.g., E1-A, E18-D, E21-A) expressed reservations about the transparency of the project led by HKI, given that the AFIs involved in bouillons have a clear interest in having the condiment fortified mandatorily to be "validated" by the state as a means of fighting malnutrition. These reservations are heightened because there is no framework in place to manage conflicts of interest with the AFIs within the public policy forum (CWG). One HKI staff member affirmed the importance of collaborating freely with AFIs, while respecting certain limits, such as not receiving funds from them or "promoting their products" (E22-O). The only measure to manage conflicts of interest implemented by the NGO is through self-reporting by CWG members. As for the position of the AFIs, their motivations are seen as purely commercial and are not questioned; the transparency of their intentions is deemed sufficient to clarify their role within the CWG and manage potential conflicts of interest (E39-O). As mentioned by an HKI staff member, the key is to maintain an "inclusive and transparent" approach with the bouillon IAA (E13-O; E22-O; E39-O; DFNCD meeting, October 31, 2023):

"No, really, it's an inclusive approach. We have nothing to hide, because we're here to support the government, the country... We are, in fact, if today they tell us 'we need this kind of evidence to move forward on this issue,' we are the implementers. We propose it to Gates, say that this is a concern of the country. Can we fund it, yes or no? And we have an interest in including everyone. Because, at the end of the day, like we say, it's the industries who make these products. They are the ones who produce these products. So we have every interest in involving them from the beginning and having them participate in the discussions, being aware and understanding the issues, that's all. We're not hiding anything from them, no. Because it's not in our interest. (...) They need to collaborate. We need to strengthen collaboration." ¹⁰²(E13-O)

However, several actors (E39-O; E33-SP; E7-S) mentioned the participation of *Particules for Humanity* in the CWG as an example of a clear conflict of interest. This company markets coatings for vitamin A that help preserve the micronutrient's benefits when exposed to light or heat. They are particularly engaged at CWG meetings and support the bouillon fortification project (CWG meeting, October 12, E39-O; E33-SP; E7-S; E11-S). Their participation is seen as a conflict of interest because validating the fortification project with vitamin A would be

ne connaissons pas tous les maux que les industriels ont et tous les problèmes auxquels ils font face. Eux aussi ne connaissent pas nos concerns, nos problèmes par rapport à cette fortification-là. »

¹⁰¹ *Engaging with the food and beverage industry – UNICEF programme guidance*, 2023, <https://www.unicef.org/media/142056/file/Programme%20Guidance%20on%20Engagement%20with%20the%20Food%20and%20Beverage%20Industry.pdf>

¹⁰² Translated from French by AW: « Non, vraiment, c'est une démarche inclusive. On n'a rien à cacher, parce qu'on est là pour appuyer le gouvernement, le pays... On est, en fait, c'est-à-dire si aujourd'hui ils nous disent "nous avons besoin de telles évidences pour avancer sur tel débat", c'est les commanditaires. Nous on exécute. On propose à Gates, ah ça c'est une préoccupation du pays. Est-ce qu'on peut financer ça, oui ou non ? Et on a intérêt à inclure tout le monde. Parce que, at the end of the day, comme on dit, c'est les industriels qui produisent ces produits-là. C'est eux qui font ces produits-là. Donc on a tout intérêt à ce qu'ils soient impliqués dès le début et qu'ils participent aux discussions, qu'ils soient conscientisés et qu'ils comprennent les enjeux, c'est tout. Pas qu'on leur cache, non. Parce que ce n'est pas notre intérêt à nous. Non, on n'est pas dans cette lancée-là. Il faut qu'ils collaborent. Qu'on renforce la collaboration.

directly beneficial to them (E39-O; E33-SP; E7-S). Nevertheless, HKI has not regulated their participation, making it a source of conflict, as evidenced by this statement from an FTI staff member:

*"Particules for Humanity makes the coating that prevents the degradation of vitamin A. They wanted to use it for flour, but people said, 'We fortify vitamin A with oil. Since your coating cannot work in oil, there is no interest.' But in the discussion, people talked about putting it in bouillons. That day, the industrials were present and agreed. But it was a heated meeting (...) people didn't want to talk about it; for them, it was impossible to put micronutrients in bouillons."*¹⁰³(E11-S)

In conclusion, the establishment of the CWG highlights, on the one hand, a particular strategy by an international NGO to create a private public policy forum to shift a debate from an institutionalised setting with its constraints and predefined objectives by the state (COSFAM), to a debate space whose rules are defined by the NGO itself (the CWG). This allows HKI to frame the health issue of bouillons in their own terms. On the other hand, the debate dynamics within the CWG reflect diverging interests between public health goals and commercial objectives. Despite the CWG's posture as a collaborative body to harmonise fortification practices, critiques about its functioning show the need to strengthen transparency mechanisms and frameworks to ensure the absence of conflicts of interest in public health initiatives.

4.1.3. Substitution of the taxation debate with the fortification debate (shifting of the framing of problems/solutions).

Through its bouillon fortification project, HKI promotes the idea that bouillons are a condiment that is unharmed to health and whose consumption does not need to be altered (as the 2021 consumption tax proposed). This dynamic provides fertile ground for claims from AFIs regarding the removal of the tax if bouillon fortification becomes mandatory in Senegal.

The splitting of the debate on bouillons, between taxation and fortification, has raised critical questions among some actors in Senegal. The 15% tax on bouillons did not reduce purchases among the most modest segments of the population. However, according to a study's results, it led to increased awareness among certain groups, especially wealthier ones, who reduced their consumption for health reasons¹⁰⁴ (E13-O; E16-O). Instead of reinforcing this awareness by questioning the risks associated with bouillons, the debate gradually shifted towards their fortification potential, presented as a response to micronutrient deficiencies in Senegal.

This shift in the bouillon debate aligns with the interests of industry, as fortification allows enhances the image of bouillons (E33-SP; E35-SP). By participating in a forum like the GNT led by HKI, manufacturers can demonstrate their "commitment" to public health while avoiding a decline in sales resulting from a potential dissuasive campaign. For industry players, like Patisen, negative publicity surrounding bouillons would directly harm their revenues, so they seek to steer the discussion toward initiatives more beneficial to their image and market, such as fortification (E13-O). For an HKI official, it is about finding a compromise between economic development and public health:

"Today, if we understand that I have no interest in seeing Patisen not sell, and Patisen says, I have no interest in the Ministry of Health, for example, saying that bouillons are bad, so we won't use them for fortification. That's a big compromise. It's a big agreement. Because it allows us to move forward

¹⁰³ Translated from French by AW: « *Particules for Humanity, ils font l'enrobant qui évite la dégradation de la vitamine A. Ils voulaient l'utiliser pour la farine, mais les gens ont dit que, nous, la vitamine A, on fortifie avec l'huile. Vu que votre enrobé ne permet pas de rentrer dans l'huile, il n'y a pas d'intérêt. Mais dans la discussion, les gens ont parlé de le mettre dans les bouillons. Ce jour-là, les industriels étaient présentes et étaient d'accord. Mais c'était une réunion houleuse (...) les gens ne voulaient pas en parler, pour eux il n'y a pas moyen de mettre des micronutriments dans le bouillon.* »

¹⁰⁴ « Étude évaluation des effets de l'augmentation de la taxe sur le bouillon culinaire au Sénégal » Powerpoint presentation, Sylvain Faye, 2022

together. Because they are the ones who produce. The evidence we generate will allow them to feed and reformulate their products." ¹⁰⁵(E13-O)

On the other hand, the issue of taxation as a tool for reducing consumption and as a funding source for fortification remains unresolved. Some stakeholders, such as a bouillon manufacturer or a representative from another international NGO in Senegal, suggest removing the tax to reduce production costs or using the revenue to finance micronutrient enrichment (E23-O; E35-SP). However, this bouillon fortification strategy could undermine the original preventive message. The decision to reduce costs for manufacturers does not address the public health risks of high bouillon sodium consumption, which remains a health issue. The focus seems to be less on measures to reduce consumption and more on legitimising bouillons as "vectors of micronutrients" (E13-O; E16-O; E21-A). Finally, it is important to note that the focus on fortification could overshadow a more thorough analysis of the risks associated with bouillons, with the debate's focus on micronutrient content potentially overlooking the role of bouillons in daily diets (E21-A).

4.2. Consumer organisations: how are the interests of the Senegalese people represented

In Senegal, there are about twenty different consumer associations (E21-A; E25-D) that are represented in various Senegalese nutritional policy forums (for example, the NCCA or the board of the LANAC).

According to a former official from the Ministry of Trade, these associations play an increasingly important role in nutritional policies. This is particularly due to the desire to encourage these associations to inform the public to "calm" rumours circulating on social media. As a result, consumer associations are regularly invited by the DDT, along with the private sector, to share information about the latest food-related policies being implemented (E25-D). In addition to attending meetings with the DDT, where they only act after public policies have been implemented, these associations also participate in the policy definition processes within the COSFAM forums for the fortification of foods with micronutrients, and SNA for the standardisation of consumer goods (E3-A; E21-A; E36-A). They are also represented within the NCCA, but their representation within the NCND is not always explicitly mentioned in official documents.

Despite their inclusion in various nutritional policy forums, consumer associations face significant financial capacity challenges in carrying out their missions. They do not receive public subsidies, despite the 1994 law¹⁰⁶ stating that recognised associations can receive subsidies, and a 2010 decree ¹⁰⁷ under President Wade that also recommended subsidies for consumer associations. These associations are sometimes poorly perceived by various stakeholders in the nutrition sector because they "disturb" discussions, as described by the president of a Senegalese consumer association:

*"There is an imbalance in the powers and competences of the forces. There are very powerful technical and financial partners, the government which is relatively powerful, and civil society which is not strong enough. (...) We lack the capacity to dialogue on an equal footing with other participants. (...) They do not agree, we, as consumers and civil society, say bluntly what we think, which the government might say diplomatically. We have our way, we have our freedom. Maybe that's what can upset or disturb people from time to time."*¹⁰⁸ (E1-A).

¹⁰⁵ Translated from French by AW: « *Donc aujourd'hui si on arrive à comprendre que moi je n'ai aucun intérêt à ce que Patisen ne vende pas. Et Patisen se dit, moi je n'ai aucun intérêt à ce que le ministère de la Santé, par exemple, dise que les bouillons ne sont pas bons, donc on ne va pas les utiliser pour la fortification. Là, c'est un grand compromis. C'est un grand accord. Parce que ça permet d'avancer ensemble. Parce qu'eux, c'est eux qui produisent. Les évidences qu'on va générer vont permettre à eux d'alimenter et de revoir la formulation de leurs produits.* »

¹⁰⁶ Law No. 94-63 of August 22, 1994, on prices, competition, and economic disputes.

¹⁰⁷ Decree No. 2010-1465 dated November 8, 2010, relating to the accreditation of consumer associations.

¹⁰⁸ Translated from French by AW: « *Il y a un déséquilibre dans les pouvoirs et les compétences des forces. Il y a des partenaires techniques et financiers qui sont très puissants, le gouvernement qui l'est relativement, la société civile qui n'est pas assez forte. (...) On manque de*

To fund their activities, associations rely on membership fees and sometimes seek support from partners for specific projects (E3-A; E21-A). They also receive funding from the private sector, with regularly sponsorship of meetings bringing together various associations¹⁰⁹ (E21-A). Due to this lack of funding, their activities mainly consist of relaying their members' claims and organising consumer awareness workshops (E3-A; E21-A).

Another significant challenge is the lack of representativeness and unity among the various consumer associations in Senegal. In general, different representatives of associations highlight a lack of coordination due to differing operating methods and interests, making collaboration for national consultations difficult (E3-A; E21-A). Furthermore, it is challenging for the government to engage in dialogue with twenty disparate associations (E25-D). To address this issue, a federation of consumer associations was established in August 2018 to bring together different voices (E3-A; E21-A).

*"This federation is at least about creating a grouping, and instead of everyone working on their own in small groups, we should have a structure that brings together all the consumer associations so that we can speak the same language."*¹¹⁰ (E21-A)

However, the federation is described by some members of consumer associations as dysfunctional. It only includes 10 associations (E3-A; E21-A), and only 6 participate actively in occasional meetings (E21-A). Additionally, there are internal conflicts regarding the leadership of the federation (E3-A; E21-A). The only example of collective success from this federation was its ability to form a unified block and meet with the Prime Minister during protests against increasing electricity prices (E3-A). Nevertheless, during consultations organised with consumer associations, such as within the DDT or COSFAM, the spokesperson of the federation does not have more weight in the debates compared to other representatives of associations that are not part of the federation (E21-A).

In conclusion, consumer associations in Senegal face numerous challenges in fulfilling their role in the development of nutritional policies. Despite their inclusion in official discussions, they suffer from a lack of financial resources and mixed perceptions by other sector actors. Their activities are often limited to claims and awareness efforts, and they struggle to unite due to divergent interests.

Theme 5: Scientific knowledge; difficulties in producing in-country scientific knowledge on bouillons seasonings

This section explores the scientific production issues related to bouillons in Senegal, which primarily take place within the GNT set up by the NGO HKI. First, we will examine the challenges faced by public health nutrition researchers in influencing policymakers, due to the lack of transparency from the industry, particularly regarding the composition of bouillons, and the tensions between scientific research and intellectual property rights protection. Then, we will explore the tensions within the GNT regarding the choice of bouillons as a vehicle food for mass fortification and the link made between bouillon consumption and the occurrence of NCDs. This will be followed by a scientific controversy about the independence of research and the sovereignty of national expertise in the context of a national study conducted by HKI on the most significant sources of sodium in the diets of Senegalese people.

capacité pour pouvoir dialoguer d'égal à égal, avec les autres participants. (...) Ils ne sont pas d'accord, nous, consommateurs comme société civile, on dit sèchement ce que nous pensons, ce que le gouvernement peut dire avec diplomatie. Nous, on a notre manière, on a notre liberté. C'est peut-être ça qui peut froisser de temps à temps ou bien qui peut déranger."

¹⁰⁹ These meetings allow the company financing these consultations, in this case Sonatel, to present its new products as well as respond to consumer complaints raised by the associations.

¹¹⁰ Translated from French by AW : « Cette fédération c'est au moins de créer un regroupement, et au lieu que chacun puisse travailler de son côté en base-groupe, qu'on puisse avoir une structure qui va regrouper toutes les associations de consommateurs et qu'on puisse parler le même langage. »

5.1. Challenges in the interaction between policymakers, AFIs and nutrition researchers: the tensions over transparency and intellectual property in public health

The interactions between scientific research and policymakers face several obstacles, particularly regarding the regulation of food products such as bouillons. Public health nutrition researchers, despite their efforts to influence public policies, encounter difficulties related to limited access to information held by industry (such as product formulation) and the technical constraints of public institutions responsible for controlling food products.

According to public health nutrition researchers, there are challenges in the interaction between policymakers and research. In general, despite their efforts, researchers struggle to influence policymakers, particularly regarding the regulation of products like bouillons, due to the limited consideration given to their work (E2-S; E19-S). In the context of producing scientific knowledge in public health nutrition, access to essential information held by industries is a sensitive issue. Companies like Nestlé prefer not to disclose such information. According to the researchers interviewed, these difficulties hinder nutrition research and limit policies based on solid scientific data (E2-S; E19-O). In general, the relationship between researchers and food industries appears tense. Researchers are often considered by companies as "intruders" (E2-S; E19-S). As one public health nutrition researcher explains:

"The problem is with the industries. I'll give you an example: when I conducted the survey (...), all the letters we sent to industries asking for detailed information on the fortification of food products, no industry responded. The letter was even signed by HKI. They never wanted to give the composition of the bouillon. Only Nestlé replied to say they couldn't disclose it. (...) The problem with industries is that they're not very open to researchers. Maybe they think we're snoopers. They don't want to participate, and especially this collaboration with researchers."¹¹¹ (E19-S)

This strategy has led some stakeholders to call for greater flexibility and transparency from the AFIs regarding the disclosure of their product compositions. They argue that this would allow researchers to properly inform policymakers, who would then make informed decisions to better regulate processed products and the food environment (E2-S; E8-S; E19-S). However, this reveals the tensions between, on one hand, the ability of nutrition researchers to produce accurate public health recommendations and, on the other hand, the respect for the intellectual property rights of food industries.

Moreover, the limited capacity of LANAC presents another major obstacle (E7-S; E11-S; E14-D; E39-O). Due to its technical and financial constraints, this laboratory was unable to determine the composition of bouillons in a 2016 study¹¹² commissioned by the Ministry of Commerce. This study had to settle for a review of the effects of sodium and MSG on health, excluding the analysis of other additives present in the bouillons (E7-S). These limitations highlight the technical difficulties encountered in producing solid national scientific data.

In conclusion, the tensions between researchers, industries, and policymakers over food product regulation reveal challenges in developing nutrition policies based on solid scientific data. The lack of transparency from the industry and the limited capacity of public institutions complicates the production of precise recommendations, thus hindering efforts to improve public health through better food product regulation.

¹¹¹ Translated from French by AW : « Le problème, c'est les industriels. Je vous donne un exemple, quand j'ai fait l'enquête (...), tous les courriers qu'on a adressés aux industriels pour leur demander de donner un peu le contenu détaillé de la fortification des aliments, aucun industriel n'a répondu. Le courrier était même signé par HKI. Ils n'ont jamais voulu donner la composition de bouillon. Il n'y a que Nestlé qui a répondu pour dire qu'ils ne peuvent pas divulguer. (...) Le problème avec les industriels, c'est qu'ils ne sont pas très ouverts aux chercheurs. Peut-être qu'ils pensent que nous sommes des fouineurs. Ils ne veulent pas participer et justement cette collaboration avec les chercheurs. »

¹¹² « Avis scientifique relatif au risque lié à la consommation de glutamate monosodique (GMS) et de chlorure de sodium (NaCl) contenus dans les bouillons d'aide culinaire au Sénégal », GT on the Health Risks Associated with Glutamate and Salt in Bouillons, CNCA, 2016

5.2. Scientific controversy on the relationship between bouillon consumption and ill health regarding the candidacy of bouillon for a large-scale fortification intervention

There are two central unresolved scientific debates (at the time of the survey) within the CWG regarding the option of fortifying bouillons in Senegal: the impact of bouillons on health and, subsequently, the relevance of this vehicle for large-scale multi-fortification intervention.

Firstly, several CWG members, particularly scientists and consumer associations, expressed the need for a longitudinal study to better understand the health impact of bouillons from the launch of the CWG in 2018 (E11-S; E19-S; E13-O; E16-O). However, this request was never implemented (E16-O; E19-O; E11-S), nor did it reach key stakeholders in HKI, who were not present during the debate¹¹³ (16-O). This raised criticisms about the lack of solid data to justify or not the selection of bouillons as a vehicle for fortification (E19-S; E2-S).

Another study requested by CWG members was carried out: the "urinary sodium" study of 2023. Deployed nationwide, and as mentioned earlier, it aimed to identify the different sources of sodium in Senegalese diets based on urinary analysis (CWG 12 October 2023, E13-O; E16-O; E22-O; E39-O). Conducted by Groundwork, an international scientific consultant hired by HKI, CWG members (particularly researchers and MHAS representatives) participated in training the field workers and collecting data, but not in the analysis. This study revealed that the largest portion of sodium consumed by Senegalese people came from discretionary salt, followed by sandwiches and, in third place, bouillons¹¹⁴ (CWG 12 October 2023). However, the results of this survey were questioned during discussions at the restitution of the results. Some CWG members argued that bouillons were often incorporated into other foods (for example, sandwiches sold on the streets), making the findings potentially erroneous (GNT 12 October 2023). This discrepancy in data interpretation highlights tensions within the scientific community of the CWG and the need for a more rigorous analysis, a necessity that could have been addressed by incorporating Senegalese expertise in the analysis stage of the "urinary sodium" study.

Furthermore, there is disagreement among CWG members about whether the results of the "urinary sodium" study are sufficient to resolve any doubts about the validity of using bouillons as vehicles for multi-fortification. This issue primarily divides public health nutrition researchers (E2-S; E19-S; E44-S), who call for further studies (including a longitudinal study), in opposition with representatives from NGOs (E13-O; E16-O; E22-O; E23-O; E39-O), the private sector (E33-SP; E35-SP), and the UNICEF country office (CWG, 12 October), who believe that the results of the study are sufficient:

*"It's true that there is an excessive amount of sodium, which causes issues according to WHO data, and that there is a direct correlation with NCDs; this is also true, but the amount of sodium in this intake (from bouillons) is low compared to, for example, bread or other vehicles. So, taking this into account: first, there is a micronutrient deficiency; second, bouillon is used by all segments of society; third, therefore, it's a very, very effective vehicle."*¹¹⁵ (E16-O)

Another element of the scientific debate surrounding bouillons is the position of the NCCA. For the record, the NCCA is an institution responsible for coordinating activities related to food standards in the country. It aims to protect consumer health, ensure food safety, and facilitate trade by harmonising local standards with those established by the Codex Alimentarius Commission, a joint initiative of Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)

¹¹³ The project management changed in 2021 with the departure of a key figure from HKI and their temporary replacement by the regional director of the NGO (a permanent replacement had not yet been appointed at the time of the field survey). The regional director's schedule does not allow them to attend all CWG meetings.

¹¹⁴ https://groundworkhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/FR_SSIS-SENEGAL_report_FINAL_240426_lowres.pdf

¹¹⁵ Translated from French by AW : « C'est vrai qu'il y a une présence excessive de sodium qui fait mouvementer selon les données de l'OMS, et qu'il y a une corrélation directe avec une MNT, ça c'est vrai aussi, mais la part du sodium dans cette prise de l'apport au sodium (dans les bouillons) est faible, comparée par exemple au pain ou à d'autres véhicules. Donc, en prenant ça en considération, un, il y a une carence en micronutriments. Deux, le bouillon est utilisé par toutes les tranches de la société. Trois, donc, un véhicule très, très efficace.

and WHO. This organisation does not highlight the potential dangers of MSG¹¹⁶. However, consumer associations have called for in-depth research on the MSG present in bouillons (E8-S). The studies conducted by HKI within the CWG focus on sodium (E34-D; CWG, 12 October), while several representatives of consumer associations in the CWG have urged better identification of the risks related to MSG consumption (E1-A; E3-A; E21-A; E14-D; E29-A), and this request was bypassed on the basis that Codex Alimentarius guidelines do not require the "criminalisation" of MSG (E8-S). As a result, the studies conducted within the CWG do not always address the concerns of its members, leaving a gap in scientific knowledge regarding the impact of bouillons on public health.

In conclusion, the scientific debate over the use of bouillons as a vehicle for large-scale fortification in Senegal highlights significant divergences among CWG members. Available studies, such as the "urinary sodium" survey, have provided some answers regarding sodium sources in the Senegalese diet, but have not eliminated uncertainties about the impact of bouillons on public health. Furthermore, tensions around the limited consideration of certain aspects, such as the effects of MSG, reflect disagreements over the priorities and methodologies to adopt. These differences show the limitations of the studies conducted thus far in fully addressing the concerns of the various stakeholders involved in the fortification process.

5.3. Tensions surrounding urinary sodium analysis in Senegal: the debate over outsourcing to foreign laboratories

Another point of tension concerned the methods for analysing urine samples for the 2023 urinary sodium study in Senegal. Several technical, financial, and logistical decisions caused tensions among the stakeholders of the CWG when defining the study protocol. The debate primarily focused on HKI's decision to have these samples analysed abroad, particularly in Tanzania and Jordan, rather than in Senegal. HKI justified this decision by stating that local laboratories lacked the necessary quality certifications required by Groundwork (E22-O). Only the Pasteur Institute, Dakar demonstrated compliance with the required quality standards (E22-O; E13-O) but available funds were insufficient to cover their high fees, the most affordable and technically viable solution was to turn to other more affordable African laboratories with similar quality certifications, (E9-S; E11-S; E22-O).

*"We had even said that, yes, it was possible to have an international consultant working with our teams. In the end, we saw that they entrusted the study to Groundwork. I don't know... these people are everywhere. I would never say they would tamper with the results because they are colleagues, but it would have been better if it had been managed by national expertise. (...) It would have been good to have support from an expert who knows more about urinary analysis than we do. But national expertise should be prioritised. I don't know if it gives more credibility, but... I'm not going to say that Groundwork is not credible. But national expertise could have been highlighted. (...) Maybe there's a lack of equipment for the analysis, but we absolutely have the expertise to conduct this study."*¹¹⁷(E19-S)

However, the neutrality of the local laboratory taking part in the CWG, LARNAH-UCAD, was questioned by an HKI staff member, who expressed concerns about the transparency of the results if the analyses had been conducted by Senegalese laboratories closely tied to the project. The proximity of LARNAH-UCAD to local stakeholders in the study (the CWG) could have led to a potential conflict of interest, which led to the preference for independent laboratories deemed neutral to ensure impartial and verifiable results (E39-O).

The decision to outsource urinary analyses to external laboratories sparked discussions about the role of the Senegalese state in controlling/monitoring the study's data, even when analyses are conducted abroad. Some

¹¹⁶ The Codex Alimentarius does not set a specific universal limit for MSG in food, but it classifies it as a safe food additive when used in accordance with good manufacturing practices. These practices involve limiting the amount added to the minimum necessary to achieve the desired technical effect. https://www.fao.org/gsfonline/docs/CXS_192e.pdf

¹¹⁷ Translated from French by AW: « On avait même dit que, oui, il était possible d'avoir un consultant international qui travaillerait avec nos équipes. Finalement on a vu qu'ils ont confié l'étude à Groundwork. Je sais pas... ils sont partout ces gens-là. Je ne dirais jamais qu'ils trafiqueront les résultats parce que ce sont des collègues, mais ça aurait été mieux que ce soit géré par l'expertise nationale. (...) ça aurait été bien d'avoir un appui d'un expert qui s'y connaît plus que nous en dosage urinaire. Mais l'expertise nationale doit être mise en avant. Je ne sais pas si ça donne plus de crédibilité, mais... je ne vais pas dire que Groundwork n'est pas crédible. Mais l'expertise nationale aurait pu être mise en avant. (...) Peut-être qu'il manque du matériel pour le dosage, mais on a tout à fait l'expertise de faire cette étude. »

CWG members stressed the need for Senegal to send agents to oversee the process to ensure the quality and safety of the analyses, and to safeguard national interests in this kind of public health study (E1-A; E2-S; E19-S).

*"The most important thing for me is that we can analyse the data in Senegal, or we can analyse it elsewhere. But who is in control? The state today, for me, has the responsibility to follow. They say, here are the samples we collected in Senegal, they are obligated to follow the entire process. They must even send people who must follow it. It is their responsibility to guarantee the safety and health of the population. So, it is the state that must follow. (...). Therefore, the state must invest, it must provide the necessary means to guarantee the quality of the data."*¹¹⁸ (E2-S)

In conclusion, the decision to have the samples analysed overseas, rather than in Senegal, thus resulted from a combination of quality, neutrality, and cost criteria. This situation also highlighted the need for Senegalese laboratories to strengthen their technical and financial capacities to participate fully in future national research. This controversy also demonstrates the existing mistrust among certain CWG members, such as researchers or consumer associations, regarding potential private sector interference in a study whose results could affect their commercial interests, particularly when sensitive data is involved.

Conclusions

The issue of bouillons in Senegal highlights tensions between economic interests, public health concerns, and regulatory dynamics. Media coverage of the bouillon controversy between 2011 and 2023 underscores the health and economic risks associated with excessive consumption of industrial bouillons. AFIs and NGOs like HKI advocate for solutions that combine economic development with bouillon fortification. Regulation of bouillons remains primarily under the control of the Ministries of Commerce, Industry, and Finance, which maintain close relationships with AFIs, thereby relegating public health concerns to a secondary position. This imbalance hinders the development of policies aimed at protecting consumer health and incorporating scientific knowledge in nutrition.

The industry sector deploys various strategies to influence regulations, as evidenced by the reduction of bouillon taxes following lobbying efforts. These actions reveal tensions between economic development objectives and public health imperatives, while questioning the role of AFIs in nutrition policy forums, where conflicts of interest are seldom addressed. Additionally, debates around bouillon fortification, fuelled by differing views among health professionals, consumer associations, and AFIs, highlight the challenges of balancing industrial innovation with preserving traditional dietary practices. Large-scale micronutrient fortification often favours industries with substantial technical and financial capacities, sidelining smaller local enterprises like SMEs. The distrust toward private sector influence in scientific research and foreign-led studies further underscores the challenges of ensuring objectivity and transparency.

Recommendations

Using public action on bouillons in Senegal as a case study, this research aimed to analyse how scientific knowledge is utilised in policy processes. The study's findings lead to the following policy recommendations for governments to strengthen the research-policy interface and better integrate existing scientific knowledge and controversies into policymaking processes:

¹¹⁸ Translated from French by AW: « Le plus important pour moi, c'est qu'on peut analyser les données au Sénégal, on peut les analyser ailleurs. Mais c'est qui qui contrôle ? L'État aujourd'hui, pour moi, a la responsabilité de suivre. Il dit que voilà, les échantillons qu'on a prélevés au Sénégal, ils ont l'obligation de suivre. Toute la procédure. Il doit même envoyer des gens qui doivent suivre. C'est sa responsabilité de garantir la sécurité et la santé des populations. Donc c'est l'État qui doit suivre. (...). Donc l'État doit investir, doit mettre les moyens qu'il faut pour garantir la qualité des données. »

1. **Enhance the role of health ministries in regulation:** Recognise the critical role of health ministries and services addressing nutrition-related NCDs in regulating food environments and UPFs like bouillons.
2. **Strengthen robust and coherent regulations:** Advocate for strict regulatory frameworks governing AFIs producing UPFs, particularly concerning sodium content (as opposed to focusing on salt content, as some additives contain sodium). Ensure nutritional standards are not subordinated to AFIs' economic goals by implementing conflict-of-interest management frameworks.
3. **Promote transparency and stakeholder consultation:** Ensure transparency and inclusive consultation of nutrition stakeholders in political decision-making processes involving health and nutrition issues. Consumer associations and researchers are key actors in fostering and expanding public debate on health and nutrition issues in public policy, including those managed by ministries other than health.
4. **Support local research and scientific sovereignty:** Assert the importance of scientific sovereignty for Global South countries in contexts with diverse development actors, donors, and international researchers. North-South scientific partnerships must be balanced to foster such sovereignty. This could also encompass building in-country capacity to conduct nutritional surveillance.
5. **Encourage local innovation and alternatives:** Considering increasing global emphasis on food sovereignty, support initiatives leveraging local food resources to combat malnutrition. Development partners can play a crucial role by assisting local SMEs in producing alternatives to UPFs like industrial bouillons from multinational corporations, while avoiding nutri-washing of mass-produced UPFs.
6. **Promote large-scale awareness campaigns:** Launch extensive awareness campaigns on the risks of NCDs linked to excessive sodium consumption, explicitly targeting high-sodium foods like industrial bouillons. These campaigns should encourage more balanced and diverse dietary practices.

By implementing these recommendations, government will need to engage multiple stakeholders to address the multifaceted challenges surrounding bouillons in Senegal and work towards better alignment between public health priorities and economic development goals.

Communicating findings

An abstract of the results of the WP2 (task 2.2.2) study during the World Public Health Nutrition conference to be held in London in June 2024 was accepted as an oral presentation by the coordination committee on the 20th of December 2023. Title: *Corporate political activities in Western Africa: politics of bouillon seasonings in Senegal*. Thematic session: Corporate power dynamics and challenges to food systems. Authors: Amélie WOOD, Ève FOUILLEUX, Arlène ALPHA, Michelle HOLDSWORTH, Moustapha SEYE. Unfortunately, the first author was unable to present due to ill health.

A poster presentation shared during the FANUS conference – narrative review on the concept of EIDM (November 2023): Wood A, Alpha A, Holdsworth M, Roberfroid D, Fouilleux E (2023) *The concept of evidence informed nutrition policy: what is it and how to improve it?* Poster at 5th conference of FANUS. Dakar November 19-24 2023 (Annex 8: Poster presentation shared during the FANUS conference – narrative review on the concept of EIDM (2021)).

Oral presentation at the 16th National Congress of the French Political Science Association (AFSP) in Lille, France, from June 5 to 7, 2022, Thematic Session 62 – Towards a Sociology of Public-Private Action, "*The role of agro-food industries in the definition of nutrition policies in Senegal, the case of bouillons*," June 7, 2022, <https://www.afsp.info/congres/congres-2022/sections-thematiques/st-62/>

Oral presentation at the "Regulations" Pole seminar of the UMR MoISA (Montpellier Interdisciplinary centre on Sustainable Agri-food systems) in Montpellier, France, "*The role of ultra-processed food industries in the definition of nutrition public policies: the use of scientific knowledge*" March 18, 2022.

Oral presentation at the PhD students' day of UMR LISIS in Paris, France, "*Analysis of the concept of evidence-informed decision-making in relation to nutrition public policies*" November 10, 2021.

Future plans:

Preparation of a policy brief (D3) with the support of the communication NRF team of recommendations to improve the research-policy dialogue.

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Annexes

Annex 1 : Ethics approval letter of the research protocol by the CNERS

REPUBLIQUE DU SENEGAL
Un Peuple. Un But. Une Foi

N° 00000255
MSAS/CNERS/SP

Ministère de la Santé
et de l'Action sociale

Dakar, le 24 AUG 2023

 **CNERS**
Sénégal
Certifié en norme ISO9001-2015
La Présidente

AVIS ETHIQUE ET SCIENTIFIQUE

Référence : Protocole SEN23/46 « Étude sur les principaux enjeux d'une prise de décision informée par des données probantes en lien avec les politiques nutritionnelles ciblant les aliments ultra-transformés » Version 2 du 16/08/2023

Docteur,

J'accuse réception de vos réponses aux questions relatives au protocole en référence ci-dessus. À l'analyse, le Comité National d'Ethique pour la Recherche en Santé les trouve globalement satisfaisantes. En conséquence, le comité émet un avis éthique et scientifique favorable pour permettre la mise en œuvre dudit protocole.

Cet avis a une durée d'une année à compter de sa date de signature. Son renouvellement reste assujéti à la présentation d'un rapport d'étape permettant d'être informé sur le niveau de mise en œuvre de l'étude. Un rapport de fin de projet vous est exigé pour rester en conformité avec les lois et règlements qui encadrent la recherche pour la santé au Sénégal.

Je vous prie de croire, **Docteur**, à l'assurance de ma considération distinguée et de mes encouragements renouvelés.

Dr. Moustapha SEYE
Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Transformations Économiques et Sociales (LARTES)
Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire (IFAN)
Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar (UCAD)



Comité national d'Ethique pour la Recherche en Santé- Rue Aimé Césaire-Fann Résidence-DAKAR-SENEGAL, Tél : (221) 77 361 42 12,
Mail : cnrs2008@live.fr, N°assurance : IORG002135, Site : www.cnrs.sn. Certifié en norme ISO9001-2015

Annex 2 : Individual interviews consent form



Formulaire de consentement du participant ou de la participante

Je, soussigné.e (prénom, nom) confirme par la présente que j'ai été informé.e au sujet de l'enquête de science politique auprès de personnes-ressources en lien avec les processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles au Sénégal du projet Knowledge and Research for Nutrition (Nutrition Research Facility, 2020-2024) et que j'ai lu et compris le document d'information.

La chercheuse m'a fourni suffisamment d'informations sur l'objectif et la structure de la recherche, sur les conditions et la durée de la recherche, ainsi que sur les avantages et les inconvénients connus que cette recherche peut avoir sur moi. J'ai eu suffisamment de temps pour examiner les informations et poser des questions, et j'ai reçu des réponses satisfaisantes.

Je comprends que je peux mettre fin à ma participation à cette étude à tout moment après avoir informé la chercheuse, sans que cela me soit préjudiciable d'aucune manière. Les données que j'ai fournies auparavant peuvent toujours être utilisées.

Je suis conscient.e de la raison pour laquelle les données sont collectées, traitées et utilisées dans le cadre de cette recherche.

Je sais qu'à tout moment, je pourrai consulter les informations me concernant que la chercheuse me demandera de fournir et, le cas échéant, je pourrai les modifier ou les faire supprimer. Lorsque les résultats de l'étude seront publiés et sauf indication contraire de ma part, je resterai anonyme.

Je participe à l'étude de manière totalement volontaire.

Merci d'indiquer ci-dessous ce qui me convient (en cochant les cases correspondantes) :

- ☐ J'accepte de participer à cette recherche et j'autorise la chercheuse à collecter, traiter et utiliser mes données.
- ☐ Je ne suis pas d'accord et je ne souhaite pas participer.

- ☐ Les chercheur.se.s peuvent me contacter ultérieurement pour une éventuelle poursuite de la recherche.
- ☐ Les chercheur.se.s ne sont pas autorisé.e.s à me contacter ultérieurement pour une éventuelle poursuite de la recherche.

- ☐ Je suis d'accord pour un enregistrement audio.
- ☐ Je ne suis pas d'accord pour un enregistrement audio.

Fait le à

Nom et signature du/de la participant.e :

Pour toutes informations, veuillez-vous adresser à Amélie Wood, par email ou amelie.v.wood@protonmail.com, ou par Whatsapp +33 (0) 7 66 19 84 83

Annex 3 : Individual interview invitation letter



Lettre d'information sur la participation au projet Knowledge and Research for Nutrition (Nutrition Research Facility 2020-2024)

Titre du projet de recherche : Étude sur les principaux enjeux d'une prise de décision informée par des données probantes en lien avec les politiques nutritionnelles ciblant les aliments ultra-transformés

Cher/chère X,

La présente étude est menée par la doctorante WOOD, Amélie (femme), en troisième année de thèse au sein de l'Université Gustave Eiffel et membre de l'Unité Mixte de Recherche Montpellier Interdisciplinary centre on Sustainable Agri-food systems au Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement (UMR MoISA/Cirad).

La directrice de thèse est la Dr FOUILLEUX, Eve (femme), politiste, membre de l'UMR MoISA au Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (UMR MoISA/CNRS). Les travaux de l'étudiante sont co-encadrés par la Pr HOLDSWORTH, Michelle (femme), nutritionniste, membre de l'UMR MoISA à l'Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (UMR MoISA/IRD), la Dr ALPHA, Arlène (femme) politique économique (UMR MoISA/CIRAD), le Dr SEYE, Moustapha (homme) socioanthropologue, du Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Transformations Économiques et Sociales de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire-Cheikh Anta Diop (LARTES-IFAN/CAD) et du Pr FALL, Abdou Salam (homme) sociologue (LARTES-IFAN/CAD).

L'étude est abritée dans les locaux du Cirad à Montpellier (CIRAD - ES – MOISA TA C 99/15 73, rue Jean-François Breton 34398 Montpellier Cedex 5 – France), et dans les locaux du LARTES-IFAN à Dakar (Camp Jérémy, DAKAR, 10700) lors des enquêtes de terrain à Dakar.

Numéro du protocole, date et version : *{insérer si validation par le CNER}*

Les coordonnées de la doctorante (Wood, Amélie) sont les suivantes :

Adresse mail institutionnelle : amelie.wood@cirad.fr

Adresse mail : amelie.v.wood@protonmail.com

Contact téléphonique (Whatsapp) : +33 7 66 19 84 83

Les coordonnées du chercheur qui co-encadre le travail de l'étudiante (Dr Seye, Moustapha) sont les suivantes :

Adresse mail : cmoustaphaseye@gmail.com

Contact téléphonique : +221 774 388 702

Dans le cadre d'un projet sur la nutrition, « Knowledge and Research for Nutrition », la Commission européenne a mis en place un pool d'experts européens, dénommé la « Nutrition Research Facility » (NRF), pour répondre aux besoins en information scientifique des décideurs en matière de politiques et programmes de nutrition. La

NRF regroupe des membres du consortium de l'Alliance européenne pour le Développement et la Recherche Agronomique (Agrinatura), dont le Cirad (UMR MoISA).

Au sein des travaux menés par la NRF, nous conduisons une enquête sur les politiques nutritionnelles ciblant les aliments ultra-transformés (AUT) et la façon dont les savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés dans leur élaboration, en nous appuyant plus particulièrement sur le cas des bouillons au Sénégal. Ce projet de recherche s'effectuera sur trois mois au cours de la période de juin 2023 à novembre 2023.

Vous êtes invités à participer à cette enquête dont la finalité est de produire des recommandations pour améliorer l'utilisation de savoirs scientifiques dans le processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles. Avant de participer à ce projet, il est important que vous lisiez attentivement la présente lettre d'information et considériez les renseignements liés à cette recherche. Nous vous invitons à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la chercheuse responsable du projet ou aux autres membres du personnel affecté au projet de recherche et à leur demander de vous expliquer tout mot ou renseignement n'étant pas clair.

Le recrutement des participants et participantes repose sur leur implication dans une organisation du secteur public ou privé étant considérée comme partie prenante de la lutte contre la malnutrition et des politiques nutritionnelles au Sénégal. Le nombre de participants et participantes à recruter pour ce projet de recherche est de soixante-trois (63) à cent-onze (111) individus. La nature de la participation des individus recrutés au sein du projet constitue un entretien individuel semi-directif de une (1) à trois (3) heures. Le choix du lieu où se déroulent les entretiens est laissé au libre choix du participant ou de la participante, avec la mise à disposition d'une salle de réunion privée au sein des locaux du LARTES-IFAN à Dakar. Les entretiens seront enregistrés sous accord du participant ou de la participante, les données seront entièrement et systématiquement anonymisées et toutes les mesures seront prises pour garantir la confidentialité des échanges lors de l'entretien individuel.

Si vous acceptez de participer à l'enquête, nous vous demanderons de confirmer votre accord en remplissant et signant un formulaire de consentement sur deux exemplaires : un exemplaire que vous garderez et un second qui sera conservé par la chercheuse principale.

Objet et description de la recherche

L'enquête répond à trois grands objectifs :

1. Identifier comment s'est déroulé les processus politiques d'intérêts, à savoir, la politique de taxation des bouillons alimentaires de 2021 et la discussion autour de la fortification des bouillons alimentaires en micronutriments au Sénégal.
2. Identifier dans quelle mesure des savoirs scientifiques ont été utilisés dans l'élaboration de la politique de taxation des bouillons alimentaires, par qui et comment.
3. Identifier quelles ont été les différentes parties prenantes des politiques, quelle est la nature de leur implication et comment ces dernières se coordonnent au cours de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles au Sénégal.

Confidentialité (conforme au Règlement européen général sur la protection des données, 2018)

Toutes les données seront traitées de manière confidentielle. Vos réponses ne seront consultées que par la doctorante et ses co-encadrants et co-encadrantes, et ne seront pas transmises à un tiers. Vous ne pourrez pas être identifié nominativement ni de toute autre manière reconnaissable dans les résultats ou les publications liées à cette recherche. Si des déclarations sont faites concernant des éléments relatifs à un individu ou une organisation, elles le seront toujours de manière anonymisée. Les données à caractère personnel de contact (nom, prénom, numéro de téléphone, adresse e-mail, adresse d'organisation et bureau physique) seront collectées uniquement dans le cadre de la prise de contact et de rendez-vous.

Toutes données personnelles seront stockées jusqu'en octobre 2033 au plus tard sur le serveur sécurisé du CIRAD pour être ensuite effacées. Ces données ne seront accessibles qu'aux chercheuses de l'UMR MoISA encadrant l'étude et la doctorante, et dans leur forme anonymisée aux chercheurs du LARTES-IFAN encadrant l'étude. Les données seront conservées afin d'être mobilisées dans le cadre d'autres recherches uniquement si vous en accordez l'autorisation.

Votre participation à ce projet de recherche est volontaire. Vous êtes donc libre d'accepter comme de refuser d'y participer. Vous pouvez également vous retirer de ce projet à n'importe quel moment, sans avoir à donner de raisons, en faisant connaître votre décision à la chercheuse principale du projet ou aux co-encadrants et co-encadrantes du projet.

Les chercheurs et chercheuses responsables du projet de recherche, le Comité d'Éthique National pour la Recherche en Santé (CNERS) du Sénégal ou le promoteur de l'étude peuvent mettre fin à votre participation, sans votre consentement, si de nouvelles découvertes ou informations indiquent que votre participation au projet n'est plus dans votre intérêt ou s'il existe des raisons administratives d'abandonner le projet.

Si vous vous retirez ou êtes retiré du projet, l'information déjà obtenue dans le cadre de ce projet sera conservée aussi longtemps que nécessaire en conformité avec les exigences réglementaires.

Toute nouvelle connaissance acquise durant le déroulement du projet qui pourrait affecter votre décision de continuer d'y participer vous sera communiquée sans délai par écrit.

Informations

Le CNERS a approuvé ce projet de recherche et en assure le suivi. De plus, il approuvera au préalable toute révision et modification apportée aux formulaires d'information et de consentement et au protocole de recherche. Pour toute question relative à vos droits et recours en tant que participant ou participante à ce projet de recherche, vous pouvez contacter le Secrétaire permanent du CNERS au numéro suivant : +221 77 361 42 12 ; +221 33 865 98 10

Si vous souhaitez exercer ces droits et/ou obtenir une communication des informations vous concernant, vous pouvez également vous adresser au Dr Moustapha Seye, par email cmoustaphaseye@gmail.com ou par téléphone au +221 774 388 702

L'unité mixte de recherche MoISA se fait accompagner par le Délégué à la protection des données personnelles (DPO) de l'INRAE. Ses coordonnées sont : par email à cil-dpo@inrae.fr ou par courrier à INRAE - 24, chemin de Borde rouge –Auzeville – CS52627 – 31326 Castanet Tolosan cedex – France.

Si vous estimez, après avoir contacté le responsable de traitement, que vos droits Informatique et Libertés ne sont pas respectés, vous avez la possibilité d'introduire une réclamation auprès de la CNIL par courrier postal : Commission Nationale de l'Informatique et des Libertés 3 Place de Fontenoy – TSA 80715 – 75334 PARIS CEDEX 07 ou en ligne <http://www.cnil.fr/>

Nous nous tenons à votre entière disposition pour tout complément d'information. Nous vous prions d'agréer, X, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Annex 4 : Interview guides for each stakeholder category

A. Interview guide for the stakeholder category “decision maker”

Questions		Relances
<i>Section I. Mandat de l'organisation et fonction de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de (nom du service/direction...), pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le mandat de cette organisation (nom) ?	
2	Au sein de cette organisation (nom), votre fonction est bien (titre de la fonction), pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur cette fonction et votre travail au quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions au sein de votre poste actuel ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Quels sont selon vous les enjeux les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal actuellement ?	(si cela n'est pas mentionné) Qu'en est-il des MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Dont l'hypertension artérielle et le diabète ? Des carences en micronutriments ? Est-ce que votre organisation traite en particulier de ces problèmes ? Vous-mêmes, travaillez-vous sur la/ces question(s) ? Depuis quand ? Aviez-vous déjà travaillé sur cette/ces question(s) dans le passé ?
4	Quelles sont selon vous les principales causes de ces problèmes ?	
<i>Section III. Les politiques nutritionnelles</i>		
5	Quelles sont les politiques nutritionnelles les plus importantes en réponse aux MNT liées à l'alimentation au Sénégal ?	Que pensez-vous du caractère obligatoire des interventions nutritionnelles issues de ces politiques, en contraste avec la promotion d'initiatives volontaires ? Quelles sont les stratégies politiques pour consolider un environnement alimentaire favorable ?
6	Dans quels espaces institutionnels est-ce que ces politiques nutritionnelles sont discutées ?	Quels sont les espaces de débat ne réunissant que les décideurs politiques ? Quelles sont les différentes concertations multiacteurs impliquées dans ce processus ? Quels sont les rôles/objectifs de ces concertations multiacteurs ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes impliquées dans la lutte contre la malnutrition ? Sont-elles représentées dans toutes les concertations multiacteurs que vous avez mentionnés ? Est-ce que certaines concertations multiacteurs ont plus que poids que d'autre au sein du processus décisionnel ? Si oui, lesquelles et pourquoi ?
7	Pouvez-vous décrire comment se déroule le processus d'élaboration de politiques ciblant les MNT liées à l'alimentation ?	Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, pourriez-vous me la partager ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus importants dans l'appareil de l'État dans le cadre de ces processus ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus actifs ou contributifs ? Quelle est la place des chercheurs ? Quelle est la place du secteur privé ? Quelle est la place des partenaires techniques et financiers (en particulier du développement) ?

		Dans quels espaces et à quel moment du processus interviennent-ils (tous les acteurs cités, espaces de concertations multiacteurs ou autre) ? Qui initie ces processus d'élaboration ? Qui les pilotes ? Est-ce que ces processus varient en fonction du sujet traité ou en fonction des parties prenantes impliquées ? Dans quelle mesure les savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés au sein de ces processus ? Comment et quels savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés ? D'où proviennent-ils ? Qui les soumet ? Est-ce que des agendas de recherche sont définis dans le cadre d'un appui aux politiques publiques touchant aux MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Si oui, qui les définit et comment sont sélectionnés les chercheurs menant les recherches ? Qui finance ces recherches ?
8	(Si non mentionné ou peu développé) J'ai vu que dans le Plan stratégique de la Direction de Lutte contre les MNT 2017-2020, il est indiqué l'objectif d'améliorer la collaboration de la recherche sur les MNT à travers l'élaboration d'un agenda unique de recherche. Est-ce que cette politique a été mise en œuvre ?	Si oui, il y a-t-il déjà des résultats de cet agenda de recherche unique et ont-ils été mobilisés dans le cadre de la définition de politiques nutritionnelles ? Qui a défini cet agenda unique ? Comment ont été sélectionnés les chercheurs menant ces recherches ? Qui finance ces recherches ?
9	Quel est le rôle de votre organisation (nom) dans l'élaboration des politiques nutritionnelles ciblant les MNT liées à l'alimentation ?	À quel stade du processus politique est-ce que vous intervenez, de quelle façon et dans quels espaces de discussions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes avec lesquelles vous dialoguez le plus dans le cadre de l'élaboration de ces politiques nutritionnelles ?
<i>Section IV. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
10	Parmi les instruments de politique nutritionnelle, on retrouve la taxation visant à limiter la consommation d'un aliment. Est-ce un instrument politique fréquemment utilisé en matière de nutrition au Sénégal ?	Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de la taxation comme instrument de politique nutritionnelle ? Je vois notamment que les produits taxés sont l'alcool, les boissons gazeuses et jus de fruits, le tabac, le café, le thé les « graisses », et les bouillons. Comment a été justifiée cette sélection ? En général, quels acteurs en sont à l'initiative ? Est-ce que certains acteurs s'y opposent régulièrement ? Si oui, lesquels ? Est-ce que les politiques nutritionnelles de taxation suivent un processus similaire aux autres politiques nutritionnelles ciblant les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Si non, qu'est-ce qui les différencie ?
11	J'ai vu que récemment, les bouillons alimentaires ont fait l'objet d'une taxe. Avez-vous personnellement participé à ce processus ? Pourriez-vous me le décrire ?	Quand est-ce que les discussions au sujet des bouillons ont commencé ? Qui est à l'initiative de cette discussion et (si non mentionné/peu développé) sur base de quelles justifications précises ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles, comment et par qui ? À quel(s) stade(s) du processus politique ?

		Quels acteurs ont pris part à la discussion ? Comment s'est déroulée la/les discussions (clivées, consensuelles, tendues, apaisées...) ? Est-ce que les partenaires techniques et financiers ont eu un rôle dans cette décision ? Et les industriels ? Si oui, quelles étaient leurs positions et est-ce qu'elles pouvaient différer de celle d'autres acteurs ? Avez-vous des exemples ?
12	J'ai été surprise de voir que différentes sources (médias, rapports d'ONG...) indiquent que la taxe est à hauteur de 25%, mais après vérification, le JO indique 15%. De plus, les allégations de santé (<i>prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits</i>) ont été retirées des documents politiques. Qu'est-ce qu'il s'est passé au niveau de ces modifications ?	Qu'est-ce qui a motivé la baisse - quels en sont les enjeux ? Qu'est-ce qui a motivé le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Il y a-t-il eu une nouvelle interprétation des données scientifiques précédemment mobilisées ou la soumission de nouvelles ? Si oui, par qui et quand ? Comment s'est déroulée la discussion au sujet de la baisse de la taxe et du retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu cette baisse et pourquoi ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu le retrait des allégations sanitaires et pourquoi ?
<i>Section V. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM</i>		
13	Est-ce y a un lien entre les modifications sur la politique de taxation des bouillons et les discussions autour de leur fortification obligatoire au Sénégal ?	Depuis quand il y a-t-il eu une remise à l'agenda des bouillons comme aliments véhicules pour la fortification obligatoire ? De qui provient cette initiative ? Qui s'y oppose ou le soutien au sein des parties prenantes de la nutrition ? Qui va prendre en charge les coûts de cette initiative ?
14	Si j'ai bien compris, le COSFAM est le lieu où sont prises les décisions quant à la fortification obligatoire d'aliments au Sénégal. Est-ce que vous pouvez le confirmer et m'expliquer les raisons de son institution et son fonctionnement ?	Quelles sont les objectifs du COSFAM ? Qui compose son secrétariat permanent ? Suite à quoi est-ce que ce comité a été mis en place en 2006 ? À quelle fréquence est-ce qu'il se réunit et combien de temps durent les réunions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes présentes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? Qui sont les représentants des différentes catégories d'acteurs présents ? Lesquelles ont le plus de poids et comment se déroule la collaboration ? Comment se déroulent ces réunions ? Qui décide de l'ordre du jour et coordonne les discussions ? Est-ce que chaque acteur est invité à s'exprimer et comment se déroule la distribution du temps de parole ? Comment s'organise la prise de décision (vote à la majorité - absolue ou non, vote à l'unanimité, décision finale appartenant à la présidence du comité...) ? Il y a-t-il un autre manière de trancher les différends ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces réunions ?
15	Quel est le rôle de votre organisation (nom) au sein du COSFAM ?	Quel est son poids dans les discussions ? Avez-vous été amené à représenter votre organisation au COSFAM ? Notamment sur la question de fortification des bouillons ? Si non, qui représente votre organisation sur cette question ? Qui représente les différents organismes publics (Primature <i>via</i> le CLM, l'ITA, l'ASN, le ministère de l'Économie/Femme/Industrie/Commerce/ Agriculture/information, l'UCAD) ?
16	Comment se déroulent ces discussions (apaisées, tendues...) au sujet de la fortification des bouillons ?	Quels sont les acteurs les plus actifs ? Les moins actifs ? Quel est le rôle des PTF et du secteur privé ? Lesquels sont présents ? Qui représente les industries agroalimentaires ? Les syndicats patronaux ?

		(Si pas/peu développé) Quelles sont leurs positions ? Il y a-t-il des divergences ou convergences au sein de mêmes catégories d'acteurs ? Ou des divergences ou convergences entre différentes catégories d'acteurs (par exemple, entre les syndicats patronaux et les associations de consommateurs) ? Avez-vous des exemples ?
17	Est-ce que les discussions sur la fortification des bouillons au sein du COSFAM s'appuient sur du savoir scientifique ?	Comment ? Est-ce que des études ont été ou vont être produites à partir de demandes formulées au sein du COSFAM ? Qui décide de l'agenda de recherche ou de la sélection des études prise en considération ? Qui les finance ? Qui les conduit ? Qui partage ces résultats auprès du COSFAM ?
18	(Si non mentionné/peu développé) Quel est le rôle des partenaires techniques et financiers (ex: GAIN, USAID, UNICEF ou HKI) au sein des discussions portant sur les bouillons au COSFAM ?	Qui les représente pour cette question ? Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Certains ont plus de poids que d'autres ? Si oui, lesquels et pourquoi ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Notamment celui touchant aux bouillons ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM au sujet des bouillons ? Est-ce qu'ils pourraient avoir un rôle sur les décisions touchant aux bouillons par un autre biais que le COSFAM ?
19	(Si non mentionné/peu développé) Quel est le rôle du secteur privé industriel au sein du COSFAM ?	Qu'est-ce qui est attendu de ce partenariat ? Quel est leur poids dans les décisions ? Certains plus que d'autres ? Si oui, lesquels ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Sont-ils toujours tous d'accord entre eux ou y a-t-il parfois des dissensions ? Sur quoi ? Est-ce que certains producteurs majeurs de bouillons au Sénégal ne sont pas représentés et pourquoi ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Est-ce qu'ils pourraient avoir un rôle sur les décisions par un autre biais que le COSFAM ?
20	(S'il reste du temps) De manière générale, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces événements politiques autour des bouillons ?	Que pensez-vous de l'initiative d'une taxe sur les bouillons ? D'une taxe à 25% ? D'une réduction de la taxe à 15% ? Que pensez-vous des allégations sanitaires au sein de la proposition de loi ? Et de leur retrait des documents politiques ? Que pensez-vous du choix des bouillons comme aliment véhicule pour la fortification obligatoire ? Que pensez-vous de l'implication de l'industrie agroalimentaire au sein des processus de définition de politiques nutritionnelles, notamment celles touchant aux bouillons ? Que pensez-vous du poids des industries agroalimentaires en contraste avec celui des PTF dans les processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ? Le Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la nutrition 2024-2028 est en cours de préparation. Qui participe à l'élaboration de ce document ? Est-il prévu de faire évoluer la forme et le poids de la collaboration avec le secteur industriel ? Les scientifiques ? Les PTF ? Si oui, de quelle façon ? Depuis quand sont-ils intégrés dans ces processus de politiques nutritionnelles ? Est-ce que la validation de la Nouvelle Alliance pour la Sécurité alimentaire et Nutrition en 2013 a facilité cette intégration ?

B. Interview guide for the stakeholder category "Academic/scientist"

	Questions	Relances
<i>Section I. Mandat de l'organisation et fonction de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de X (centre de recherche/laboratoire/...), pourriez-vous m'en dire un peu plus sur les activités de cette organisation ?	
2	Au sein de cette organisation, votre fonction est bien X, pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur cette fonction et votre travail au quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions dans votre poste actuel en lien avec cette/ces question(s) ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Quels sont les enjeux les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal actuellement ?	En particulier ceux touchant aux MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Dont le diabète et l'hypertension ? Les carences en micronutriments ? Est-ce que votre organisation traite en particulier de ces problèmes ? Travaillez-vous sur ces questions ? Depuis quand ? Avec des partenaires, si oui, lesquels ? Avez-vous déjà travaillé sur ces questions dans le passé ?
4	Quels sont les principaux déterminants de développement de MNT au Sénégal ? Dont les maladies cardiovasculaires et rénales ?	Concernant les déterminants de maladies rénales et hypertension, il y a-t-il des études récentes conduites au Sénégal ? Qui les ont produites et avez-vous participé ? Qui les a financés ?
<i>Section III. Collaboration scientifique et politiques nutritionnelles</i>		
5	Quelles sont les politiques nutritionnelles les plus importantes en réponse aux MNT liées à l'alimentation ?	Est-ce que vous travaillez directement sur ce sujet ? Si oui, de quelle manière ? Que pensez-vous des démarches obligatoires, en contraste avec la promotion d'initiatives volontaires ?
6	Quel est le rôle de votre organisation (nom) dans l'élaboration des politiques nutritionnelles ?	Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, pourriez-vous me la partager ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus importants dans la sphère scientifique dans le cadre de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ? Quel est leur rôle ? Quand interviennent-ils ? Dans quels espaces agissent-ils ? Avez-vous vous-même déjà été impliqué pour donner des conseils au gouvernement ? Si oui, comment êtes-vous intervenus ? Avez-vous participé à des espaces de concertations ? Si oui, lesquels ?
7	Dans le cadre du Plan stratégique de la Direction de Lutte contre les MNT 2017-2020, il est indiqué l'objectif d'améliorer la collaboration de la recherche sur les MNT à travers l'élaboration d'un agenda unique de recherche. Est-ce que cette collaboration est effectivement mise en œuvre ?	Qui entre dans cette collaboration ? Les partenaires techniques et financiers (ONG, OI...) ? Le secteur privé industriel ? Les organisations de société civile ? Si oui, lesquels ? Quels types de collaborations ? De quelle manière ? Qu'en est-il de cet agenda unique ? Qui l'a défini ? Avez-vous participé à des études en étant issues ? Qui les finance ? Est-il possible de consulter cet agenda de recherche ? Outre cette collaboration dans le cadre d'un agenda unique de recherche, est-ce que vous collaborez sur d'autres recherches ? Si oui, lesquelles et avec qui ? Est-ce que vous êtes amené à collaborer avec des industriels agroalimentaires ?
8	Est-ce qu'il existe des conférences scientifiques, séminaires ou autres, nationales ou internationales, réunissant les acteurs des politiques sénégalaises liées aux MNT induites par l'alimentation ?	Y avez-vous participé ? Si oui, qui vous y a convié ? Qui était présent ? Qui a organisé ces réunions ? Qui les a financées ? Avez-vous des exemples ? Comment se sont déroulées les discussions ? Qui a pris la parole ? Quelles étaient les présentations/sujets de discussion ?

<i>Section IV. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
9	Que pensez-vous des taxes sur les aliments dits « peu sains » comme voie de lutte contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Est-ce une approche défendue par les scientifiques ?	Comment sont décidées ces taxes ? Suivant quel processus ? Est-ce que vous intervenez-vous dans ces processus ? Si oui, à quel(s) stade(s) et de quelle façon ? De manière générale, est-ce que des savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés ? Comment ? Lesquels ? Par qui sont-ils mobilisés ? Par qui sont-ils produits ?
10	J'ai vu que récemment, les bouillons alimentaires ont fait l'objet d'une taxe. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Comment pensez-vous que cette taxe a été justifiée ? Était-elle fondée sur des savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels, qui les a soumis et comment ont-ils été utilisés ? Avez-vous connaissances des soutiens ou opposants à cette taxe ? Dans la sphère scientifique ? Dans la sphère politique ? Industriel ? Des acteurs du développement ? Quels étaient leurs argumentaires pour opposer ou soutenir cette politique ?
11	J'ai été surprise de voir que différentes sources (médias, rapports d'ONG...) indiquent que la taxe est à hauteur de 25%, mais après vérification, le JO du 5 juillet 2021 indique 15%. De plus, les allégations de santé (<i>prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits</i>) ont été retirées des documents politiques. Qu'est-ce qu'il s'est passé au niveau de cette modification ?	Qu'est-ce qui a justifié cette baisse et le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Il y a-t-il eu de nouveaux éléments scientifiques de santé publique qui sont entrés en jeu ? Ou une nouvelle interprétation des données précédemment soumises ? Qui les a soumises ou réinterprétées ? Est-ce que cette modification a fait l'objet d'un consensus ou des dissensions ? Entre qui ? Il y a-t-il eu d'autres éléments qui ont influencé la décision publique de baisser cette taxe (savoirs scientifiques d'économie ou autre) ? Si oui, qui les ont soumis ? Qui les ont soutenus ?
<i>Section V. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM</i>		
12	Est-ce vous savez s'il y a eu un lien entre cette modification et les discussions autour de la fortification obligatoire des bouillons au Sénégal ?	Avez-vous participé aux premières discussions d'avant 2006 sur la fortification obligatoire des bouillons ? Avez-vous participé à l'étude FRAT 2006 ? Qu'est-ce qui a changé du point de vue scientifique pour que les bouillons soient réintroduits après que la recommandation contraire ait été suivie en 2006 ? Est-ce que d'autres facteurs que scientifiques ont mené à cette réintroduction ? De qui provient cette initiative ? Il y a-t-il un consensus ou des dissensions concernant la désirabilité de cette option ?
13	De manière générale, quel est le rôle de la sphère scientifique, dont votre organisation, dans la prise de décision concernant la fortification obligatoire des aliments au Sénégal ?	De quelle manière est-ce que vous intervenez ? Dans quels espaces ? Avec qui êtes-vous amené à collaborer ?
14	(Si non/peu mentionné) Comment est-ce que la sphère scientifique intervient au sein du COSFAM et de quelle manière ?	Est-ce que les scientifiques présents aux COSFAM produisent du savoir scientifique à partir des besoins du comité ? Si ce n'est pas eux, qui les produisent ? Qui décide du cadre des études menées ou de la sélection des études prise en considération ? Qui les finance ? Qui partage ces résultats auprès du COSFAM ? Est-ce que le COSFAM a produit du savoir scientifique concernant la relation entre consommation de bouillon et santé ? Quelles sont les conclusions ? Pouvez-vous me partager ces études ?
15	Pour quelles raisons le COSFAM a été mis en place et comment fonctionne-t-il ?	Quelles sont objectifs du COSFAM ? À quelle fréquence est-ce qu'il se réunit et combien de temps durent les réunions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? En particulier les scientifiques qui y siègent ? Qui décide de l'ordre du jour et coordonne les discussions ?

		Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces réunions ?
16	Comment est-ce que la prise de décision s'organise au sein du COSFAM ?	Quel est le poids de votre organisation (nom) au sein du COSFAM ? Quel est son rôle dans ces discussions ? Quels acteurs prennent la parole ? Est-ce que certaines ont plus de poids que d'autres et comment se déroule la collaboration ? Qui tranche les différends ? Concernant les bouillons, est-ce que les discussions sont plutôt apaisées ou tendues ?
17	(Si non mentionné/peu développé précédemment) Quel est le rôle des partenaires techniques et financiers (e.g. GAIN, USAID, UNICEF ou HKI) au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Qui les représente ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? Soutiennent-ils la fortification des bouillons ou s'y opposent-ils ?
18	(Si non mentionné/peu développé précédemment) Quel est le rôle du secteur privé industriel au sein du COSFAM ?	Quel est leur poids dans les décisions ? Qui les représente ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? Soutiennent-ils la fortification des bouillons ou s'y opposent-ils ?
19	(S'il reste du temps) De manière générale, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces événements politiques autour des bouillons ?	Que pensez-vous de l'initiative d'une taxe sur les bouillons ? D'une taxe à 25% ? D'une réduction de la taxe à 15% ? Que pensez-vous du retrait des allégations sanitaires des documents politiques ? Que pensez-vous du choix des bouillons comme aliment véhicule pour la fortification obligatoire ? Que pensez-vous de l'implication de l'industrie agroalimentaire au sein des processus de définition de politiques nutritionnelles, notamment celles touchant aux bouillons ? Que pensez-vous du poids des industries agroalimentaires en contraste avec celui des PTF dans les processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ? Le Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la nutrition 2024-2028 est en cours de préparation. Qui participe à l'élaboration de ce document ? Est-il prévu de faire évoluer la forme et le poids de la collaboration avec le secteur industriel ? Les scientifiques ? Les PTF ? Si oui, de quelle façon ?

C. Interview guide for the stakeholder category "donors"

	Questions	Relances
<i>Section I. Mandat de l'organisation et fonction de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de (nom d'organisation), pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le mandat de cette organisation ?	
2	Au sein de cette organisation, vous occupez la fonction de (nom de fonction), pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur cette fonction et votre travail quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions dans votre poste actuel ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Quels sont selon vous les enjeux actuels les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal ?	(Si non mentionné) Qu'en est-il des MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Dont l'hypertension et le diabète ? Les carences en micronutriments ? Est-ce que vous traitez de ces questions dans le cadre de vos missions ? Est-ce que votre organisation traite de ces questions ?

		De quelle manière et depuis quand ? Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, pourriez-vous me la partager ?
4	Quelles sont les principales causes de ces problèmes selon vous ?	
<i>Section III. Les politiques nutritionnelles</i>		
5	Quelles sont les interventions nutritionnelles les plus importantes que vous soutenez dans ce domaine ?	Comment les élaborerez-vous ? Est-ce que certaines sont portées sur la prévention des maladies cardiovasculaires et rénales ? Si oui, lesquelles et que mettez-vous en œuvre ? Quelles sont les interventions visant à consolider un environnement alimentaire favorable ? Que pensez-vous des interventions obligatoires en contraste avec la promotion d'initiatives volontaires ? Comment expliquez-vous que le Sénégal investit moins dans les politiques de lutte contre la malnutrition en comparaison avec les autres pays de la région ?
6	Est-ce que vous collaborez avec d'autres acteurs dans l'élaboration de ces interventions ? Notamment celles touchant les carences en micronutriments, l'hypertension ou le diabète ?	Collaborez-vous avec des acteurs issus du secteur privé dans l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre de ces interventions ? Lesquels ? Les industriels ? De quelle façon ? Dans quels espaces ? Collaborez-vous avec des scientifiques ? Lesquels ? Prenez-vous appui sur des savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels et comment ? Produits par qui ? Comment sont-ils identifiés/sélectionnés ?
7	De manière générale, est-ce que votre organisation (nom) a un rôle l'élaboration des politiques nutritionnelles ?	Si oui, quel est ce rôle ? À quel(s) stade(s) du processus politique est-ce que vous intervenez et de quelle façon ? Comment est-ce que vous collaborez avec les décideurs politiques ? Est-ce que cette intervention se déroule dans des espaces de concertations multiacteurs ? Si oui, lesquels ? Est-ce que le COSFAM en fait partie ? Le SUN (réseau des bailleurs/OI/ONG) ? Autres ? Qui vous représente dans ces espaces ? Quels autres acteurs sont présents dans ces espaces de concertation ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces consultations ? Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, pourriez-vous me la partager ? De manière générale, quelles sont les ONG, bailleurs et OI les plus importantes au sein de cette collaboration ? Pourquoi ? Quel est leur rôle ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus importants du secteur privé avec lesquels vous êtes amené à collaborer dans le cadre de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
<i>Section IV. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM</i>		
8	La fortification obligatoire des bouillons alimentaires est en cours de discussion au Sénégal, qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Quelle est la position de votre organisation sur cette intervention ? Qu'elle est la vôtre ? D'où provient cette initiative ? Est-ce que certains acteurs s'y opposent et lesquels la soutiennent ? Est-ce que cette réintroduction après l'écartement des bouillons en 2006 est liée au développement de nouveaux savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels ? Produits et soumis par qui ? Financé par qui ? Ou à une réinterprétation ? Par qui ?

9	Le COSFAM est le lieu de définition de politique de fortification obligatoire au Sénégal. Le confirmez-vous ? Quelles sont les raisons de sa mise en place en 2006 ? Comment fonctionne-t-il ?	Quels sont ses objectifs ? Qui compose son secrétariat ? Qui et/ou quel évènement est à l'origine de cette initiative ? À quelle fréquence est-ce qu'il se réunit et combien de temps durent les réunions ? Quel est le poids de votre organisation (nom) au sein du COSFAM ? Qui vous représente dans ce comité ? Quel est son rôle dans ces discussions ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces réunions ?
10	Comment se déroulent les discussions sur la fortification des bouillons au sein du COSFAM ?	Qui décide de l'ordre du jour et coordonne les discussions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? Lesquelles ont le plus de poids et comment se déroule la collaboration ? Qui tranche les différends ? Pourquoi cette remise à l'agenda après l'écartement en 2006 suivant les recommandations de l'étude FRAT 2006 ? Quels facteurs ont mené à cette décision ? Qui en est à l'initiative ? Concernant les bouillons, est-ce que les discussions sont plutôt apaisées, tendues, consensuelles, conflictuelles... ?
11	Quel est le rôle des scientifiques au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Comment sont-ils désignés ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé ou d'autres ?
12	Quel est le rôle du secteur privé industriel au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? S'opposent-ils ou soutiennent-ils cette fortification ? Pourquoi ?
<i>Section V. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
13	J'ai vu que récemment, les bouillons alimentaires ont fait l'objet d'une taxe initialement à hauteur de 25%. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez d'une taxe sur les bouillons au Sénégal ?	Est-ce utile pour lutter contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Lesquelles et comment ? Qu'est-ce qui la justifie ? Quand est-ce que les discussions au sujet d'une taxe sur les bouillons ont commencé ? Est-ce que votre organisation y a pris part ? Qui précisément ? Qui l'a proposé ? Qui a pris part à la discussion ? Sur base de quelles justifications ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ? Est-ce que ce processus politique était semblable à ceux d'autres politiques similaires ? Comment s'est-il déroulé ?
14	Cette dernière a été modifiée pour être baissée à 15%. De plus, les allégations sanitaires ont été retirées (prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits). Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de la modification de cette loi ?	Est-ce en lien avec l'opportunité de fortification des bouillons ? Quelles sont vos impressions du déroulement de cette politique ? Qu'est-ce qui a justifié la baisse - quels en sont les enjeux ? Qu'est-ce qui a motivé le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Il y a-t-il eu d'autres éléments qui ont influencé la décision publique de baisser cette taxe (savoirs scientifiques d'économie ou autre) ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu cette baisse ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Comment s'est déroulée cette discussion (tendue, apaisée...) ?

		Où s'est-elle déroulée ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ?
15	De manière générale, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces événements politiques autour des bouillons ?	Que pensez-vous de l'initiative d'une taxe sur les bouillons ? D'une taxe à 25% ? D'une réduction de la taxe à 15% ? Que pensez-vous du retrait des allégations sanitaires des documents politiques ? Que pensez-vous du choix des bouillons comme aliment véhicule pour la fortification obligatoire ? Que pensez-vous de l'implication de l'industrie agroalimentaire au sein des processus de définition de politiques nutritionnelles, notamment celles touchant aux bouillons ? Que pensez-vous du poids des industries agroalimentaires au sein des processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
16	Est-ce que vous considérez les IAA comme des parties prenantes incontournables dans le cadre de la définition de politiques nutritionnelles ou du développement de vos interventions qui touchent à la consommation d'aliments qu'ils produisent ?	Comment caractériseriez-vous la relation entre votre organisation et les industriels ? Par exemple, est-ce que vous leur fournissez des recommandations ? Où est-ce que leur avis est pris en considération dans la formulation de vos recommandations auprès des pouvoirs publics ? Ont-ils tendance à s'opposer à vos recommandations liées à la nutrition ayant un impact sur leur façon de mener leurs activités ou à les suivre ? Depuis quand sont-ils intégrés dans ces processus de politiques nutritionnelles ? Est-ce que la validation de la Nouvelle Alliance pour la Sécurité alimentaire et Nutrition en 2013 a facilité cette intégration ? Le Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la nutrition 2024-2028 est en cours de préparation. Qui participe à l'élaboration de ce document ? Est-il prévu de faire évoluer la forme et le poids de la collaboration avec le secteur industriel ? Les scientifiques ? Les PTF ? Si oui, de quelle façon ?

D. Interview guide for the stakeholder category "international and national NGOs"

	Questions	Relances
<i>Section I. Mandat de l'organisation et fonctions de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de X, pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le mandat/activités de cette organisation ?	
2	Au sein de cette organisation, votre fonction est bien X, pourriez-vous m'en dire un peu plus sur cette fonction et votre travail au quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions dans votre poste actuel ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Quels sont selon vous les enjeux les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal actuellement ?	Qu'en est-il des MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Dont hypertension et diabète ? Carences en micronutriments ? Est-ce que vous traitez de ces questions-là dans le cadre de vos missions ? Est-ce que votre organisation traite de ces questions ? De quelle manière et depuis quand ? Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, êtes-vous pourriez-vous me la partager ?
4	Quelles sont selon vous les principales causes ?	
<i>Section III. Les politiques nutritionnelles</i>		

5	Quelles sont les interventions nutritionnelles les plus importantes que vous soutenez dans ce domaine ?	Comment les élaborez-vous ? Est-ce que certaines sont portées sur la prévention des maladies cardiovasculaires et rénales ? Si oui, lesquelles et que mettez-vous en œuvre ? Il y a-t-il des interventions visant à consolider un environnement alimentaire favorable ? Que pensez-vous des interventions obligatoires, en contraste avec les initiatives volontaires ? Comment expliquez-vous que le Sénégal investit moins dans les politiques de lutte contre la malnutrition en comparaison avec les autres pays de la région ?
6	Est-ce que vous collaborez avec d'autres acteurs dans l'élaboration de ces interventions ? Notamment celles touchant les carences en micronutriments, l'hypertension et le diabète ?	Collaborez-vous avec des acteurs issus du secteur privé dans l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre de ces interventions ? Si oui, lesquels ? Les industriels ? De quelle façon et dans quels espaces ? Collaborez-vous avec des scientifiques ? Lesquels ? Prenez-vous appui sur des savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels et comment ? Produits par qui ? Comment sont-ils identifiés/sélectionnés ?
7	De manière générale, est-ce que votre organisation (nom) a un rôle dans l'élaboration des politiques nutritionnelles ?	Si oui, quel est ce rôle ? À quel(s) stade(s) du processus politique est-ce que vous intervenez et de quelle façon ? Comment est-ce que vous collaborez avec les décideurs politiques ? Est-ce que cette intervention se déroule dans des espaces de concertations multiacteurs ? Si oui, lesquels ? Est-ce que le COSFAM en fait partie ? Le SUN (réseau des bailleurs/OI/ONG) ? Autres ? Qui vous représente dans ces espaces ? Quels autres acteurs sont présents dans ces espaces de concertation ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces consultations ? Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, pourriez-vous me la partager ? De manière générale, quelles sont les ONG, bailleurs et OI les plus importantes au sein de cette collaboration ? Pourquoi ? Quel est leur rôle ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus importants du secteur privé avec lesquels vous êtes amené à collaborer dans le cadre de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
<i>Section IV. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
8	Que pensez-vous des taxes sur les aliments dits « peu sains » comme voie de lutte contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Est-ce une approche défendue par votre organisation ?	Comment sont décidées ces taxes ? Suivant quel processus ? Est-ce que vous intervenez-vous dans ces processus ? Si oui, à quel(s) stade(s) et de quelle façon ? De manière générale, est-ce que des savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés ? Comment ? Lesquels ? Par qui ?
9	J'ai vu que récemment, les bouillons alimentaires ont fait l'objet d'une taxe initialement à hauteur de 25%. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez d'une taxe sur les bouillons au Sénégal ?	Est-ce utile pour lutter contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Lesquelles et comment ? Qu'est-ce qui la justifie ? Quand est-ce que les discussions au sujet d'une taxe sur les bouillons ont commencé ? Est-ce que votre organisation y a pris part ? Qui précisément ? Qui l'a proposé ? Qui a pris part à la discussion ? Sur base de quelles justifications ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ?

		Est-ce que ce processus politique était semblable à ceux d'autres politiques similaires ? Comment s'est-il déroulé ?
10	Cette dernière a été modifiée pour être baissée à 15%. De plus, les allégations sanitaires ont été retirées (<i>prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits</i>). Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de la modification de cette loi ?	Quelles sont vos impressions du déroulement de cette politique ? Qu'est-ce qui a justifié la baisse - quels en sont les enjeux ? Qu'est-ce qui a motivé le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Il y a-t-il eu d'autres éléments qui ont influencé la décision publique de baisser cette taxe (savoirs scientifiques d'économie ou autre) ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu cette baisse ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Comment s'est déroulée cette discussion (tendue, apaisée...) ? Où s'est-elle déroulée ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ?
<i>Section V. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM</i>		
11	La fortification obligatoire des bouillons alimentaires est en cours de discussion au Sénégal, qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Quelle est la position de votre organisation sur cette intervention ? Qu'elle est la vôtre ? D'où provient cette initiative ? Est-ce que certains acteurs s'y opposent et lesquels la soutiennent ? Est-ce que cette réintroduction après l'écartement des bouillons en 2006 est liée au développement de nouveaux savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels ? Produits et soumis par qui ? Financé par qui ? Ou à une réinterprétation ? Par qui ?
12	Le COSFAM est le lieu de définition de politique de fortification obligatoire au Sénégal. Le confirmez-vous ? Quelles sont les raisons de sa mise en place en 2006 ? Comment fonctionne-t-il ?	Quels sont ses objectifs ? Qui compose son secrétariat ? Qui et/ou quel événement est à l'origine de cette initiative ? À quelle fréquence est-ce qu'il se réunit et combien de temps durent les réunions ? Est-ce que votre organisation y est représentée ? Si oui, quel est le poids de votre organisation (nom) au sein du COSFAM ? Qui vous représente dans ce comité ? Quel est son rôle dans ces discussions ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces réunions ?
13	Comment se déroulent les discussions sur la fortification des bouillons au sein du COSFAM ?	Qui décide de l'ordre du jour et coordonne les discussions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? Lesquelles ont le plus de poids et comment se déroule la collaboration ? Qui tranche les différends ? Pourquoi cette remise à l'agenda après l'écartement en 2006 suivant les recommandations de l'étude FRAT 2006 ? Quels facteurs ont mené à cette décision ? Qui en est à l'initiative ? Concernant les bouillons, est-ce que les discussions sont plutôt apaisées, tendues, consensuelles, conflictuelles... ?
14	Quel est le rôle des scientifiques au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Comment sont-ils désignés ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé ou d'autres ?
15	Quel est le rôle du secteur privé industriel au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? S'opposent-ils ou soutiennent-ils cette fortification ? Pourquoi ?

16	Quel est le rôle des bailleurs institutionnels au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Qui les représente ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? Soutiennent-ils la fortification des bouillons ou s'y opposent-ils ?
17	De manière générale, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces événements politiques autour des bouillons ?	Que pensez-vous de l'initiative d'une taxe sur les bouillons ? D'une taxe à 25% ? D'une réduction de la taxe à 15% ? Que pensez-vous du retrait des allégations sanitaires des documents politiques ? Que pensez-vous du choix des bouillons comme aliment véhicule pour la fortification obligatoire ? Que pensez-vous de l'implication de l'industrie agroalimentaire au sein des processus de définition de politiques nutritionnelles, notamment celles touchant aux bouillons ? Que pensez-vous du poids des industries agroalimentaires au sein des processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
18	Est-ce que vous considérez les IAA comme des parties prenantes incontournables dans le cadre de la définition de politiques nutritionnelles ou du développement de vos interventions qui touchent à la consommation d'aliments qu'ils produisent ?	Comment caractériseriez-vous la relation entre votre organisation et les industriels ? Par exemple, est-ce que vous leur fournissez des recommandations ? Où est-ce que leur avis est pris en considération dans la formulation de vos recommandations auprès des pouvoirs publics ? Ont-ils tendance à s'opposer à vos recommandations liées à la nutrition ayant un impact sur leur façon de mener leurs activités ou à les suivre ? Depuis quand sont-ils intégrés dans ces processus de politiques nutritionnelles ? Est-ce que la validation de la Nouvelle Alliance pour la Sécurité alimentaire et Nutrition en 2013 a facilité cette intégration ? Le Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la nutrition 2024-2028 est en cours de préparation. Qui participe à l'élaboration de ce document ? Est-il prévu de faire évoluer la forme et le poids de la collaboration avec le secteur industriel ? Les scientifiques ? Les PTF ? Si oui, de quelle façon ?

E. Interview guide for the stakeholder category "food industry private sector"

	Questions	Relances
<i>Section I. Activités de l'entreprise ou organisation et fonction de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de l'entreprise/organisation (nom). Pouvez-vous m'en dire plus sur les activités que votre entreprise entreprend au Sénégal ?	Quel est le poids de votre entreprise dans le paysage alimentaire et économique sénégalais ?
2	Au sein de l'organisation/entreprise (nom), votre fonction est bien (titre de la fonction). Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur cette fonction et votre travail au quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions dans votre poste actuel ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Selon vous, quels sont les enjeux les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal actuellement ?	Quelles en sont les causes selon vous ? Est-ce que votre entreprise porte une attention à ces questions-là et de quelle manière ? Est-ce que vous avez mis en place des activités à cet égard ? Est-ce que d'autres activités sont prévues ?

4	Est-ce que votre organisation/entreprise soutient des interventions nutritionnelles ?	Si oui, quelles sont les interventions nutritionnelles les plus importantes que vous soutenez au Sénégal ? Il y'a-t-il des interventions visant à consolider un environnement alimentaire favorable ? Si oui, lesquelles ? Depuis quand les soutenez-vous ? Pourquoi ? De manière générale, depuis quand est-ce que votre entreprise/organisation soutient des interventions nutritionnelles au Sénégal ? Quel est votre intérêt en tant qu'entreprise privée/organisation privée ?
<i>Section III. Les politiques nutritionnelles</i>		
5	Au regard de votre position dans le paysage alimentaire sénégalais/des acteurs que vous représentez, est-ce que vous êtes amené à être consulté par le gouvernement sénégalais dans le cadre de définition de politiques nutritionnelles ?	Quel type de politique ? Comment contribuez-vous/intervenez-vous (rapport, discussions...) et quelle est la nature de votre contribution ? Est-ce que vous êtes amené à apporter un appui scientifique dans le cadre de cette contribution ? Si oui, quelle forme est-ce que cet appui scientifique prend ? Produisez-vous du savoir scientifique ? Est-ce que ces données sont disponibles ? Financez-vous des études scientifiques ou apportez-vous un soutien financier à des laboratoires scientifiques sénégalais ? Si oui, lesquelles ? Mises en œuvre par qui ? Soutenez-vous l'effort scientifique en finançant des événements scientifiques (symposium, séminaires...) ? Estimez-vous que cet appui porte ses fruits en termes de développement de connaissances nutritionnelles au Sénégal ? Notamment pour informer efficacement les politiques nutritionnelles ?
6	Avec quels acteurs précisément êtes-vous amené à échanger dans le cadre des discussions autour des politiques nutritionnelles ?	Quels ministères ? Êtes-vous amené à échanger avec d'autres acteurs, tels que les PTF, dont des ONG nationales ou internationales ? Le CNDN ? D'autres entreprises ou organisations privées ? Avec des chercheurs/académiques ? Sous quelle forme ? Êtes-vous amené à participer à des espaces de concertation multiacteurs ? Lesquels ? SUN (réseau secteur privé)? COSFAM ?
<i>Section IV. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
7	Que pensez-vous des interventions qui s'appuient sur la taxation de certains aliments ? Je pense en particulier à la taxe sur les bouillons alimentaires.	Est-ce que vous pensez que ce type de politiques sont utiles pour réduire les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Pourquoi ? Pensez-vous que ces politiques sont fondées sur des savoirs scientifiques ? Si oui, lesquels ? Si non, pourquoi ne le sont-elles pas ? Avez-vous été sollicité pour un avis dans le cadre de l'élaboration de cette politique ? Avez-vous fourni un appui (tel qu'une expertise) ? Si oui, de quelle nature ? Qui a proposé cette loi ? Quelles étaient les motivations de cette loi ? Quelles étaient les parties prenantes ? Lesquels avaient le plus de poids ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées (dans le cadre précis des bouillons) ?

8	Toujours concernant les bouillons, j'ai été surprise de voir que différentes sources (médias, rapports d'ONG...) indiquent que la taxe est à hauteur de 25%, mais après vérification, le JO du 5 juillet 2021 indique 15%. De plus, des allégations de santé (<i>prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits</i>) ont été retirées des documents politiques. Qu'est-ce qu'il s'est passé au niveau de cette modification ?	Qu'est-ce qui a justifié la baisse de la taxe initialement proposée ? Que pensez-vous de ces allégations sanitaires, et de leur retrait ? Il y a-t-il eu de nouveaux éléments scientifiques de santé publique qui sont entrés en jeu ? Lesquels ? Qui les a soumis ? Qui les a soutenus ou opposés ? Il y a-t-il eu d'autres éléments qui ont influencé la décision publique de baisser cette taxe (savoirs scientifiques d'économie ou autre) ? Est-ce que ce processus politique vous a paru commun/classique au Sénégal ? Pour quelles raisons ?
Section V. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM		
9	Un autre instrument de lutte contre la malnutrition qui a attiré mon attention est la fortification des aliments. 1. J'ai vu que vous en produisiez/que les acteurs que vous représentez en produisent, qu'est-ce qui vous/les a motivé à le faire ? 2. Je n'ai pas vu que vous en commercialisez/que les acteurs que vous représentez en commercialisent, est-ce que vous l'envisagez/ils l'envisagent dans le futur ?	1. Lesquels ? 1. Est-ce que vous observez des changements dans les comportements des consommateurs face à vos produits fortifiés et ceux ne l'étant pas ? 1. Sont-ils davantage ou moins consommés que le même produit non fortifié ? 1. Sont-ils perçus positivement ? 1&2. Est-ce que cela a un impact plutôt positif, négatif ou neutre sur vos activités ? 1&2. Est-ce que la fortification des aliments nécessite forcément de solides capacités technologiques ? 1&2. Pensez-vous que des PME sénégalaises peuvent la prendre en charge ce type d'activités ? ? 1&2. Il y a-t-il des espaces où vous discutez de ces questions de fortification ? (Pour les entreprises privées) des syndicats ? Autres ?
10	J'ai vu qu'il y a une discussion en cours sur la fortification obligatoire des bouillons. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Depuis quand est-ce que cette discussion est en cours ? Qui l'a initié ? Pensez-vous que la démarche obligatoire est utile ? Pourquoi ? Est-ce que vous la soutenez ou vous y opposez-vous ? Sur quoi basez-vous votre jugement ? Quel est le rôle des industries agroalimentaires dans ce type d'interventions ? Comment s'est déroulée la mise à l'agenda de cette discussion ? Est-ce que votre avis est pris en compte ? Quels acteurs sollicitent votre avis ? Pourquoi cette remise à l'agenda après l'écartement de 2006 suivant l'étude FRAT 2006 ? Que pensez-vous de cette étude ?
11	Je sais aussi qu'il y a une initiative financée par BMG et menée par HKI pour une fortification des bouillons en de multiples micronutriments à destinée de plusieurs pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Est-ce avantageux ou non en termes de lutte contre la malnutrition ? Est-ce avantageux ou non pour vos activités ? (Si non précisé avant) Est-ce grâce à cette initiative que les bouillons ont été remis à l'agenda pour la fortification obligatoire, ou y a-t-elle contribué ? Qu'est-ce qui la justifie ? Qui la soutient ? Est-ce que des acteurs s'y opposent, si oui, lesquels et pourquoi ?
12	Dans quels espaces est-ce que vous participez dans le cadre des discussions sur la fortification obligatoire des aliments ?	Avez-vous participé à des consultations multiacteurs à ce sujet ? Le COSFAM ? SUN ? Syndicats du secteur privé ? Autres ? Avec qui collaborez-vous dans le cadre de ce processus décisionnel ? Est-ce que vous collaborez avec les partenaires techniques et financiers ? Avec les décideurs politiques ? Qui sont les parties prenantes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? Comment se structurent les discussions ? Sur quoi portent-elles précisément ? Quel est votre rôle spécifique dans ces discussions ?

13	Comment est-ce que les prises de décisions s'organisent au COSFAM ?	Qui prend la parole ? Qui tranche les différends ? Diriez-vous que vous avez un poids important dans cette prise de décision ? En contraste avec quels acteurs ? Quels sont les acteurs ayant le plus de poids ?
14	Est-ce que du savoir scientifique est mobilisé lors de ces discussions ?	Lequel ? Produit par qui ? Comment est-il utilisé ? Est-ce que du savoir scientifique est produit à partir de demandes émergentes de ces discussions ? Qui décide du cadre de ces études ? Qui les finance ? Qui les conduit ? Qui partage ces résultats dans ces espaces ? Avez-vous soumis des évidences scientifiques dans le cadre de ces discussions ? Lesquelles ? D'où proviennent-elles ?
15	De manière générale, comment caractériseriez-vous votre collaboration avec les partenaires techniques et financiers au Sénégal ?	Est-ce qu'ils vous font des recommandations liées à la nutrition ? Est-ce qu'ils vous consultent lorsqu'ils produisent des recommandations ? Est-il facile ou difficile de coordonner vos activités d'entreprises avec les agendas des PTF ? Êtes-vous amené à adapter vos activités en fonction de leurs agendas ?
16	Pensez-vous être considéré comme une partie prenante incontournable de la lutte contre la malnutrition au Sénégal ?	Pourquoi ? Depuis quand ? Avez-vous été consulté dans le cadre de la définition en cours du prochain Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la Nutrition au Sénégal (2024-2028) ? Est-ce que la place de secteur privé est amenée à évoluer sur ces questions ? Est-ce que la validation en 2013 de la Nouvelle Alliance pour la Sécurité alimentaire et Nutrition permet de renforcer votre implication dans le champ de la nutrition au Sénégal ? Est-ce qu'un autre accord politique à un impact là-dessus (national ou international) ?

F. Interview guide for the stakeholder category "consumer organisation"

	Questions	Relances
<i>Section I. Mandat de l'organisation et fonctions de l'interviewé</i>		
1	Vous travaillez au sein de l'association (nom), pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le mandat/activités de cette organisation ?	
2	Au sein de cette organisation, votre fonction est bien (titre de la fonction), pourriez-vous m'en dire un peu plus sur cette fonction et votre travail au quotidien ?	Quelles sont vos missions dans votre poste actuel ?
<i>Section II. Les problèmes nutritionnels</i>		
3	Quels sont selon vous les enjeux les plus importants en matière de nutrition au Sénégal actuellement ?	Qu'en est-il des MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Dont hypertension et diabète ? Carences en micronutriments ? Est-ce que vous traitez de ces questions-là dans le cadre de vos missions ? Est-ce que votre organisation traite de ces questions ? De quelle manière et depuis quand ?
4	Quelles sont selon vous les principales causes ?	Est-ce que l'environnement alimentaire en fait partie ?
<i>Section III. Les politiques nutritionnelles</i>		
5	Quelles sont les politiques nutritionnelles les plus importantes en réponse aux MNT liées à l'alimentation ?	Est-ce que vous travaillez directement sur ces sujets ? Que pensez-vous des démarches obligatoires en contraste avec les initiatives volontaires ?

6	De manière générale, est-ce que votre association (nom) a un rôle dans l'élaboration des politiques nutritionnelles ?	Si oui, quel est ce rôle ? À quel(s) stade(s) du processus politique est-ce que vous intervenez et de quelle façon ? Comment est-ce que vous collaborez avec les décideurs politiques ? Est-ce que cette intervention se déroule dans des espaces de concertations multiacteurs ? Si oui, lesquels ? Est-ce que le COSFAM en fait partie ? le SUN (réseau OSC) ? Autres ? Qui vous représente dans ces espaces ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces concertations ? De manière générale, quels sont acteurs associatifs les plus importants au sein de cette collaboration ? Pourquoi ? Quel est leur rôle ? Quels sont les acteurs les plus importants du secteur privé avec lesquels vous êtes amené à collaborer dans le cadre de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
7	Avec quels acteurs collaborez-vous dans le cadre de l'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?	Notamment dans le cadre de consultations multiacteurs ? Lesquels ? Avec les PTF ? Le secteur privé, dont les industriels ou des syndicats patronaux ? De quelle façon est-ce que vous collaborez ? Il existe une cartographie des acteurs et institutions impliqués dans la lutte contre les MNT, en avez-vous connaissance et pourriez-vous me la partager ?
<i>Section IV. La politique de taxation des aliments, dont les bouillons</i>		
8	Que pensez-vous des taxes sur les aliments dits « peu sains » comme voie de lutte contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Est-ce une approche défendue par votre association ?	Comment sont décidées ces taxes ? Suivant quel processus ? Est-ce que vous intervenez dans ces processus ? Si oui, à quel(s) stade(s) et de quelle façon ? De manière générale, est-ce que des savoirs scientifiques sont mobilisés ? Si oui, comment ? Lesquels ? Par qui ?
9	J'ai vu que récemment, les bouillons alimentaires ont fait l'objet d'une taxe initialement à hauteur de 25%. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez d'une taxe sur les bouillons au Sénégal ?	Est-ce utile pour lutter contre les MNT liées à l'alimentation ? Lesquelles et comment ? Qu'est-ce qui la justifie ? Quand est-ce que les discussions au sujet d'une taxe sur les bouillons ont commencé ? Est-ce que votre association y a pris part ? Qui précisément ? Qui l'a proposé ? Qui a pris part à la discussion ? Sur base de quelles justifications ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ? Est-ce que ce processus politique était semblable à ceux d'autres politiques similaires ? Comment s'est-il déroulé ?
10	Cette dernière a été modifiée pour être baissée à 15%. De plus, les allégations sanitaires ont été retirées (<i>prévention d'externalités négatives induites par la consommation de ces produits</i>). Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de la modification de cette loi ?	Quelles sont vos impressions du déroulement de cette politique ? Qu'est-ce qui a justifié la baisse - quels en sont les enjeux ? Qu'est-ce qui a motivé le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Il y a-t-il eu d'autres éléments qui ont influencé la décision publique de baisser cette taxe (savoirs scientifiques d'économie ou autre) ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu cette baisse ? Quels acteurs ont soutenu le retrait des allégations sanitaires ? Comment s'est déroulée cette discussion (tendue, apaisée...) ? Où s'est-elle déroulée ? Est-ce que des données scientifiques ont été mobilisées ? Lesquelles ? Par qui ?

<i>Section V. Le débat sur la fortification et le fonctionnement du COSFAM</i>		
11	La fortification obligatoire des bouillons alimentaires est en cours de discussion au Sénégal, qu'est-ce que vous en pensez ?	Quelle est la position de votre organisation sur cette intervention ? Qu'elle est la vôtre ? D'où provient cette initiative ? Est-ce que certains acteurs s'y opposent et lesquels la soutiennent ? Est-ce que cette réintroduction après l'écartement des bouillons en 2006 est liée au développement de nouveaux savoirs scientifiques ? Lesquels ? Produits et soumis par qui ? Financé par qui ? Ou à une réinterprétation ? Par qui ?
12	Le COSFAM est le lieu de définition de politique de fortification obligatoire au Sénégal. Le confirmez-vous ? Quelles sont les raisons de sa mise en place en 2006 ? Comment fonctionne-t-il ?	Quels sont ses objectifs ? Qui compose son secrétariat ? Qui et/ou quel événement est à l'origine de cette initiative ? À quelle fréquence est-ce qu'il se réunit et combien de temps durent les réunions ? Est-ce que votre organisation y est représentée ? Si oui, quel est le poids de votre organisation (nom) au sein du COSFAM ? Qui vous représente dans ce comité ? Quel est son rôle dans ces discussions ? Est-il possible de prendre connaissance du contenu de ces réunions ?
13	Comment se déroulent les discussions sur la fortification des bouillons au sein du COSFAM ?	Qui décide de l'ordre du jour et coordonne les discussions ? Quelles sont les parties prenantes et comment ont-elles été désignées ? Lesquelles ont le plus de poids et comment se déroule la collaboration ? Qui tranche les différends ? Pourquoi cette remise à l'agenda après l'écartement en 2006 ? Quels facteurs ont mené à cette décision ? Qui en est à l'initiative ? Concernant les bouillons, est-ce que les discussions sont plutôt apaisées, tendues, consensuelles, conflictuelles... ?
14	Quel est le rôle des scientifiques au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Comment sont-ils désignés ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé ou d'autres ?
15	Quel est le rôle du secteur privé industriel au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? S'opposent-ils ou soutiennent-ils cette fortification ? Pourquoi ?
16	Quel est le rôle des partenaires techniques et financiers au sein du COSFAM ?	Quels sont leurs poids dans les décisions ? Qui les représente ? Ont-ils un rôle dans la définition de l'agenda du COSFAM ? Soumettent-ils des savoirs scientifiques auprès du COSFAM ? Quels types de savoirs ? Uniquement des savoirs auxquels ils ont participé (par exemple par le biais de financements) ou d'autres ? Soutiennent-ils la fortification des bouillons ou s'y opposent-ils ?

17	De manière générale, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces événements politiques autour des bouillons ?	Que pensez-vous de l'initiative d'une taxe sur les bouillons ? D'une taxe à 25% ? D'une réduction de la taxe à 15% ? Que pensez-vous du retrait des allégations sanitaires des documents politiques ? Que pensez-vous du choix des bouillons comme aliment véhicule pour la fortification obligatoire ? Que pensez-vous de l'implication de l'industrie agroalimentaire au sein des processus de définition de politiques nutritionnelles, notamment celles touchant aux bouillons ? Que pensez-vous du poids des industries agroalimentaires au sein des processus d'élaboration de politiques nutritionnelles ?
18	Est-ce que vous considérez les IAA comme des parties prenantes incontournables dans le cadre de la définition de politiques nutritionnelles ou du développement de vos interventions qui touchent à la consommation d'aliments qu'ils produisent ?	Depuis quand sont-ils intégrés dans ces processus de politiques nutritionnelles ? Est-ce que la validation de la Nouvelle Alliance pour la Sécurité alimentaire et Nutrition en 2013 a facilité cette intégration ? Le Plan stratégique multisectoriel pour la nutrition 2024-2028 est en cours de préparation. Qui participe à l'élaboration de ce document ? Est-il prévu de faire évoluer la forme et le poids de la collaboration avec le secteur industriel ? Les scientifiques ? Les PTF ? Des associations de consommateurs ? Si oui, de quelle façon ? Les industriels ont-ils tendance à s'opposer à vos recommandations liées à la nutrition ayant un impact sur leur façon de mener leurs activités ou à les suivre ?

Annex 5 : Detailed distribution of the type of key stakeholder interviewed

Number	Type of key stakeholder	Organisation/institution	Identification code	Date of completion of the individual interview	Audio-recorded or written notes
1	NGO	Scaling up nutrition Civil Society Network	O-0709-1	07/09/2023	Audio
2	Academic/scientist	LARNAH, UCAD	S-0809-2	08/09/2023	Audio
3	Consumer organisation	National Consumer Union of Senegal (NCUS)	A-0809-3	08/09/2023	Audio
4	Academic/scientist	Cancerology International Centre of Dakar (CICD)	S-1109-4	11/09/2023	Audio
5	Decision maker	National Council of Nutrition Development (NCND)	D-1109-5	11/09/2023	Audio
6	Decision maker	Direction of Mother and Child Health (DMCH), Ministry of Health	D-1209-6	12/09/2023	Audio
7	Academic/scientist	National Committee of the Codex Alimentarius (NCCA)	S-1209-7	12/09/2023	Written
8	Academic/scientist	NCCA	S-1309-8	13/09/2023	Audio
9	Academic/scientist	LARNAH/UCAD	S-1909-9	19/09/2023	Written
10	Donors	Canadian Cooperation	B-2009-10	20/09/2023	Written
11	Decision maker	Food Technology Institute (FTI)	D-2509-11	25/09/2023	Written
12	Decision maker	Senegalese Normalisation Association (SNA)	D-2509-12	25/09/2023	Written
13	NGO	Helen Keller International (HKI)	O-2609-13	26/09/2023	Audio
14	Decision maker	NCND	D-0210-14	02/10/2023	Written
15	Decision maker	Direction of the Fight against Non-Communicable Diseases (DFNCD), Ministry of Health	D-0310-15	03/10/2023	Audio
16	NGO	HKI	O-0310-16	03/10/2023	Written
17	Decision maker	DFNCD, Ministry of Health	D-0410-17	04/10/2023	Written
18	Decision maker	Direction of the Planification, Research and Statistics (DPRS), Ministry of Health	D-0410-18	04/10/2023	Written
19	Academic/scientist	LARNAH, UCAD	S-0610-19	06/10/2023	Written
20	Academic/scientist	International Society of Nephrology (ISN)	S-2409-20	24/09/2023	Written
21	Consumer organisation	Association for the Protection of the Environment and Consumers (APEC)	A-0910-21	09/10/2023	Audio
22	NGO	HKI	O-0910-22	09/10/2023	Audio
23	NGO	Nutrition International	O-1010-23	10/10/2023	Written
24	Academic/scientist	Fann Hospital	S-1110-24	11/10/2023	Audio
25	Decision maker	Ministry of Trade and Small and Medium Businesses	D-1110-25	11/10/2023	Written
26	Academic/scientist	Droit Public à l'UCAD	S-1210-26	12/10/2023	Audio
27	Academic/scientist	Droit Public à l'UCAD	S-1210-27	12/10/2023	Audio
28	Academic/scientist	Nutritionist (independent)	S-1310-28	13/10/2023	Audio

29	Consumer organisation	Environment, Consumption, Citizenship (ECOCITOYEN)	A-1310-29	13/10/2023	Audio
30	Decision maker	Ministry of Finance and Budget	D-1610-30	16/10/2023	Audio
31	Private sector	Esteval	SP-1710-31	17/10/2023	Audio
32	Decision maker	Director-general of Research, DPRS, Ministry of Health	D-1810-32	18/10/2023	Audio
33	Private sector	Inasen	SP-2010-33	20/10/2023	Written
34	Decision maker	NCND	D-2310-34	23/10/2023	Audio
35	Private sector	Gallina Blanca Foods (GBFoods)	SP-2410-35	24/10/2023	Written
36	Consumer organisation	ASCOSEN	A-2510-36	25/10/2023	Audio
37	Private sector	National Confederation of Employers of Senegal (NCES)	SP-2610-37	26/10/2023	Audio
38	NGO	HKI	O-3010-38	30/10/2023	Audio
39	NGO	HKI	O-3010-39	30/10/2023	Audio
40	Donors	UNICEF	B-0211-40	02/11/2023	Audio
41	Academic/scientist	Diabetologist – Endocrinology, UCAD	S-0811-41	08/11/2023	Audio
42	NGO	Nutrition International	O-1411-42	14/11/2023	Audio
43	Donors	UNICEF	B-1411-43	14/11/2023	Written
44	Academic/scientist	LARNAH, UCAD	S-1511-44	15/11/2023	Written
45	Academic/scientist	Bromatology, Hopital Fann, UCAD	S-2711-45	27/11/2023	Written
46	Private sector	Senico/Patisen	SP-2911-46	29/11/2023	Audio
47	Private sector	Union of Industrial Service Providers and Traders of Senegal (UISPT)	SP-2911-47	29/11/2023	Written
48	Private sector	Association of Millers of Senegal (AMIS)	SP-2410-48	24/10/2023	Audio

Annex 6 : Guide for non-participative observations

General observations	Follow-up observations
Attending stakeholders	Number and nature of stakeholders per category of stakeholder
Organisation/facilitation of the concertation	Which actors holds the presidency of the consultation, which actors are in charge of the note-taking, which actors define the order of the day, how does the deliberation process work, how are disagreements managed.
Organisation of speaking turns	Including the chronology and time of speaking turn of each stakeholder
Tone of the debate (calm/tense, conflictual/consensual)	Including alliances or opposition in between different stakeholders and regarding the topic discussed, for which topics the tone of the debate changes
Submission of scientific evidence	What is the nature of the submitted scientific evidence, who submitted it and why, how was it submitted and described, impact of such submission on the dynamic of the discussion

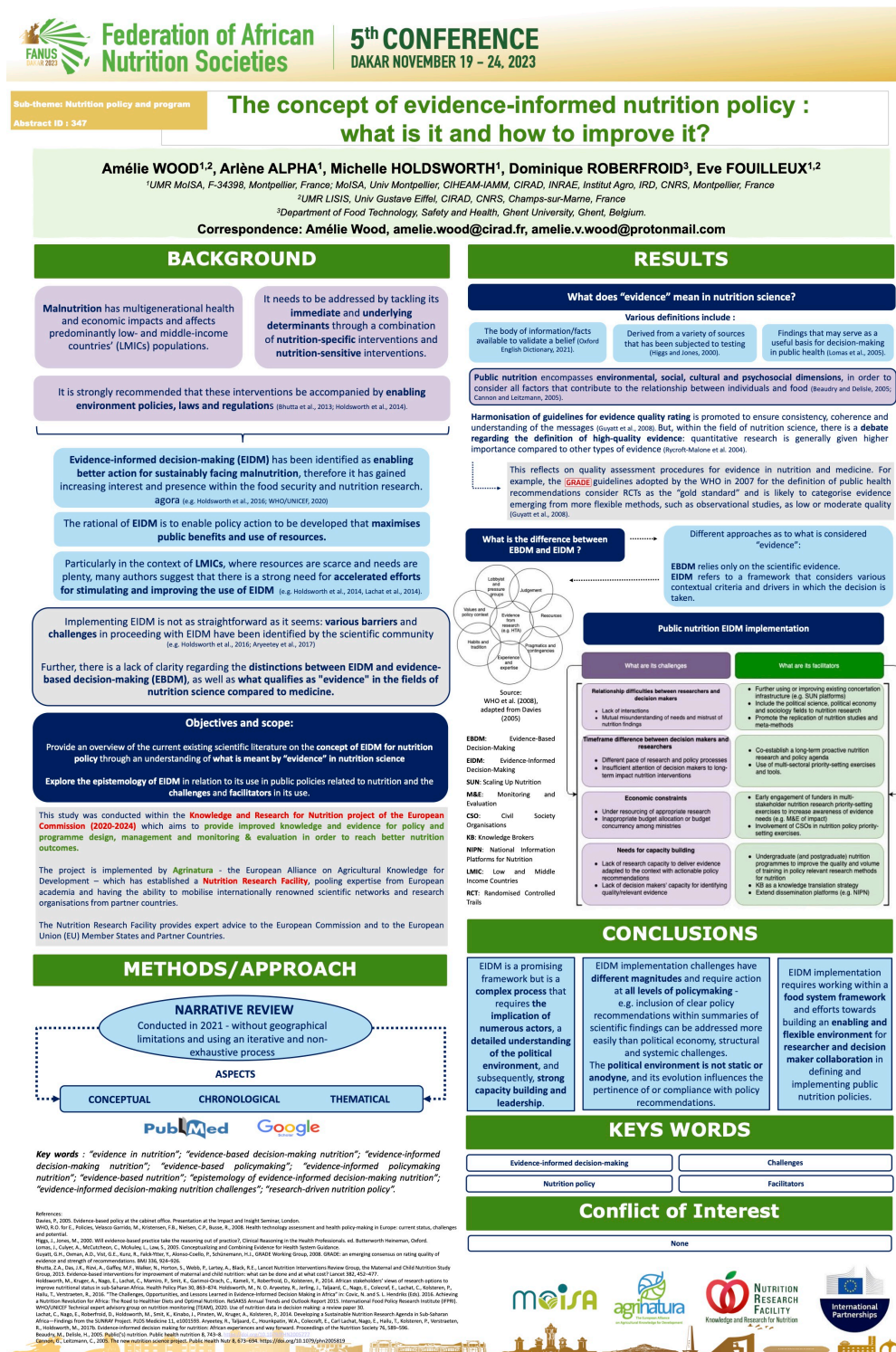
Annex 7 : Documentary analysis : documents shared by stakeholders during the fieldwork

	Type of document	Title	Author(s), publisher	Year
1	Contribution to a scientific event (powerpoint presentation)	Forum Gallien Afrique 2023 : « Maladies non-transmissibles : l'Afrique en lutte, comment devient-on diabétique, cardiopathe, cancéreux, insuffisant rénal, insuffisant respiratoire ou addict à... ? »	Amadou Gallo Diop (Director of Research at the Ministry of Health)	2023
2	Internal document: scientific report	« Avis scientifique relatif au risque lié à la consommation de glutamate monosodique (GMS) et de chlorure de sodium (NaCl) contenus dans les bouillons d'aide culinaire au Sénégal »	NCCA appointed expert committee: Fall, Ba, Cissé, Mbaye, Kone, Sarr, Cabral Ndior, Ndong	2016
3	Internal document	« Note d'information sur l'application des dispositions fiscales de la loi de finance rectificative 2021 à destination du directeur-général de Patisen »	Head of division at the directorate of taxes, Ministry of Finances	2021
4	Media document: Press article	Press release on concerns from industrials	Walf quotidien	2021
5	Media document: Press cover	« Taxes sur les bouillons, industries en danger! »	Lii Quotidien	2021
6	Media document: Press cover	« Taxes sur les bouillons et le plastique, cinq mille travailleurs de Patisen menacés »	Walf Quotidien	2021
7	Media document: Press article	« Théodore Monteil défenseur des bouillons alimentaires »	Walf quotidien	2021
8	Media document: Press article	« La taxe sur les bouillons alimentaires divise les députés »	<i>The journal could not be identified</i>	2021
9	Internal document	Official response of the Minister of Finance and Budget to four major bouillon producers "Votre demande de report de l'échéance de déclaration de la taxe spécifique sur les bouillons"	Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo, Minister of Finance and Budget	2021
10	Internal document	« Rapport de partage des résultats de l'étude sur l'apport en sel et en sodium et de discussion des perspectives et prochaines étapes pour le renforcement du programme de fortification au Sénégal, Atelier Groupe National de Travail (GNT) du 12 Octobre 2023 »	HKI	2023
11	Internal document	Official invitation to the National Working Group on Bouillon Fortification consultation	Amadou Sall Dial, Director of Industrial Redeployment, President of COSFAM	2021
12	Internal document	List of members of the codex committee on nutrition and dietetic foods or diets	Not identified	Not identified
13	Internal document: powerpoint presentation of scientific report	« Étude des effets de l'augmentation de la taxe sur les bouillons culinaires au Sénégal »	Sylvain Landry Faye, UCAD for HKI	

14	Internal document	« Atelier du groupe national de travail (GNT), 17 mai à l'Hôtel ONOMO »	HKI	2023
15	Internal document: Scientific report	« Étude formative sur les préférences, perceptions, connaissances, attitudes et pratiques relatives aux bouillons au Sénégal »	Sylvain Landry Faye, UCAD for HKI	2020
16	Internal document: Scientific report	« Évaluation des principales sources de sel dans l'alimentation et de la contribution des bouillons dans l'apport en sel, en mono-glutamate de sodium et en iode au Sénégal »	Adama Diouf, UCAD for HKI	2020
17	Internal document	« Rapport Atelier du Groupe National de Travail (GNT), Projet Fortification-Bouillon, Hôtel Fleur de Lys-Point E, 18-Aout 2022 »	HKI	2022
18	Internal document: Scientific report	« Evaluation des besoins en renforcement des capacités des institutions gouvernementales et des industriels pour le contrôle qualité des aliments enrichis au Sénégal »	HKI	2021
19	Internal document	« Monographie sur les bouillons alimentaires »	Théodore Monteil	2021
20	Institutional document	“Bouillons alimentaires d’assaisonnement – Spécifications – 2015”	ASN	2016
21	Internal document	Official invitation to the National Working Group on Bouillon Fortification consultation	Amadou Sall Dial, Director of Industrial Redeployment, President of COSFAM	2023
22	Internal document	« Rencontre du groupe national de travail, partager les résultats de l'étude sur l'apport en sel et en sodium au Sénégal et discuter des perspectives et prochaines étapes pour le renforcement du programme de fortification – termes de référence – 12 octobre 2023 »	HKI	2023
23	Institutional document	« Rapport sur la mobilisation des ressources du secteur privé »	DPRS, health economics unit, Ministry of Health	2021
24	Internal document	Contact list of members of the national working group on bouillon fortification	NCCA	2023
25	Internal document	« Projet de norme sénégalaise Bouillons alimentaires d'assaisonnement - Spécifications – 2017 »	SNA, Ministry of the Industry	2017
26	Institutional document	Senegalese standards catalogue	SNA, Ministry of the Industry	2016
27	Institutional document	Activity report 2015	SNA, Ministry of the Industry	2015
28	Internal document: Research protocol	“Salt and Sodium Intake Survey (SSIS) in Senegal - Enquête sur l'apport en sel et	Groundwork for HKI	2023

		en sodium au Sénégal - Protocole d'enquête”		
29	Internal document: Research protocol	« Enquête sur l'apport en sel et en sodium au Burkina Faso (SSIS Burkina Faso) – Protocole d’enquête »	Groundwork for HKI	2023
30	Institutional document	Directory of agri-food standards	SNA, Ministry of the Industry	2016
31	Institutional document	Decree making salt iodisation compulsory	Government	2001
32	Institutional document	« Livret de recette à base de produits locaux »	DFNCD, Ministry of Health	2023
33	Internal document	« Réunion d'élaboration du Plan d'action de mise en place d'un centre régional de financement santé (CRFS) en Afrique de l'Ouest-CEDEAO »	Budget Programming Division, Ministry of Finance	2023
34	Internal document	Notification of budget envelopes 2024-2026	Ministry of Finance	2023
35	Institutional document	Policy brief : « Mobiliser davantage de ressources pour prévenir les MNT »	DFNCD, Ministry of Health	2023
36	Institutional document	« Plan d'accélération de la lutte contre les MNT au Sénégal 2023-2025 »	DFNCD, Ministry of Health	2023
37	Internal document	Draft Agenda for the 17th ECOWAS Nutrition Forum	ECOWAS	2023

Annex 8 : Poster presentation shared during the FANUS conference – narrative review on the concept of EIDM (2021)



Annex 9 : A narrative summary of Multi-stakeholder observations (n=4)

1. National Working Group on Fortification of Bouillon seasonings

Organised by the NGO HKI, this consultation brought together key stakeholders in Senegal's nutrition sector, including members of the Senegalese Committee for Food Fortification (COSFAM), such as representatives from LARNAH, UCAD, five bouillon producers in Senegal (Patisen, Inasen, Nestlé Sénégal, Senico, and GB Foods), CNDN, UNICEF, and consumer organisations. The purpose of this consultation was to deliberate on the feasibility of implementing mandatory multi-fortification of bouillon seasonings in Senegal, a project spearheaded by HKI and funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, also implemented in Nigeria and Burkina Faso (referred to as "The Bouillon Initiative"). Conducted by HKI, the discussions were framed around debates among participants and nutritional science findings funded by the project.

The meeting aimed to share the outcomes of a national study assessing the levels of sodium intake from bouillon seasonings among the Senegalese population, analysed through urine samples. The results revealed that 98% of the population consumes bouillon seasonings daily, with 45% of the total population sampled in the study¹ experiencing hypertension. However, the study indicated that bouillon seasonings were not the primary source of sodium intake. This sparked debates among stakeholders, particularly members of LARNAH, UCAD, who argued that the study was biased, as it did not consider bouillon seasonings present in other sources of sodium intake (e.g. sandwiches sprinkled with raw bouillon cubes). The study only focused on sodium intake from discretionary bouillon seasonings added to home-prepared meals. Stakeholders suggested that since bouillon seasonings are commonly added to most foods purchased and consumed outside homes, daily consumption coverage of bouillon could be as high as 100% of the population, and the proportion of sodium coming from these condiments might be higher than suggested by the study.

2. NCCA X Nestlé Sénégal consultation

The Senegalese branch of Nestlé and the NCCA coordinated this consultation. It brought together NCCA members, the General Administrator of the manufacturing facility, the head of the national communication and public affairs department, the Nestlé representative engaged in bouillon fortification discussions, and employees of the facility. The primary objective of this consultation was for the NCCA to deliver a presentation on the food safety standards' normalisation processes, disseminated by the former employee of the SNA responsible for the bouillon normalisation process. Nestlé followed with a presentation of the company's food safety policy by the representative engaged in bouillon fortification discussions.

By the end of the meeting, all participants were offered a *per diem* of 10 000 FCFA (+/- 15 EUR), as well as a gift bag filled with the following Nestlé products incentives: 120 Maggi bouillon cubes (a total of 1,2kg), 30 Maggi 12 grams powder sachets of bouillon, 20 sachets of Gloria powder milk, one box of 25 12 grams Nescafé powder sachets, one 200 grams can of Nescafé powder, one 400 grams can of Cerelac, one can of 400 grams of Nido powder milk, four cans of Gloria condensed milk, one notebook and pen displaying the brand's name. The large majority of the participants accepted left the meeting with the incentives.

3. Multi-stakeholder consultation of the DFNCD of the Ministry of Health

The DFNCD of the Ministry of Health organised a multisectoral consultation on the theme of "the fight against non-communicable diseases, promotion of physical activity, and healthy diets." Participants included

¹ This figure was shared during the 12/10/2023 National Working Group on Fortification of Bouillon seasonings consultation as a result of the 2023 national study on sodium and salt intake from foods in Senegal (SSIS) led by HKI, funded by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and implemented by GroundWork. The final report of the study is not accessible publicly to date.

representatives from NGOs (e.g. HKI), consumer associations, medical associations (e.g. the association of cardiology), and donors (e.g. the Japanese cooperation). Notably, the private sector was absent, a concern raised by an HKI representative as the latter stated it was essential to include the private sector in these types of public policy consultations.

The primary objective of the consultation was to discuss policy perspectives related to the designated topics and foster funding opportunities among participants. During the meeting, a representative of HKI took the opportunity to share insights arising from their work on the "Bouillon Initiative" project and the potential of fortifying bouillon seasonings to address non-communicable diseases in Senegal, which sparked debates with representatives of consumer associations that are calling to implement policies to limit bouillon consumption.

4. The Federation of African Nutrition Societies (FANUS) 5th Conference

The FANUS mandated the Senegalese Food and Nutrition Association (SFNA), of which the LARNAH, UCAD is a member of, to coordinate the 2023 event. The objective of the conference is to promote a multisectoral approach to strengthen food systems and achieve sustainable nutrition targets in Africa. Recommendations emerging from the conferences' discussions will be synthesised in a policy guide addressed to decision makers in African countries. FANUS is a non-profit organisation, working as a conglomerate of nutrition societies that aims to *"enhance the visibility, relevance & functionality of FANUS and national nutrition societies, conjointly to strengthen the functioning and property of national nutrition societies to realise goals unite & influence nutrition in Africa"*². The FANUS approach aims to foster nutrition security across all African nations, including through incorporating market-based strategy for nutrition interventions.

Participation to the event was also motivated by the expectation of major food industries' participation, as this has been observed in previous FANUS conferences, although there is a lack of publicly available official information as to how the previous conferences were funded or how/if risks related to conflicts of interests with the private sector was managed. When the coordination committee (LARNAH, UCAD) was asked about contribution of similar actors in the 2023 conference during informal discussions, they stated that the food industry was not invited in order to prevent risks of conflicts of interests. During the conference, I confirm not seeing the involvement of major food industry actors or their foundations, but another private company – Nutriset – was highly visible (holding stands, satellite symposiums, members of a plenary session panel).

The first main issue emerging from the presentations of panelists during the 2023 FANUS conference is the need to improve scientific advocacy in decision-making processes while improving the production of relevant scientific evidence. It was pointed out that a lack of trust regarding science, and medicine, was a barrier to scientific advocacy towards decision makers, in particular since the Covid-19 crisis and the spread of "self-appointed experts". This discussion was in line with the results of the 2021 narrative review conducted by the NRF on the concept of EIDM, its barriers and facilitators for successful implementation (cf. deliverable 2.2.2. - Research protocol on *"Study on major barriers to nutrition-related evidence-informed decision-making related to ultra-processed foods"*)³.

Issues related to consumption of unhealthy ultra-processed foods also emerged during the plenary presentations and discussions. Overall, calls to tax unhealthy foods appeared but were not systematic or poorly elaborated when discussing the matter, as some researchers emphasised the need for nutritionists to spread awareness among populations, for example *via* nutrition education programmes, or "challenge" major food industries to improve the formulation of their products. In addition, a UCAD sociologist (who's been appointed

² <https://fanus.org/about-me/>

³ See at: https://www.nutrition-research-facility.eu/IMG/pdf/pr2_annex_8_d1.3_final_approved.pdf

by HKI to conduct two studies in Senegal in the context of “The Bouillon Initiative” project – a study on the perception of bouillon seasonings among the general population and a second study on the impact of the 2021 15% tax on the levels of consumption of bouillon seasonings) discussed pathways to improve behaviour changes interventions by emphasising on which foods are good for your health rather than on unhealthy foods. He applied this logic to promotion of fortified foods, and described how he believed that bouillon seasonings are an ideal vehicle for addressing micronutrient deficiencies (without disclosing his relation to “The Bouillon Initiative” project)⁴. The opportunity of bouillon fortification was also developed during a satellite symposium held by HKI, where they succinctly presented their work in Senegal with “The Bouillon Initiative” project.

⁴ This actor was contacted for an interview prior to the FANUS conference but declined the invitation.

CRAINTE HAUSSE DES TAXES SUR LES BOUILLONS ET LE PLASTIQUE

Cinq mille travailleurs de Patisen menacés

Non à la taxe sur le bouillon. C'est le cri de ralliement des travailleurs des industries agro alimentaires. Hier, ceux de Patisen ont manifesté contre les taxes qui, selon eux, menacent leurs emplois et leurs entreprises.



Les travailleurs de Patisen manifestent contre la hausse des taxes

Des centaines de travailleurs du site de production de l'entreprise Patisen, situé derrière l'ancien garage Pompiers, ont manifesté, hier, dans l'enceinte de leur entreprise. Ils protestent contre la hausse de la taxe sur les bouillons culinaires et sur le plastique. On pouvait lire sur leurs nombreuses pancartes: «Nous disons non à la taxe sur le bouillon». «Patisen dit non à la taxe sur le bouillon» «Protégeons nos emplois et notre entreprise». «La taxe sur le bouillon signifie une industrie en faillite» «Taxe sur le bouillon, avez-vous pensé à nous». Il faut dire que les cinq mille travailleurs Patisen, le fleuron de l'agro alimentaire sénégalais, sont inquiets. Ils s'inquiètent de la hausse des taxes qui menacent, selon eux, leurs emplois et leur entreprise. C'est pourquoi, ils demandent, avec insistance, au gouvernement de renoncer à son projet. «En réalité, la taxe est de 40 %. En effet, il y a une taxe de 25 % sur les bouillons et une autre de 15 % sur le plastique», explique un cadre de l'entreprise. Ce dernier rappelle que Patisen avait maintenu leur personnel durant la crise sanitaire de la Covid-19. «Nous n'avons jamais licencié un seul travailleur. Mais avec ces taxes nous serons obligés de nous séparer d'une partie du personnel. Nous n'avons vraiment pas le choix», dit-il. «Ces taxes n'arrangent ni Patisen, ni les travailleurs encore moins les consommateurs. Si elles entrent en vigueur, Patisen et toutes les entreprises agro alimentaires seront obligées de réduire leur personnel d'une part et d'autre part, augmenter les prix des denrées alimentaires. Ce qui va se répercuter sur les consommateurs», affirme Pauline Mbaye Thiandoum, une technicienne qui juge ces taxes exagérées. Elle trouve également «paradoxal» le fait que le président Macky Sall qui a affirmé vouloir lutter contre le chômage, promouvoir l'emploi des jeunes et en même temps, créer les conditions de la fermeture d'usines qui emploient des milliers de personnes. «L'entrée en vigueur de ces taxes signifie la faillite des entreprises agro alimentaires et par conséquent une hausse du chômage», poursuit-elle. La loi de finances rectificative sera votée aujourd'hui par l'Assemblée nationale. Aussi, les travailleurs de Patisen demandent aux députés de ne pas la voter pour, disent-ils, préserver les milliers d'emplois de l'agro alimentaire. «Que vont devenir ces milliers de travailleurs et leurs familles, si les entreprises ferment» s'interroge Pauline Mbaye Thiandoum. Les travailleurs des autres industries alimentaires comme Nestlé, Senico, etc ont également manifesté pour protester contre les taxes.

Charles Gaiky DIENE

DAKAR DEM DIKK

DIFFICULTÉS A LA SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DE TRANSPORT PUBLIC

La direction et les travailleurs

INDUSTRIES EN DANGER !




CONTRIBUTION

Genre et Lgbt : un mensonge scientifique



(Pr Fatou Sow Sarr, Directrice de l'Institut du Genre et de la Famille)

LANCEMENT DU PROMOGED

► Les consommateurs vont supporter les taxes
► Menace sur les emplois

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