

Africa Report

JUNE 2023



Introduction

- The June Africa Report covers the recently concluded African Peace Mission to Russia and Ukraine, as well as the upcoming Russia-Africa Summit scheduled to take place on 29 July.
- From an economic perspective, the report analyses the diplomatic and economic dilemma facing South Africa ahead of the upcoming BRICS Summit, and Kenya following the signing of new trade agreement with the European Union.
- The report analyses election outcomes in Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, and Mali, as well as the upcoming elections in Zimbabwe scheduled for August.
- From a security perspective, the report analyses the ongoing conflict in Sudan, the call for the withdrawal of the United Nations' peacekeeping missions in Mali and the reshuffling of security chiefs in Nigeria.



POLITICAL UPDATES

African Peace Mission to Ukraine and Russia

- From 16 to 17 June, an African delegation of leaders and representatives from seven countries met Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky and Russia's President Vladimir Putin.
- The delegation comprising of South Africa, Egypt, Senegal, Congo-Brazzaville, Comoros, Zambia, and Uganda put forward a 10-point proposal, including a recognition of Russia and Ukraine's sovereignty and continued unhindered grain exports.
- The leaders called for a de-escalation of conflict and for negotiations to commence with urgency, for the release of prisoners of war and for greater humanitarian support, among other requests.
- Since the war broke out in February 2022, Africa has been at the centre of renewed competition for influence between Russia and China on the one hand and Western nations and the United States calling for a condemnation of Moscow, on the other.



- African countries have been hit hard by the fallout from the war, which has disrupted supplies of grain and other food supplies, aggravated food price inflation and worsened existing hunger crises on the continent.
- Meanwhile, a Black Sea grain initiative – brokered by the United Nations and Turkey in July last year – has helped alleviate some of that pressure, though Putin has recently suggested Russia might pull out of the agreement.
- Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky told the seven-country delegation that only when Russia withdraws its troops will they consider peace talks.
- Meanwhile, Putin said Moscow is ready to review any proposals from African states on the Ukrainian settlement.
- Putin also pointed out that the Russian side has never rejected negotiations with Ukraine. He said it was Ukraine that declared its unwillingness, which was cemented by Zelensky's decree.
- The African peace effort is just one of several competing initiatives aimed at ending the fighting.

- For instance, China, which has touted its own peace plan, sent a top envoy to Kyiv, Moscow, and European capitals to discuss a political settlement in May. Pope Francis of the Vatican also embarked on a peace mission last month.
- Meanwhile, in June, Indonesia's defence minister proposed a peace plan, which Kyiv quickly dismissed.

Possible Implications:

- The peace mission was significant in that it signaled to the world that the continent remains an important player in global economic and body politik.
 - While some are critical of the peace-mission and driving the narrative that the mission failed, it is unthinkable that anyone, not even the African heads of state, would expect an immediate resolution of the conflict just because of a weekend trip to Ukraine and Russia.
 - If history is anything to go by, wars tend to take time to resolve and it thus is unrealistic to expect one meeting to immediately resolve the conflict.
 - In concrete terms, while its success is not immediately apparent, the mission highlighted these African states' collective commitment to finding a diplomatic solution. This underscores the seriousness with which these states view the conflict – not as a distant war but a crisis that directly affects Africa.
 - In fact, the peace plan is a positive move as it can open some doors and link up with the other initiatives on the table. Thus, promoting the importance of peace and encouraging the parties to agree to a diplomacy-led process of negotiations could serve as a confidence building measure.
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Some pressure points from the Russia-Ukraine conflict

- As the fallout from the Russia-Ukraine conflict continues, there are several pressure areas to which Africa must respond. One, which is being talked about the most is the upcoming BRICS Summit to be held in South Africa in August. The other is the renewed interest in East Africa, with special focus on Kenya, by both Moscow and the West and its allies.

South Africa's Diplomatic and Politico-Economic Conundrum



- South Africa faces a diplomatic and politico-economic conundrum ahead of the much-anticipated BRICS Summit in August. At issue is whether President Putin will attend the BRICS Summit and, if so, whether South Africa will arrest him in accordance with the International Criminal Court (ICC) indictment of Putin.
- While South Africa has sent high-level delegations to the United States and had several meetings with some Western powers, in the main, to explain its non-allied stance on the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict, there are real concerns about possible ramifications of this stance.

- While pressure is bubbling within the US Congress for South Africa to be phased out of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), the EU seems to adopt a less antagonistic posture yet remaining firm that South Africa must distance itself from Russia.
- The EU is South Africa's major global trading partner, while the country's non-aligned stance means that it cannot, because of that foreign policy principle, condemn Russia.

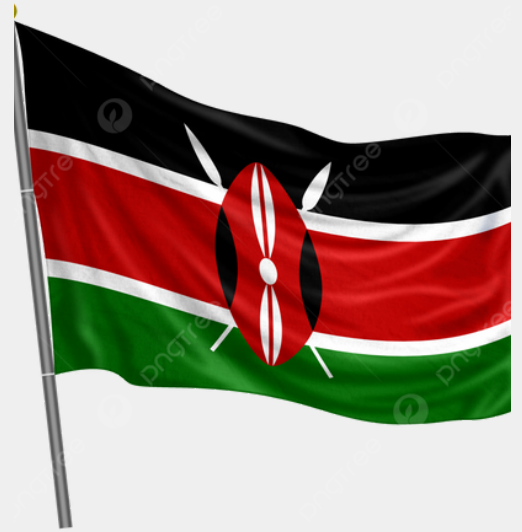
Possible Implications:

- The BRICS Summit places Pretoria in a position to influence and shape regional and global geopolitics. However, it places pressure on Pretoria to take positions on various global issues, which may not necessarily align with its own national interests or its traditional allies.
- Pretoria ought to strike a balance between these competing interests by navigating not only the interests and priorities of the other BRICS nations – Brazil, Russia, India, and China, but also those of the US, and Europe.
- Perhaps through the recent African peace-mission to Russia and Ukraine, South Africa has sought to elevate its international and African stature as a nation that is committed to resolving conflicts through diplomatic channels without taking sides.
- The peace mission helps reset the impression that African states, particularly South Africa, are disinterested or irresponsible stakeholders in the upkeep of the global rules-based order.
- Meanwhile, granting Putin diplomatic immunity for the Summit could further entrench the Western view that Pretoria is really on Moscow's side, endangering South Africa's strong trade relations with the United States and Europe. On the other hand, Pretoria will also be aware that arresting Putin would serve as a declaration of war against Russia.
- This conundrum could leave Pretoria pressurised to plead with Putin not to attend the Summit physically but rather virtually. Alternatively, as it is highly speculated, Pretoria could also opt to move the Summit to another BRICS nation, probably China or India as they are not signatories to the ICC, although Pretoria has as recently as 29 June confirmed that it was preparing for the Summit in Johannesburg.
- Ultimately, whatever decision Pretoria takes regarding the Summit, all eyes will be on whether she is able to conduct her foreign policy in a manner that seeks to strike a delicate balance between the competing geopolitical interests.



Kenya Signs New Trade Deal with European Union

- On 19 June, Kenya signed an Economic Partnership Agreement with the European Union (EU) that will guarantee duty-free access for its farm produce into its biggest export market.
- European goods entering Kenya will see tariffs reduced over a 25-year period under the agreement, officials said at a signing ceremony in the Kenyan capital Nairobi.
- Kenya, Africa's seventh-largest economy, is a major exporter of tea, coffee, flowers, fruits, and vegetables, with the EU accounting for 21% of its overall exports.
- In his address in Nairobi, Kenya's President William Ruto said, "beyond trade, the agreement is designed to stimulate investments and manufacturing", and also indicated that Kenya would engage the other East African Community (EAC) member states and the 28 African nations in a tripartite free-trade agreement to join the bilateral pact.
- The deal comes as major world powers including the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK), EU, China, and Russia are jostling for military, political and economic influence on the continent.
- In July last year, the US and Kenya signed a Strategic Trade and Investment Partnership (STIP) against the backdrop of China's rapidly rising trade relationship with Kenya, and both nations are expected to sign yet another agreement before the end of the year.
- In January 2022, China and Kenya also signed six bilateral trade agreements that focused on removing tariffs and other trade and nontrade barriers – making Kenya the first African country to export fresh avocados to China in August 2022.
- In May, Russia's Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov visited Nairobi during which visit President William Ruto announced, without detailing specific date, that Kenya would soon sign a trade agreement with Moscow aimed at boosting cooperation between businesses.
- Beyond the US, China and Russia, Kenya has strong and growing trade relations with other countries with strong economic muscle. The United Arab Emirates, for instance, imports refined petroleum, tea, and meat from Kenya while the UK also signed an economic partnership agreement with the Kenya in December 2020.



Possible Implications:

- Once implemented, EPA could see Kenyan exports earnings increasing while enabling Kenyan farmers to access a secure and wider market in Europe, as well as fast-tracking skills transfer and job creation.
- However, for Kenya to benefit from the EPA, there ought to be net welfare benefits. In more concrete terms this means that the benefits to consumers (due to lower priced goods), and producers (due to increased export revenue) must outweigh the losses due to reciprocity incurred by producers (import competing manufacturing sector), lost employment from collapsing sectors and foregone government tariff revenues.
- Simply put, EPA ought to be a balanced agreement, taking into account Kenya's development needs by allowing it a longer period to gradually open its market, safeguards for agriculture, and protection of its developing industry.
- Much like the African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) the EPA could be used as a political tool to coerce African nations to behave in a manner that advance the EU's interests.
- Thus, Kenya's international trade is an area where great power competition could seek to play out. This is to a larger extent attributed to the fact that in East Africa, Kenya is an important economic powerhouse.
- With its 2021 GDP of \$110.3 billion, it is the largest economy and major driver of rapid integration in the region. It is no surprise, therefore, that Kenya ranked second on regional integration in Africa.
- The EPA could also pose imminent danger to the integration of East Africa and the continent, as well as the ongoing trade initiatives like African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).



ELECTIONS UPDATES

Zimbabwe: 11 Candidates to Run for President

- On 22 June, Zimbabwe's Electoral Commission (ZEC) announced that 11 candidates will run for the presidential election which is expected to pit incumbent Emmerson Mnangagwa of the ZANU-PF against pastor and lawyer, Nelson Chamisa of the Citizens Coalition for Change (CCC) – who is seen as the strongest challenger.
- According to ZEC, 11 other hopeful candidates had been disqualified from the 23 August election, several of whom failed to pay the exorbitant \$20,000 fee to secure a slot on the ballot.
- One of them was Linda Masarira, the only female candidate who had shown interest in vying for the office.
- While Mnangagwa and Chamisa remain top contenders to revive the Southern African country's waning economic fortunes, self-exiled Saviour Kasukuwere, a former minister in Robert Mugabe's cabinet, will run as an independent candidate.
- Mnangagwa, 80, is seeking another term amid an economic collapse, with the Zimbabwe dollar plunging more than 50% against the US dollar.
- A key issue of contention ahead of election is the voters roll with the opposition and independent election watch bodies accusing the ZEC of the opaque manner in which it has so far run the voter registration and verification exercise.
- The election also comes at a time when Mnangagwa is expected to sign the Private Voluntary Organisations Amendment Bill into law which seeks to monitor the operations of civic society groups, as well as the Patriotic Bill, which gives the National Prosecuting Authority the power to, at its discretion, charge people who undermine or use false statements to paint a bad picture of Zimbabwe to foreign governments.



Possible Implications:

- While the election is highly predicted to be close race between Mnangagwa and Chamisa, the ruling party's access to state machinery and resources could easily grant Mnangagwa victory.
- Thus, Zanu-PF's overarching resources and influence compared to the opposition CCC, would enable it to preserve its support in rural strongholds and win key votes in low-income urban areas.
- However, with Kasukuwere entering the presidential race, his voters could be drawn from disgruntled Zanu PF supporters, which could make a dent in Mnangagwa's vote.
- Meanwhile, the candidacy fees are discriminatory and in violation of the Constitution and undemocratic as they discriminate against citizens according to their economic status, thereby excluding the poor and those on the margins.
- Furthermore, the implementation of the Private Voluntary Organisations Amendment Bill will undermine freedom of association and expression, and also threatens civic society organisations working on human rights in Zimbabwe.
- For a country with a history of suspicion of electoral fraud, the glitches and delays with publishing voters roll could be seen as part of structural vote rigging.
- It would also make it difficult for candidates to create a strategy for their campaigns. For instance, candidates ought to know where the registered voters are situated.
- This is because voters' roll explains whether registered voters are young people or the elderly and assists candidates to develop appropriate messages for their campaigns, tailor-making the messages for the targeted people and knowing where they are concentrated.



Guinea Bissau: Opposition Wins Majority in Parliamentary Polls



- On 08 June, the electoral commission in Guinea Bissau announced that a coalition of opposition groups won a majority of seats in parliament in the first legislative elections since President Umaro Sissoco Embalo dissolved the National People's Assembly more than a year ago.
- According to the electoral commission, the five-party Terra Ranka – a coalition led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) – won 54 of 102 seats ahead of Embalo's Madem G15 party, which picked up 29 seats.
- The Party for Social Renewal (PRS) won 12 seats, the Workers' Party six seats and the Assembly of the People United one seat.
- The small West African state has faced chronic instability in the shape of repeated coups and contested election results. However, the vote was given a clean bill of health by about 200 international monitors, who said they had not observed any major incident and described the ballot as "free, transparent and calm".

Possible Implications:

- Embalo's electoral misfortunes can largely be attributed to the rifts within his party as well as unpopularity with rural voters hit by the falling prices of cashew nuts, a major source of income.
- Thus, the election outcome is a blow for Embalo as it spells the end of his plans to push through a constitutional change that would have allowed him to consolidate power by ridding the country of its semi-presidential system.

Mali: Constitutional Referendum Approved

- On 23 June, the electoral commission, Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante (CENI) announced that Malians have approved a referendum which sought to bring changes to the country's constitution.
- According to CENI, the referendum which was held on 19 June was approved with 97% of the vote. Announcing the result in Bamako, head of the electoral commission, Moustapha Cisse said the turnout rate was at 39.4% of the country's 8.4 million registered voter.
- Meanwhile, on 16 June, Mali's Foreign Minister Abdoulaye Diop, who is part of the country's interim military authorities called on the United Nations to withdraw its peacekeeping mission from the country "without delay," denouncing its "failure" to respond to security challenges.
- According to Diop, MINUSMA – which was set up to help stabilise the country after a Tuareg rebellion, have become part of the problem by fueling community tensions exacerbated by extremely serious allegations which are highly detrimental to peace, reconciliation, and national cohesion in Mali".
- Diop said although the government is willing to cooperate with the UN on the issue, it rejects all options for changing the mandate of the mission as proposed by the UN secretary-general.
- Frustrations about the growing insecurity led to two coups in Mali in 2020 and 2021 and the ruling military government has been increasingly at loggerheads with MINUSMA and other international allies, including France.
- UN Security Council members must adopt a resolution to extend MINUSMA's mandate by June 30. This requires at least nine votes in favour and no vetoes by Russia, China, the United States, United Kingdom, or France to pass.



Possible Implications:

- With the referendum now approved, the military junta ought to ensure it adheres to all its commitments, most notably transferring power to an elected civilian administration by March 2024.
- However, while the Presidential elections are to be held in February 2024, it is unclear whether the junta will adhere to that timeframe.
- Although it is unclear whether the current leader, Col. Assimi Goïta, will stand in any future election, an ally or proxy for the junta will, and that could effectively legitimise the junta's control and perpetuate the current violence and instability.
- Regarding the call for immediate withdrawal of MINISMA, there is a need to ensure orderly and responsible withdrawal of MINUSMA as the decision could have dire consequences on the security and humanitarian crisis impacting the Malian people.
- Furthermore, if the Security Council vote to extend the UN peacekeeping mandate despite Mali's demand, Russia's ability to veto the outcome casts doubt on its likelihood, given the close links between the Russian private military company (PMC) known as the Wagner Group and the current Malian government.
- However, without MINUSMA's capabilities to identify threats, protect civilians, and foster any progress on political agreements, many of the warring parties are more likely to be able to operate with near impunity and little impetus for dialogue, creating further danger for civilians.
- Overall, if MINUSMA withdraws abruptly, Wagner Group's presence could grow beyond the 800-1000 personnel currently on the ground in Mali – further displacing Western influence and access.

Sierra Leone: Bio Re-elected as President

- On 27 June, the Chief Electoral Commissioner of the Electoral Commission for Sierra Leone (ECSL), Mohamed Kenewui Konneh, announced that the country's incumbent president, Julius Maada Bio (59) Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), was re-elected with 56.17% – clearing the threshold of 55% required to avoid the election runoff.
- His top rival Samura Kamara (72), of the All-People's Congress (APC), came second with 41.16%, but was quick to reject the result, describing it as a "frontal attack on our fledgling democracy". However, he did not say how he might respond.
- The APC has condemned the vote tallying processes, alleging lack of inclusiveness, transparency, and responsibility by the election commission.
- The vote count was fraught with controversies and some international observers expressed concerns about the integrity of the process.
- Just hours after the results were announced, Bio was sworn in at the State House where he gave a speech thanking citizens for their "trust and dedication".
- A former coup leader in the 1990s, Bio championed education and women's rights in his first civilian term that was, however, mired by growing frustration over economic hardship.
- Rising prices spurred unusually violent protests last year, and the APC had been banking on the enduring cost-of-living crisis to win votes. Nearly 60% of the country's population of more than 7 million are facing poverty, with youth unemployment being one of the highest in West Africa.
- The election, held on 24 June, was a rematch of the 2018 contest, in which Bio defeated Kamara, an economist and former government minister, by a tight margin.

Possible Implications:

- With Kamara having stated that he rejects the result, it will not come as a surprise if he decides to take it through to court for litigation.
 - However, should the result get maintained, Bio will need to hit the ground running and focus his attention to spearheading the revival of the economy in order to stimulate growth that will lead to job creation.
 - Most importantly, Bio needs to be a unifier and work with civil society, business, and labour to create an investor friendly environment.
 - Overall, his government ought to focus on ensuring food security, consolidating gains in Human Capital Development, creating jobs, particularly for young people, revamping the public service and developing technology and infrastructure.
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SECURITY UPDATES

Sudan: No End to the Conflict Despite Multiple Ceasefires



- On 21 June, intense battles broke out between Sudan's military and a rival paramilitary force after a three-day ceasefire brokered by the US and Saudi Arabia expired.
- Sudan descended into chaos in mid-April after months of rising tensions exploded into open fighting between rival generals seeking to control the country.
- The conflict pits the military, led by Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, against the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), a militia-turned-paramilitary force commanded by Mohamed "Hemedti" Hamdan Dagalo.
- Earlier in May, the Peace, and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU) called for an immediate end to the conflict in Sudan without preconditions from the warring factions.
- The PSC also called on the two warring sides to allow the resumption of "the political transition process culminating in the conduct of elections, towards a democratic, civilian-led government".
- The AU has been lamented for its lack of commitment to navigate ways of ending the conflict while the US and Saudi Arabia are seemingly taking the lead to resolve the conflict. Even South Africa, which has been vocal and highly involved during the previous conflict, seems to have been relegated and only finding itself as a bystander.
- The fighting in Sudan has killed thousands of people and forced more than 2.5 million to flee their homes to safer areas in the country or neighbouring nations, according to the UN migration agency.
- About 25 million people, more than half of Sudan's population are in need of aid and protection, according to the United Nations.

Possible Implications:

- The implications of sustained conflict in Sudan are numerous and significant and require a concerted effort from the international community to alleviate the humanitarian crisis, promote economic stability, support democratic transition, and mitigate regional security risks.
 - The conflict if unresolved will continue to create a humanitarian crisis, with millions of people displaced from their homes and in need of aid.
 - While international and regional responses to the crisis in Sudan have been swift, they have not stopped the violence perpetrated against civilians. Slow, ineffective talks have seen the country's devastating humanitarian crisis worsen.
 - With the failure of several ceasefires, limited leverage of regional and international actors and burgeoning humanitarian needs, the situation needs an action-oriented response.
 - Thus, who is likely to be the most successful as a mediator is a question that needs to be addressed urgently in the ongoing Sudan civil war.
 - Perhaps, an AU-led mediation process promises a better and more stable peace agreement than a non-African mediation process.
 - The AU successfully mediated in 2019 in Sudan after the military overthrew former President Omar al-Bashir –an intervention that helped significantly at the time, to prevent the country's descent into a military dictatorship.
 - The AU has the trust of Sudan's warring parties after its successful mediation in 2019 – an intervention that was in line with the union's policy to provide "African solutions to African problems".
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DRC: UN Peacekeepers to Withdraw Within the Next Six Months

- On 12 June, the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) Minister of Communications, Patrick Muyaya, said the withdrawal of the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) from their country is planned within the next 6 months.
- According to Muyaya, the decision was reached in a meeting between senior government officials and the UN's Chief of Peace Operations Jean-Pierre Lacroix.
- MONUSCO has faced a lot of criticism for being unable to protect civilians against violence from armed groups.
- Many Congolese have been calling for the departure of the UN force for its perceived failure to protect civilians from armed groups in eastern DRC. A series of protests against MONUSCO broke out in eastern DRC last year where 36 people died including 4 peacekeepers.
- The recent backlash against the UN peacekeepers was triggered by the resurgence of the M23 rebels in eastern DRC in late 2021.
- The current mandate of the UN peacekeepers is set to expire in December this year.

Possible Implications:

- With over 120 rebel groups roaming through eastern DRC, the absence of MONUSCO would leave a significant void in terms of security, potentially creating a power vacuum.
- This could lead to increased violence and conflict, as armed groups might exploit the situation and create instability, especially at a time when the DRC is expected to hold elections marked for 20 December this year.
- Furthermore, MONUSCO has been assisting with humanitarian efforts, such as protecting civilians, providing medical assistance, and supporting displaced populations. Its withdrawal could hinder these efforts, making it more challenging to address the ongoing humanitarian crisis in the region.
- Government needs to step up its own response to armed groups to avoid creating a security void that would be fatal.
- The DRC is located in a volatile region with numerous conflicts and cross-border dynamics, and the withdrawal of MONUSCO could potentially affect neighbouring countries and regional stability, as armed groups might exploit the absence of international peacekeepers.
- Overall, the decision to withdraw MONUSCO is a complex matter, and any potential implications would depend on various factors, including the timing and conditions under which the withdrawal occurs.

Nigeria: President Removes Security Chiefs in Major Reshuffle

- On 19 June, Nigeria's President Bola Tinubu made sweeping changes to the defence forces, forcing out the security chiefs and the head of police less than a month after taking office.
 - In a statement, the secretary to the government of the federation, George Akume, said Tinubu has named new commanders of the defence forces, army, navy, and air force with immediate effect.
 - Willie Bassey, a spokesman for the secretary to the Nigerian government, was quoted by national media confirming "the immediate retirement of all Service Chiefs and the Inspector-General of Police, Advisers, Comptroller-General of Customs from Service as well as their replacements with immediate effect".
 - Tinubu has made security one of his key priorities and promised reforms to the sector, including the recruitment of more soldiers and police officers while paying and equipping them better.
 - Nigeria's military is stretched, with long-running fighting against rebel groups as well as banditry and kidnappings for ransom that have spread insecurity to most parts of the country.
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Possible Implications:

- The new administration understands that in order to tackle the increasing insecurity, it needs to hit the ground running to reorganise Nigeria's security architecture.
- Thus, the reshuffle is a significant step towards inclusivity as Tinubu has assembled a diverse cabinet of security chiefs, with the new team representing all six geopolitical zones, and encompassing various religious backgrounds.
- The previous service chiefs were not successful in tackling security challenges, despite several military operations hence, the new chiefs are faced with a major task of curbing security threat and providing peace and security in the country.
- Those appointed will need to change the security landscape of the nation to achieve positive results. However, the new chiefs can only deliver the desired change, if they are able to cooperate, and carry out a critical appraisal of the security situation to gain deeper understanding of the issues.
- Of greater significance, the new security chiefs need to work to rebuild public trust and confidence, which is at the lowest, and improve citizens' engagement.
- To turn things around, the administration needs to audit the security budget allocation of its predecessor and take a close look at its implementation. This will help identify areas of inefficiency and corruption.
- In addition, the administration needs to address underlying socio-economic factors that contribute to insecurity. Investment in education, healthcare and infrastructure development are crucial, and so are job creation, poverty alleviation and inclusive economic growth.

Risks

- **Possible escalation of the conflict in Sudan** – leading to dire refugee and humanitarian crisis.
 - **The on-going Russia-Ukraine conflict** – the conflict remains an elevated risk for Africa, in respect of food security. For instance, Putin has been threatening to not renew a deal to let Ukrainian grain ships headed for Africa pass through Russian-controlled ports on the Black Sea when it expires on 17 July.
 - **Election-Violence in Zimbabwe** – election violence could erupt especially during the actual voting as well as post the announcement of the election outcome.
 - **Rising Insecurity in Mali and DRC due to UN Troops Withdrawal** – this could create a security vacuum, thus enabling the rebels to infiltrate other areas they previously could not reach.
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