RESEARCH STREAM
Addressing Africa's youth unemployment through industries without smokestacks

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The impact of COVID-19 on industries without smokestacks in Senegal

Ahmadou Aly Mbaye, Fatou Gueye, Massaer Mbaye, and Abdou Khadir Dia

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Ahmadou Aly Mbaye is vice-chancellor of Cheikh Anta Diop University.

Fatou Gueye is the director of the Laboratoire d'Analyse des Politiques de Développement (LAPD).

Massaer Mbaye is a researcher at LAPD.

Abdou Khadir Dia is a statistician at LAPD.

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Abstract

In Senegal, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused significant health and economic damage. More specifically, the country's promising industries without smokestacks have adversely been impacted, with a dramatic reduction in turnover, investment, and jobs. In addition, the pandemic has significantly reduced fiscal space by both shrinking the government tax base and reducing sovereign debt solvency, and, hence, its international credit ratings. All of these repercussions have contributed to lowering the state's capacity to undertake investments and implement reforms to boost the IWOSS sectors, and might further result in delaying needed actions to unleash IWOSS potential in Senegal. This brief updates the spring 2021 working paper (Mbaye et al., 2021) on how support to IWOSS in Senegal can create jobs, taking into account the far-reaching effects of the pandemic.

1. Introduction

Over a year and a half after its discovery, COVID-19 continues to seriously threaten human health while also damaging all sectors of developing countries' economies. Senegal is no exception. While the first case of COVID-19 was confirmed in China in December 2019, by March 2020, the World Health Organization had declared the outbreak a "pandemic." As of July 2, 2021, more than 183 million cases have been confirmed, with more than 3.9 million deaths attributed to COVID-19 (Worldmeter, 2021). In Africa, and specifically in Senegal, the challenges that the pandemic pose to health systems and the economy have been amplified by the structural and institutional weaknesses that the continent faces.

Senegal's first positive case was confirmed on March 2, 2020. Since the onset of the virus, the Senegalese government announced many measures to contain the spread of the disease, including travel restrictions, curfews, mandated mask requirements in public areas, and physical distancing. These measures, however, have not prevented the spread of the virus, and COVID-19 remains a difficult challenge for Senegal, negatively impact the health system, the economy, and the educational system. As of July 2, 2021, Senegal has more than 613 active cases and more than 1,000 deaths.

Despite the rapid spread of the virus, Senegal has earned international recognition as one of the countries best managing the COVID-19 outbreak. In fact, in October 2020, Senegal was ranked second out of 36 countries in *Foreign Policy*'s COVID-19 Global Response Index, which evaluates the ongoing management of the pandemic.

Regardless of Senegal's remarkable work preventing the spread of the virus and subsequent deaths, efforts are still needed to alleviate the crisis on the economy. In Senegal, all sectors, particularly the secondary and the tertiary sectors, have been impacted by the pandemic, including industries without smokestacks (IWOSS). More specifically, border closures coupled with similarly stringent restrictions on mobility, have greatly contributed to the decline of the tertiary sector. In this paper, which is a companion to Mbaye et al., 2021, we purport to assess the effect of the pandemic on the IWOSS sectors in Senegal, evaluating both the current impact as well as providing an informed view on the long-term consequences. It is organized as follows:

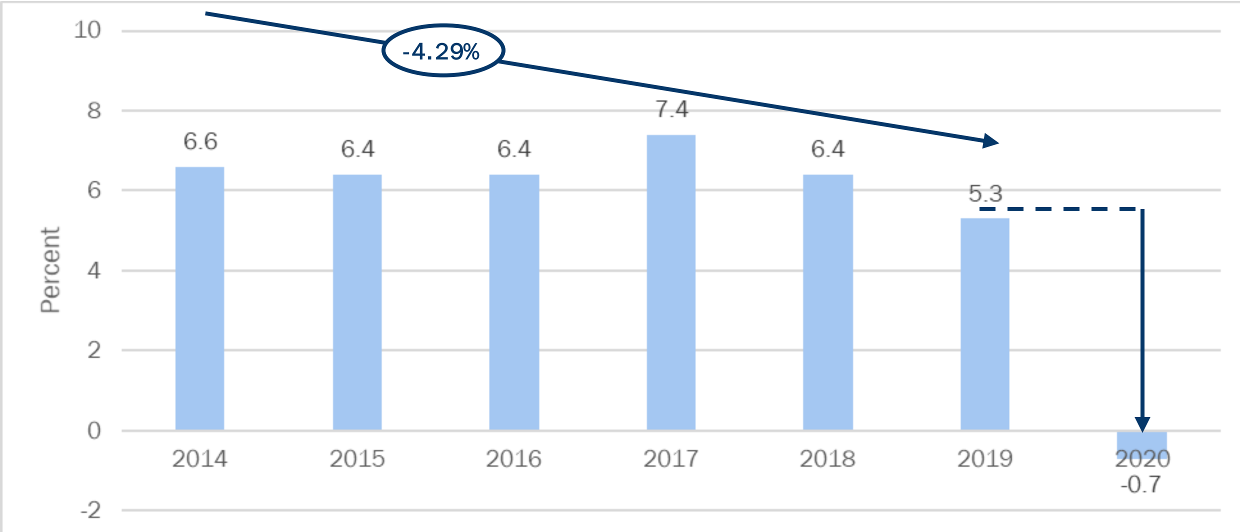
- The estimated impact of COVID-19 on economic growth and on overall employment in Senegal.
- The estimated impact of COVID-19 on the IWOSS sectors, using firm-level data.
- The effect of COVID-19 on the recommendations to support the development of IWOSS in Senegal contained in Mbaye et al. (2021).

2. The estimated impact of COVID-19 on economic growth and overall employment in Senegal

Prior to the pandemic, Senegal's economy was growing rapidly. Phase I of the Plan Senegal Emergent (PSE) (2014-2018) set a target annual growth rate of over 7 percent, which the country was close to achieving. In fact, between 2014 and 2018, Senegal recorded economic growth exceeding 6 percent per year, though the growth rate of real gross domestic product (GDP) fell in 2019 to 5.3 percent from 6.4 percent in 2018, according to data from the National Agency for Statistics and Demography (ANSD).

In 2020, when facing the pandemic though, real GDP plummeted to around -0.7 percent from PSE (Plan Senegal Emergent). Importantly, while COVID-19 led to a decrease in Senegal's GDP of over 113 percent between 2019 and 2020, a slow decline had actually begun in 2014 with a decrease of 4.29 percent between 2014 and 2019 (Figure 1).

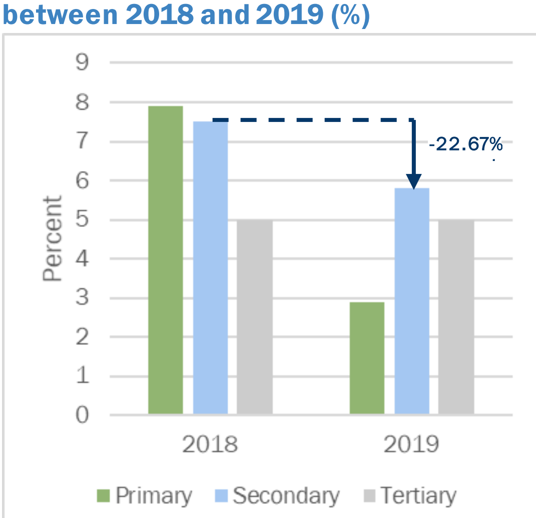
Figure 1: Senegal's annual GDP growth rates, 2014-2020 (%)



Source: ANSD 2019.

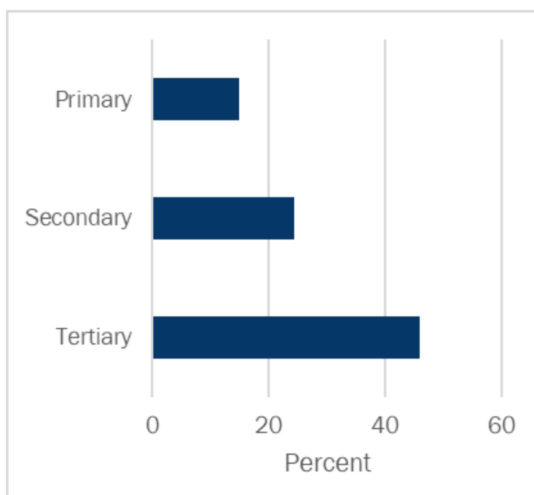
That drop was due to the slowdown in the activity of the primary sectors to 2.9 percent in 2019 from 7.9 percent in 2018 and the secondary sector to 5.8 percent in 2019 from 7.5 percent in 2018 (Figure 2). The tertiary sector remained constant at 5 percent between 2018 and 2019 according to ANSD. In terms of contribution to GDP growth before the onset of the pandemic, the contribution of the primary and secondary sectors was marginal in comparison to that of the tertiary sector: The primary and the secondary sectors contributed respectively 14.8 percent and 24.4 percent in 2019, compared to the tertiary sector which contributes 45.9 percent for the same year (Figure 3).

Figure 2: Annual value-added growth rates in primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors between 2018 and 2019 (%)



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

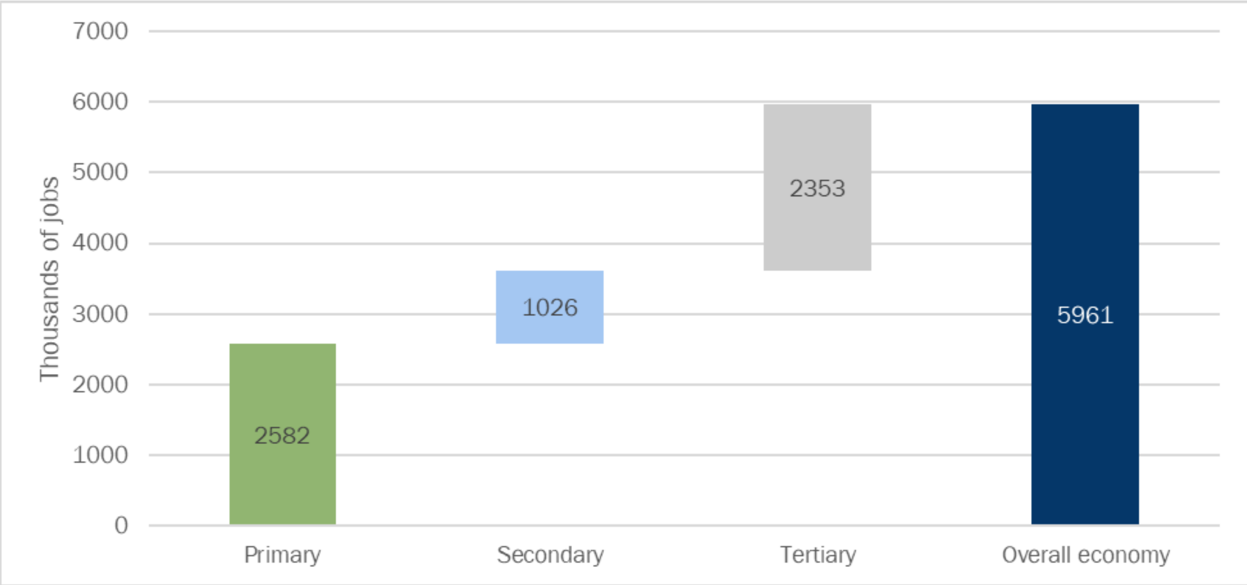
Figure 3: Contribution of different sectors to Senegal's GDP (%)



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Over the last five pre-COVID-19 years, the number of jobs in Senegal progressively increased. In 2019, the number of jobs was estimated at more than 5.9 million, rising from more than 4.6 million jobs in 2014—an increase of more than 1 million jobs, and a growth rate of 4 percent. The primary sector is the sector that generates the most jobs. In this sector, the number of jobs is estimated at more than 2.5 million in 2019, followed by the tertiary sector, with more than 2.3 million and then the secondary sector with more than 1 million jobs.

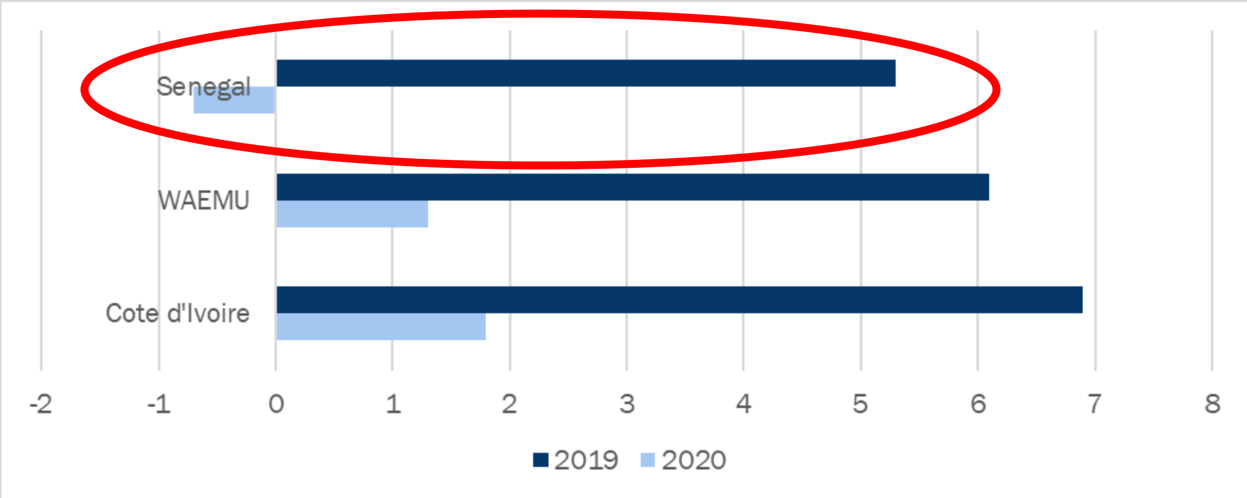
Figure 2: Employment in Senegal, by sector, 2019



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

In 2020, the Senegalese economy saw a drastic turn as COVID-19 impacted all sectors, especially the tertiary sector. GDP growth projections for 2020, after taking into account the impact of COVID-19, reveal that the Senegalese economy (which experienced a 0.7 percent decrease in GDP) has been more affected than Côte d'Ivoire (which grew by 1.8 percent) and the WAEMU average (which grew by 1.3 percent) (Figure 5).

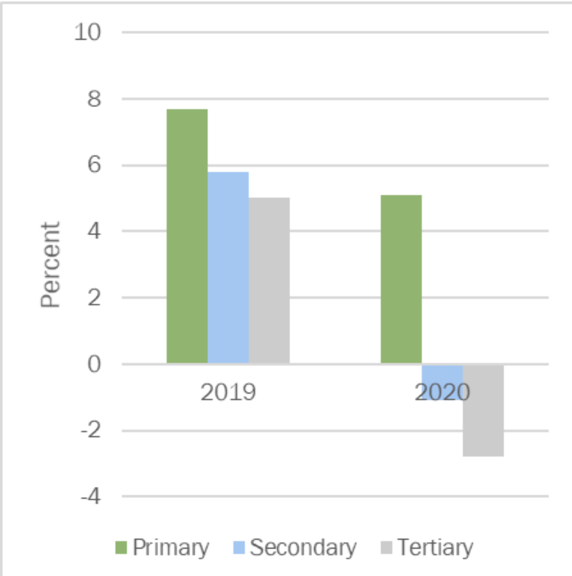
Figure 3: Post-COVID-19 annual growth rate in Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire and WAEMU (%)



Source: PAP II Ajusté pour la Relance de l'Economie, Senegal (2020).

Overall, Senegal's tertiary sector was the hardest hit due to the fall in air transport under border closures, the slowdown in road transport due to health and safety measures, and the drop in the tertiary sector's value-added growth, which dropped from 5 percent in 2019 to -2.8 percent in 2020 (Figure 6). The primary sector experienced a slight drop in its growth rate, from 7.7 percent in 2019 to 5.1 percent in 2020. In parallel, the secondary sector fell to -1.1 percent for the same period from 5.8 percent in 2019.

Figure 4: Impact of COVID-19 on sectoral value-added growth rates (%)



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Indeed, virus containment measures had negative impacts on economic activity. In Senegal, according to International Labor Office (ILO), the ratio of hours worked per week for employed persons for the population aged 16-64 years old fell from 16.4 in 2019 to 15.3 in 2020—a decrease of 6.7 percent. Such a drop implies that, between 2019 and 2020, Senegal lost 235,154 formal jobs (based on 40 hours of work per week). As a result, the economy plummeted, resulting in a drop in production and in layoffs and/or furloughs, especially in sectors like tourism, transport, and trade.

Figure 5: Senegal's employment outlook in 2020

Ratio of hours worked per week for employed persons	2019	16.4
	2020	15.3
	Decrease	6.7%
Total hours worked per week for employed persons	2019	136,819,491
	2020	125,598,964
	Losses	11,220,526
Number of jobs lost	2020	235,1545

Source: ILO Stat 2020; authors' calculations.

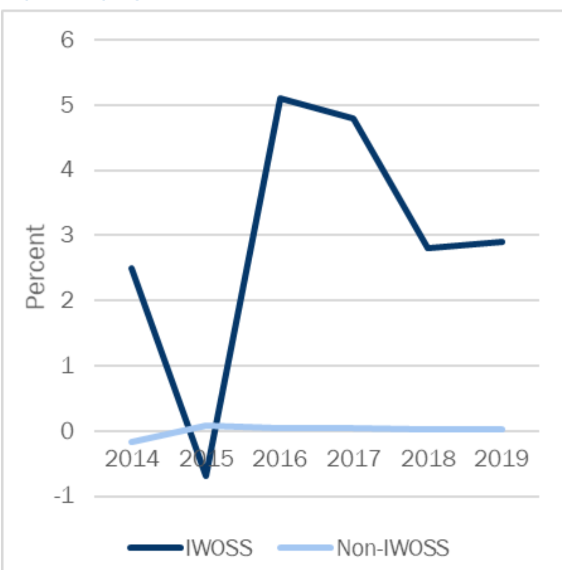
3. Estimated impact of COVID-19 on the IWOSS sectors in the case study

Since December 2019, the rapid spread of the disease has negatively impacted the Senegalese economy, with some sectors much more affected than others. In this section, we make an extensive use of a unique dataset generated by the Senegalese ANSD (Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie), the Senegalese statistics office, to assess the impact of COVID-19 on sectoral value added, distinguishing IWOSS and non-IWOSS sectors. The survey sample consists of 267 formal enterprises selected using non-probabilistic methods (reasoned choice) and was obtained from the sampling frame of the single information collection center (CUCI). The CUCI is housed at the ANSD and collects the financial statements of non-financial companies established in Senegal, creating a survey database of Senegalese enterprises. The survey was done only once between June and July 2020, where the second wave of the pandemic in the country, had not yet started. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the collection process was carried out by telephone and the internet.

3.1 COVID-19's impact on productivity and employment in IWOSS sectors

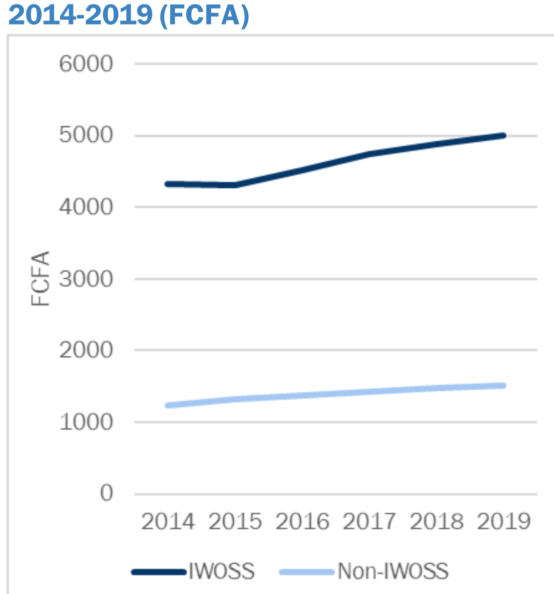
The IWOSS sectors are among the most important sectors in the Senegalese economy but given little consideration by policymakers until recently. Indeed, Mbaye et al. (2021) estimates that the productivity of IWOSS sectors in Senegal have an average growth rate of 2.9 percent. Since 2016, its productivity has been growing steadily (Figure 9). Moreover, IWOSS are among the leading contributing sectors to value added in the Senegalese economy: In 2019, the IWOSS value-added was estimated at more than 7 billion FCFA, a figure approximately equal to half of Senegal's GDP. Importantly, IWOSS sectors have shown they have great capacity for job creation: Mbaye et al. (2021) estimates IWOSS-generated jobs at more than 1.4 million in 2019.

Figure 6: IWOSS productivity growth rate (%), 2014-2019



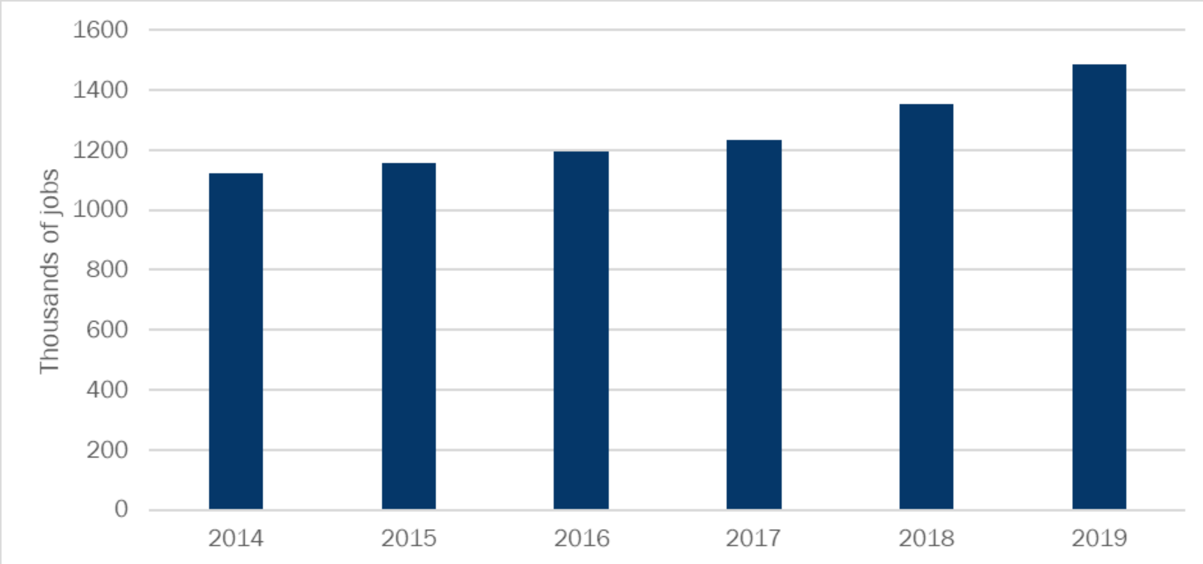
Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Figure 7: IWOSS v non-IWOSS productivity, 2014-2019 (FCFA)



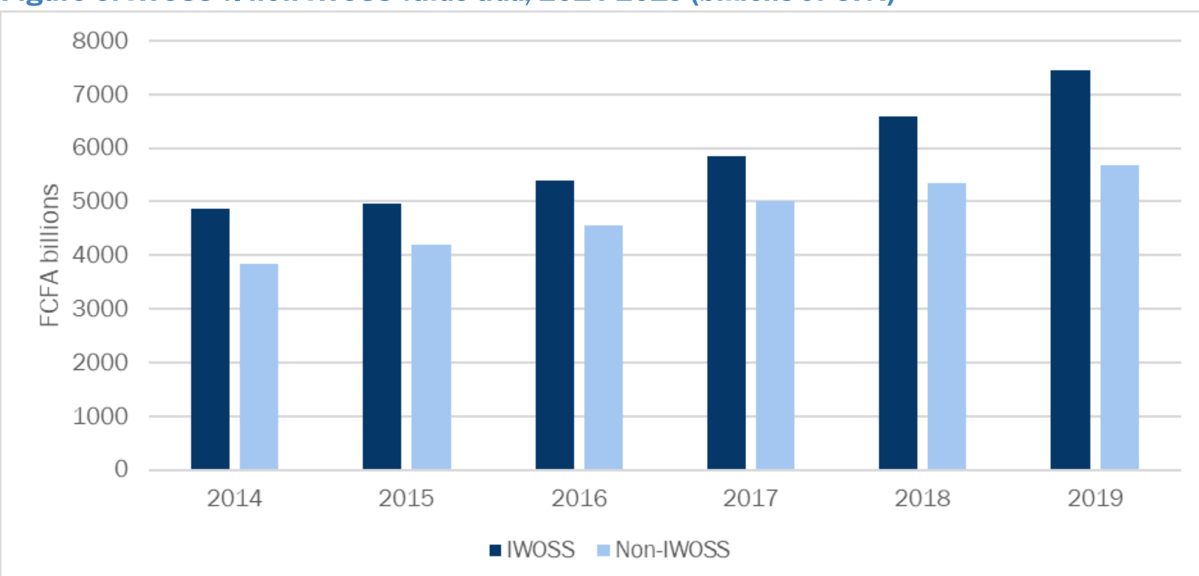
Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Figure 8: IWOSS employment, 2014-2019 (thousands of jobs)



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Figure 9: IWOSS v. non-IWOSS value-add, 2014-2019 (billions of CFA)



Source: ANSD 2019, authors' calculations.

Tourism, transport, horticulture, trade, and agro-processing are the most important IWOSS sectors in Senegal in many respects. Tourism remains the most dynamic IWOSS sector in terms of job creation, especially for youth and women. In 2019, it employed more than 35 percent of the total employment of IWOSS, followed by agro-processing (29 percent), and horticulture (20 percent). Other sub-sectors, including trade and transport, represent more than 6 percent of IWOSS jobs. In terms of value added, horticulture contributed the most (15 percent) to the total value added of the IWOSS sectors, followed by agro-processing and tourism, which each contribute more than 15 percent, trade (7 percent), and transport (5 percent).[1]

In 2019, tourism employed more than 513,000 people—9 percent of the total employment in the economy. That same year, horticulture and agro-processing employed more than 293,000 and 435,000 people, respectively, representing 7 percent and 5 percent of total employment. Following those sectors, transport and trade employed more than 37,000 and 52,000 people, respectively, each representing about 1 percent of total employment in the economy.[2]

Under COVID, all sectors experienced a sharp decline in their output, with at least 65 percent of firms in each sector reporting a decrease in their output (Table 1). In the tourism industry, half of the existing companies recorded a decrease in output by a magnitude ranging between 50 percent and 75 percent (Table 2). In trade, 84 percent of the respondents experienced a decrease in output and, for 50 percent of that number, the decrease was between 25 percent to 50 percent. For transport, 70 percent have been hurt by the pandemic, and the drop of output ranges between 25 percent and 50 percent. For agro-processing, only 7 percent of companies saw their output increasing, while more than 66 percent experienced a decrease in turnover.

Table 1: Change in output level during COVID-19 (% of firms reporting)

	Decrease	Constant	Increase
Agro-processing	67	27	7
Trade	84	16	0
Transport	69	31	0
Tourism	100	0	0

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

Table 2: Magnitude of output decrease during COVID-19 (% of firms reporting)

	<25%	Between 25% and 50%	Between 50% and 75%	>75%
Agro-processing	50	50	0	0
Trade	11	48	30	11
Transport	33	56	11	0
Tourism	10	20	50	20

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

COVID-19 also had a devastating effect on employment, with many job losses recorded due to the pandemic. For tourism, one of the most affected sectors, 60 percent of the respondents saw a reduction in both their permanent male and female employees; more than 50 percent lost more than 20 workers. For trade, 11 percent of firms laid off more than 10 of their permanent female workers and 10 of their male permanent workers (Table 4). In the transport sector, 50 percent of firms have lost more than 10 male permanent workers. While none of the agro-processing respondents reported losing more than 10 workers, 67 percent of those firms lost between 7 and 10 of their permanent workers.

[1] Ibid

[2] Ibid.

Table 3: Change in employment (% of firms reporting)

	Male employees			Female employees	
	Decrease	Constant	Increase	Decrease	Constant
Agro-processing	20	80	0	20	80
Trade	31	66	3	31	66
Transport	15	77	8	15	77
Tourism	60	40	0	60	40

Note: No firms reported an increase in female employees.
Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

Table 4: Proportion of the decrease of male employment (% of firms reporting losing workers)

	<4 workers	Between 4 and 6 workers	Between 7 and 10 workers	>10 workers
Agro-processing	33	0	67	0
Trade	40	50	0	10
Transport	50	0	0	50
Tourism	17	17	0	67

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

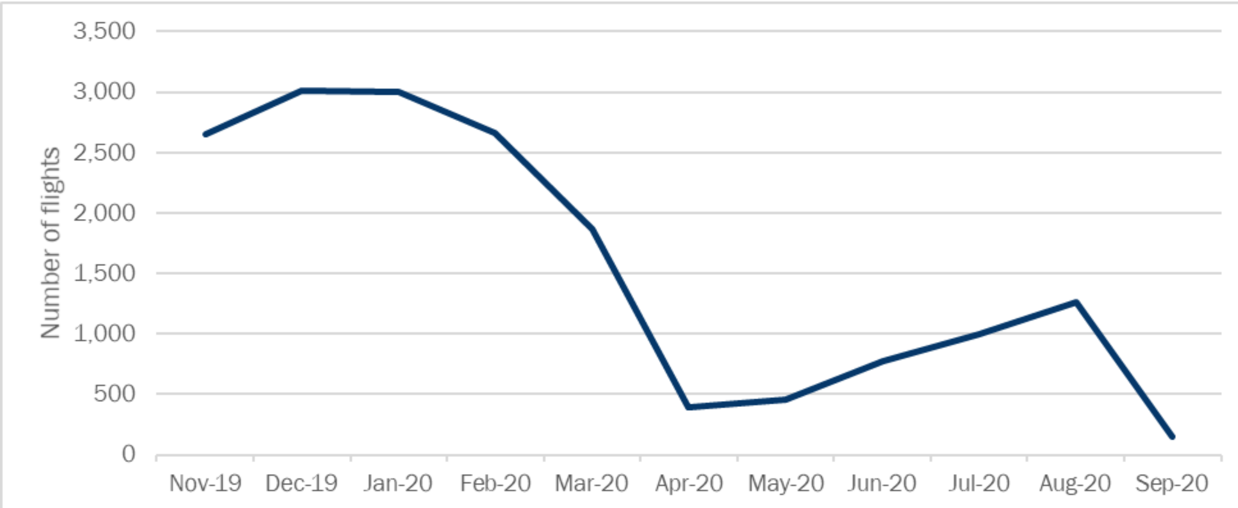
Table 5: Proportion of the decrease of female employment (% of firms reporting losing workers)

	<4 workers	Between 4 and 6 workers	Between 7 and 10 workers	>10 workers
Agro-processing	75	25	0	0
Trade	67	22	0	11
Transport	100	0	0	0
Tourism	17	33	0	50

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

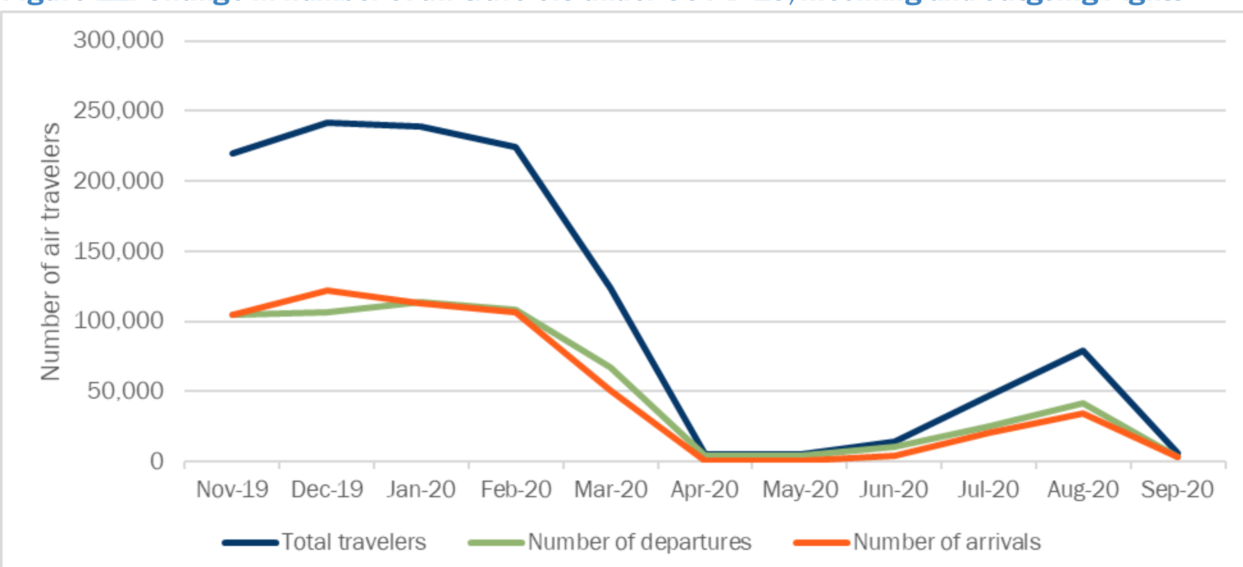
Other sources confirm these findings: For example, the DPEE (Direction de la Prévision et des Etudes Economiques) found a sharp drop in both arrivals and departures between November 2019 and September 2020, from 2,653 to 148 (DPEE 2020) (Figure 12). In terms of passengers, over the same time period, arrivals dropped sharply from 112,682 to 271 passengers, as did the number of departures, from 104,178 to 3,189 passengers—resulting in an overall drop from 219,619 to 5,979 (Figure 13). This decline has greatly impacted workers in the air transport and tourism sectors: For example, hotels are largely empty, with reduced staff or decreased working hours or salaries.

Figure 10: Change in aircraft arrivals and departures under COVID-19



Source: DPEE (2020), Direction de la Prévision des Etudes Economiques.

Figure 11: Change in number of air travelers under COVID-19, incoming and outgoing flights



Source: DPEE (2020), Direction de la Prévision des Etudes Economiques.

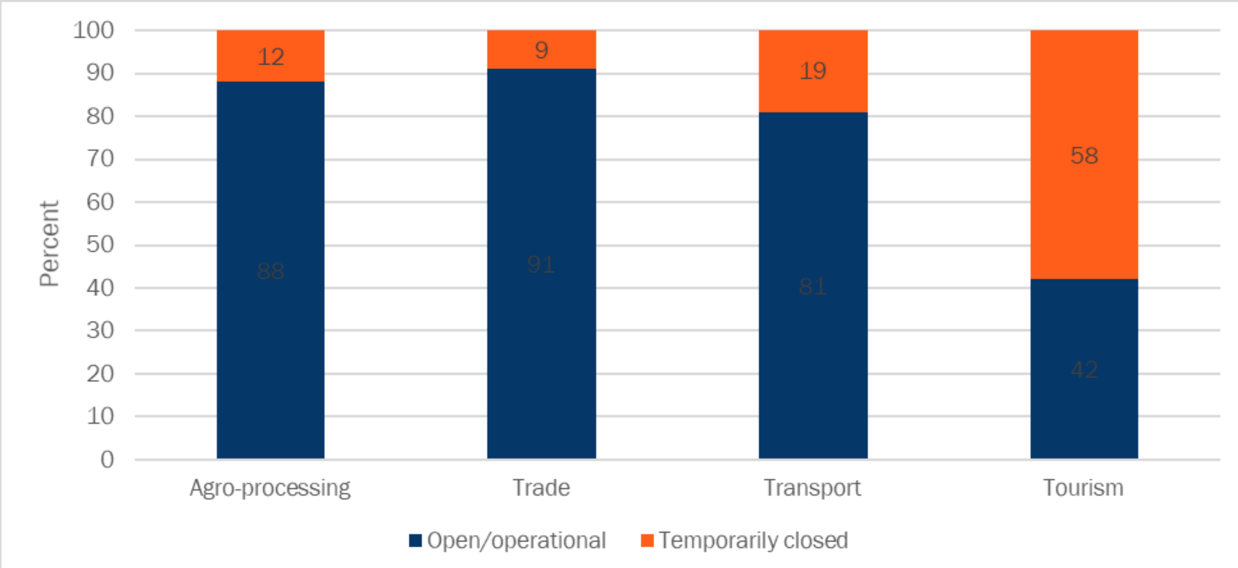
3.2 Will COVID-19's effect on IWOSS be transitory or structural?

As noted above, from 2014 on, the economy of Senegal was on very promising trajectory, with a constant GDP growth rate of about 6 percent through 2018, with a slight fall in 2019 to 5.3 percent. Moreover, before COVID-19, the Ministry of Economy, Planning, and Cooperation predicted a GDP growth rate for 2020 of 6.8 percent.

Restrictions brought about by measures intended to contain the pandemic have had negative impacts on the country's economic activities, with some companies even feeling they will be unable to recover. Survey results by DPEE confirm that tourism was the most impacted, with 58 percent of the companies operating in the accommodation and restaurant sector temporarily closed, followed by transport where

18 percent of companies temporarily closed, then agro-processing (12 percent), and then trade (9 percent) (Figure 14). The reasons for the temporarily closures are multiple but specific for each sector.

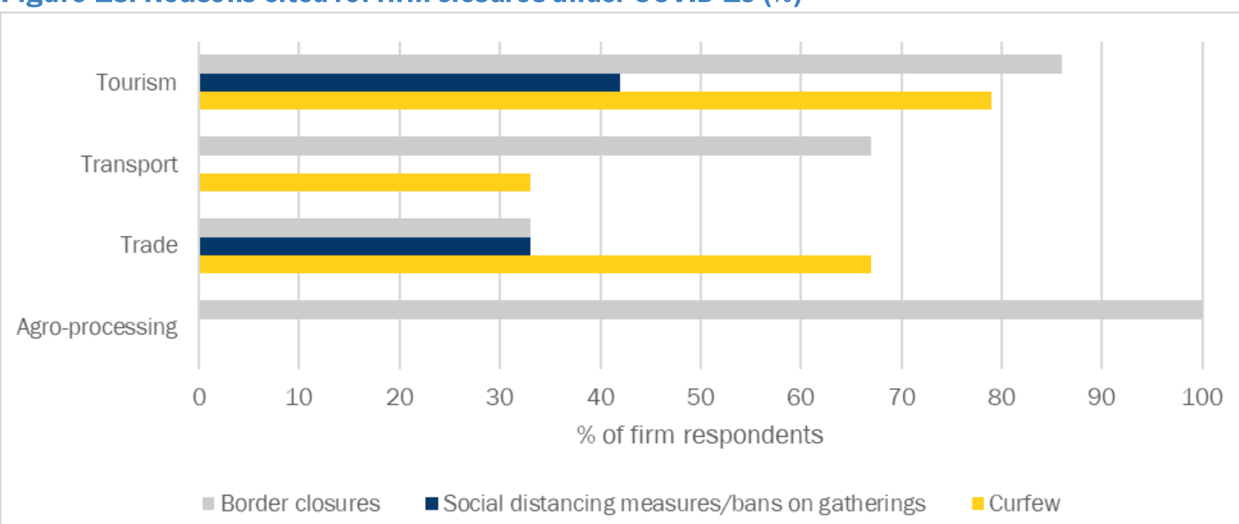
Figure 14: Operational status of firms across select IWOSS sectors (%)



Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

For example, agro-processing companies reported that their closures were 100 percent due to border closures (Figure 15). For the tourism industry, especially accommodations and restaurant, 86 percent cited border closures and 42 percent cited bans on gatherings. Likewise, again, 67 percent of companies in transport were closed due to border closures. Companies on trade were mostly open, but the majority that closed largely attributed the closing to curfews.

Figure 15: Reasons cited for firm closures under COVID-19 (%)



Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

At the same time, some companies were optimistic and expected a very rapid resumption of normal activity as the pandemic and related restrictions lift. In fact, As of August 2020, 19 percent of interviewed firms expected to restart business in under 2 weeks, 12 percent between 2 and 4 weeks, and 19 percent between 1 and 2 months. However, others expect to restart in several months: In fact, 21 percent expected a recovery between 2 and 6 months, 5 percent anticipated more than 6 months, and the remaining were not sure they will return to business.

The analysis on the perception of the interviewed enterprises on the future of their activities shows that 30 percent of the tourism enterprises believe that their activity will increase during the rest of the year, 20 percent believe that their activities will remain constant, and 50 percent believe that their activities will decrease (Table 6). Regarding the other sectors, 34 percent of the enterprises in trade, 15 percent of the enterprises in transport, and 13 percent of the enterprises in agro-processing believe that their activities will increase, against 53 percent, 54 percent, and 47 percent, respectively, of the enterprises believe that their activities will decrease (Table 6).

Table 6: Perception of the companies on prospective activities as COVID ends (%)

	Decrease	Constant	Increase
Agro-processing	47	40	13
Trade	53	13	34
Transport	54	31	15
Tourism	50	20	30

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

Table 7: Magnitude of the decrease in activity (% of firms reporting an expected decrease)

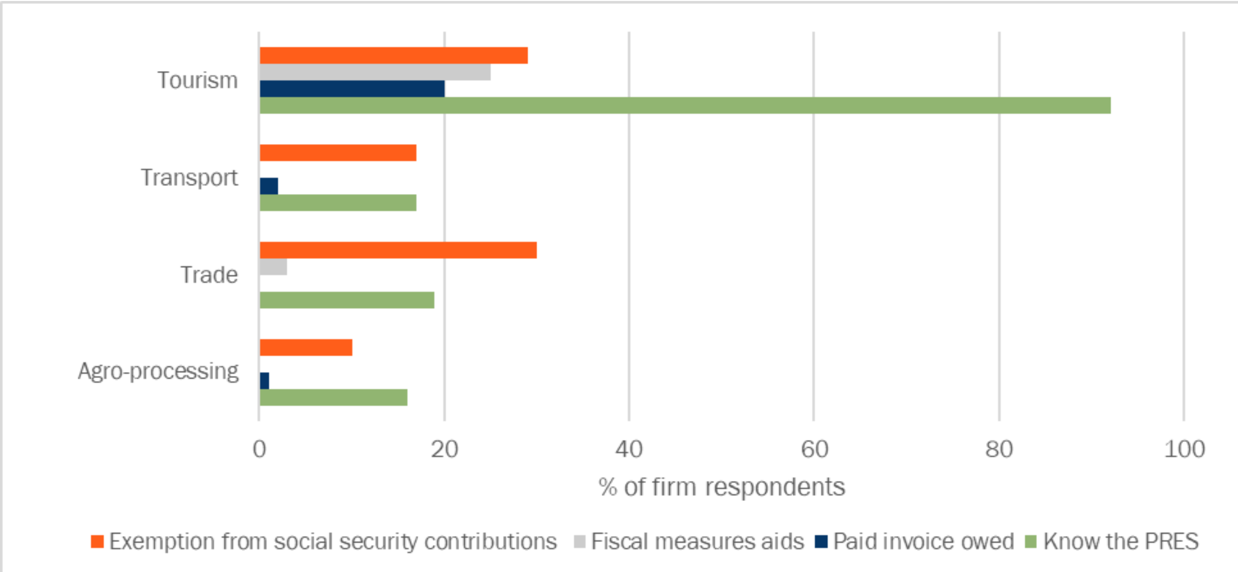
	<25%	Between 25% and 50%	Between 50% and 75%	>75%
Agro-processing	100	0	0	0
Trade	27	45	27	0
Transport	50	50	0	0
Tourism	33	33	0	33

Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

Nevertheless, there is hope with the government's response plan that the effect of the crisis is only temporarily. The government set up the PRES (Programme de Resilience Economique et Social), funded by the Force COVID-19 fund endowed with 1,000 billion FCFA, of which 381 billion FCFA is intended for the preservation of macroeconomic and financial stability through support to the private sector to maintain jobs, plus 242 billion FCFA toward the partial forgiveness of tax debt.

According to the survey results, 91 percent of the companies in the tourism sector say they were familiar with the PRES, trade (19 percent), transport (17 percent), and agro-processing (16 percent) Notably, 4 percent of firms in the tourism sub-sector, 19 percent in transport, 17 percent in trade (17 percent), and 24 percent in agro-processing (24 percent) say they directly benefitted from the PRES. The government has also supported these sectors through fiscal measures such as partial remission of tax debts, exemptions, or extension of the VAT. For example, 25 percent of interviewed firms in tourism received one of these aids, trade (3 percent), and agro-processing (0 percent). Other measures taken by the government, such as the extension of maturity on loans or the direct purchase of goods and services from these companies, benefited firms across sectors.

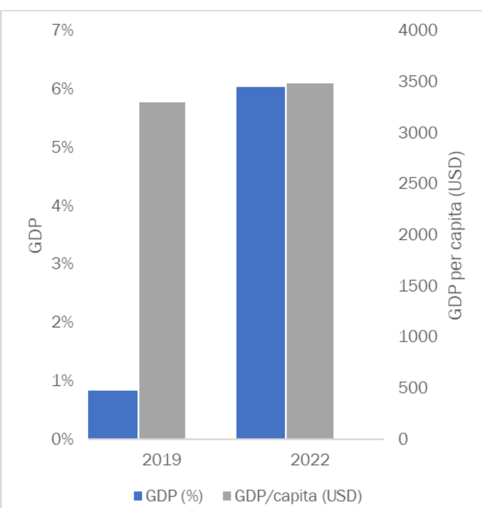
Figure 12: Awareness of and benefit from government support to private enterprises (% of firm respondents)



Source: ANSD 2020 - Survey on post-COVID investment intentions; authors' calculations.

These figures are in line with IMF estimates of the impact of the pandemic on growth in Senegal, which for the 2020-2022 period provides evidence that the actions taken by the government to mitigate the effects of COVID-19 on the national economy could be effective, in bringing the economy back on track. In fact, the IMF predicts that Senegal's GDP will increase from 0.8 percent to 6 percent between 2020 and 2022, and GDP per capita is predicted to increase by 3 percent for the same period, passing from $3,297 in 2020 to $3,481 in 2022 (Figure 17).

Figure 13: Growth in GDP (%) and GDP/capita (USD), 2020-2022



Source: IMF (2021).

4. How does COVID-19 affect the recommendations in the country case study for supporting the development of IWOSS?

Even before the onset of COVID-19, Senegal suffered from major constraints in all the identified IWOSS sectors, as seen in Table 9, which also outlines our original recommendations for supporting those sectors. Overall, we find that COVID-19 negatively impacted our recommendations in all of the sectors by delaying their implementation. However, regardless of the presence of COVID-19, our recommendations remain the same.

We assess the impact of COVID-19 on our recommendations based on two factors: the duration and the cost of their implementation. We consider two time horizons for investments and reforms implementation: short term (less than 4 months) and longer term (more than two years). In between, is medium term. Costs of implementation are deemed high when they exceed $1 million.

We consider the impact of COVID-19 on the recommendations to be:

- strongly pronounced (red) if the recommendations require a lot of time and funding for implementation.
- moderately pronounced (orange) if the recommendations require some time and no funding for implementation.
- weakly pronounced (green) if the recommendations require no time nor funding for implementation. Notably, none of the recommendations fall in this category.

Table 8: Summary of constraints, recommendations, and impact of COVID-19 on recommendations for the different sectors

Sectors	Biggest issues	Recommendations	Impact of COVID-19
Horticulture	• Difficult access to financing, especially for women • High interest rate in the loan market • Lack of qualified and skilled laborers • Ramifications of climate change	• Infrastructural investment • Increase opportunities for conservation and transformation • Provide capacity building opportunities • Identify and implement climate change mitigation measures	✖
Tourism	• Climate change issues: rising sea levels • Lack of tourism-focused investment in rural areas	• Important infrastructural investment in rural areas • Attract private investment in rural areas • Identify and implement climate change mitigation measures	✖
Agro-processing	• Lack of policy that promote private investment : time reduction • Lack of financing • Reduce barriers of entry and barriers of operations • Crucial to have access to foreign markets with accessible import and export procedures	• Smoothen the entry and operating procedures in the sector	✖

Impact on the recommendations: Low Medium High

The select IWOSS sectors face multiple and similar constraints, as seen in Mbaye et al (2021). For the horticulture sector, access to financing is difficult and interest rates for loans are high—challenges that hit women hardest. Other factors impeding the sector's development include both the lack of skilled, qualified workers and climate-related factors such as flooding and water salinization. Finally, for the agro-processing sector, a lack of policies that promote private investments (e.g., policies that streamline business processes such input sourcing and financing are major constraints to the rise of this sector.

In response, we made relevant recommendations to address the different issues in each sector (Table 9). For the tourism sector, policymakers should make important infrastructural investments in rural areas as a means to attract private investments as well as identify climate change mitigation measures to enable a sustainable utilization of resources. Infrastructure investments are similarly important for improvements in the horticulture sector, especially infrastructure aimed at minimizing yield losses and supporting conservation. Decisionmakers should also address skills gaps and mitigate climate risks. Then, for agro-processing, the government should prioritize easing the entry into and operating procedures within the sector.

Like in many other countries, the arrival of COVID-19 upended the Senegalese government's ongoing plans towards building a strong, sustainable economy through the private sector—of which IWOSS were already part. Indeed, COVID-19 further restricted Senegal's fiscal space both by shrinking the tax base and degrading the country's credit rating, limiting international borrowing capacity. As a result, finding resources for financing these much-needed investments in strategic sectors is now even more complicated. Related, the government now has reduced leverage and funding to ease the financing constraints COVID-19 has created for small firms.

Clearly, the recommendations in the horticultural and tourism sectors will take longer to implement for reasons of cost and duration, given the complexity of the challenges and the needed implementation mechanisms. For example, in the horticultural sector, one of the recommendations is to mitigate climate risks, which is a long-term and complex recommendation requiring actions from a host of national and local stakeholders. On the other hand, in the agro-processing sector, the impact of COVID-19 on the recommendations is relatively less since a robust recovery only requires administrative relaxation of some constraints. Although implementing these administrative changes may take a little time, it is less expensive than the recommendations in the horticultural and tourism sectors.

5. Conclusion

In Senegal, like around the world, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused significant health and economic damage. While Senegal, so far, has fared relatively well—Foreign Policy ranked it second out of 36 countries in its COVID-19 Global Response Index—economic activities are still stalled, and businesses struggling to recover. Outside of Senegal, but still relevant to the country's recovery, the pandemic has impacted global food systems, disrupted regional agricultural value chains, and continues to pose risks to food security and household operations. Overall, it has forced the government to make harsh decisions regarding issues that have harmed most of the population by considerably endangering their livelihoods.

More specifically, the country's promising industries without smokestacks have also been impacted: Their turnover and value added have plummeted in comparison to pre-COVID-19 times, significant numbers of jobs have been lost, both for men and women, and investment decisions have been delayed.

In addition, the pandemic has significantly reduced fiscal space by both shrinking the government tax base and reducing sovereign debt solvency, and, hence, international credit ratings. These factors, then, contribute to lowering the state's capacity to undertake needed investments and implement needed reforms to boost the IWOSS sectors. Given these challenges, any policy recommendations from our original brief have been put on hold due to COVID-19. However, given their potential for job creation and increased productivity in the long term, policymakers should not leave these recommendations on the shelf, and, rather, make them key components of the country's COVID recovery strategy.

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