

Digital divide: Who in Africa is connected and who is not

Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 582 | Libuseng Malephane

Summary

Digital connectivity through information and communications technologies (ICTs) has been recognised as critical for every country's future development and prosperity (International Telecommunication Union, 2021). The United Nations (UN) Agenda 2030 highlights this issue in Sustainable Development Goal 9 (SDG 9), to "build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialization and foster innovation." Target 9C calls on countries to "significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in the least developed countries by 2030" (United Nations, 2022).



And while access to ICTs is an objective in its own right, ICTs have cross-cutting effects and are important for the achievement of many of the other SDGs as well. ICTs can help developing countries to leapfrog development gaps and join the knowledge society. To quote the United Nations Statistical Commission (2020), the spread of ICTs and global interconnectedness have "great potential to accelerate human progress, to bridge the digital divide and to develop knowledge societies."

The COVID-19 pandemic brought the importance of connectivity to the fore. As lockdowns closed physical businesses and schools and restricted movement, only the connected could keep interacting with their loved ones, work or transact business online, and continue to educate their children. UNICEF (2020) reported that about half of schoolchildren in sub-Saharan Africa – the highest proportion globally – could not be reached by digital and remote-learning programmes during the COVID-19 crisis (see also Krönke, 2020).

As the pandemic has highlighted, significant digital gaps still divide those who are connected and those who are not. Substantial gaps remain both between countries, especially between developed and developing countries, and within many countries between the rich and the poor, urban and rural residents, the most and least educated, and men and women.

The International Telecommunication Union (2021) report on connectivity notes that despite increased access to mobile broadband networks, the least developed countries (LDCs) may actually be falling further behind in Internet usage. Likely reasons include the cost of services and devices as well as a lack of awareness of the Internet and requisite digital skills.

Afrobarometer captured several dimensions of the digital divide in its Round 8 surveys (2019/2021) in 34 African countries, including 19 countries classified as "least developed" by the UN (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2022). Survey responses inform measures, across both individuals and states, of access to devices and to network services, utilisation rates, and differences in how the Internet is used in daily practice.

Afrobarometer finds that most Africans own a mobile phone and have access to a mobile phone network. However, fewer than half own a mobile phone with Internet access, and

even fewer have access to a computer. This translates to low levels of Internet use in many countries. Lack of Internet access and use is far more common among women and people who are rural, older, less wealthy, and/or less educated. There is also a sizeable gap between LDCs and more developed countries.

Afrobarometer surveys

Afrobarometer is a pan-African, nonpartisan survey research network that provides reliable data on Africans' experiences and evaluations of democracy, governance, and quality of life. Eight rounds of surveys have been conducted in up to 39 countries since 1999. Round 8 surveys were completed in 18 countries between August 2019 and March 2020 before fieldwork was suspended because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Surveys in 16 more countries between October 2020 and July 2021 completed the 34-country round. (See Appendix Table A.1 for a list of countries and fieldwork dates.)

Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews in the language of the respondent's choice with nationally representative samples that yield country-level results with margins of error of +/-2 to +/-3 percentage points at a 95% confidence level.¹

This 34-country analysis is based on 48,084 interviews. The data are weighted to ensure nationally representative samples. When reporting multi-country averages, each country is weighted equally (rather than in proportion to population size).

Key findings

- Coverage by a cell network is widespread on the continent: 87% of enumeration areas (EAs) visited by Afrobarometer fieldwork teams have coverage.
 - Coverage averages 90% in non-LDC countries, but even in LDCs, coverage is only modestly lower at 84%.
 - Mauritius, Morocco, and Botswana boast nearly universal coverage (99%), and eight other countries record levels of 95% or above.
 - Where coverage is more limited, it is usually rural areas that are left behind, with coverage averaging just 80%, compared to 95% in urban areas.
- More than eight in 10 citizens (84%) personally own a mobile phone. Across 31 countries tracked since 2014/2015, phone ownership has increased by 5 percentage points.
 - A 14-percentage-point gap in phone ownership separates LDCs (78%) and non-LDCs (92%). Ten LDCs have mobile phone ownership rates below 80%, most notably Ethiopia (59%), Malawi (57%), and Angola (57%).
 - Phone ownership rates vary across key demographic groups. Differences are especially pronounced by respondents' education level, urban-rural location, and economic status.
- While phone ownership is relatively high, fewer than half (45%) of African adults have access to the Internet on their phones, including just 20% of Malawians and Nigeriens and 16% of Ethiopians. Across 31 countries tracked since 2016/2018, access to the Internet via mobiles has risen by 7 percentage points.

¹ The weighted Mozambique Round 8 sample is nationally representative except that it excludes rural Cabo Delgado, comprising 6.3% of the adult population of Mozambique. Insecurity and resulting difficulties in obtaining necessary fieldwork clearances prevented Afrobarometer from collecting sufficient data in this area.

- Demographic differences in Internet access via phone are even larger than for phone ownership, reaching 72 percentage points between citizens with no formal schooling (13% have Internet access via phone) and those with post-secondary education (85%). LDCs trail non-LDCs by 23 points in access to the Internet via phone (35% vs. 58%).
- Access to a computer in the household is much more limited (28%) and has not increased significantly since the previous survey round. Fewer than one in 10 citizens have access to a computer in five LDC countries – Uganda, Tanzania, Niger, Ethiopia, and Malawi.
- Four in 10 Africans (40%) report that they use the Internet – either through a smart phone or a computer – “a few times a week” or “every day.”
 - Frequent Internet use is far less common in LDCs (30%) than in non-LDCs (53%) and falls below one in five citizens in six countries, all LDCs: Ethiopia (12%), Malawi (14%), Uganda (15%), Burkina Faso (16%), Niger (17%), and Tanzania (19%).
 - Frequent Internet use varies widely across key demographic groups, showing gaps of 72 percentage points between citizens with no formal schooling and those with post-secondary education, 39 points between poor and wealthy citizens, 36 points between rural and urban residents, 33 points between the youngest and oldest respondents, and 8 points between women and men.
- Comparisons of reported Internet use with estimates of broadband network coverage and voice/data costs suggest that price of service may be a more important barrier to connectivity than service coverage.

Access to the mobile network

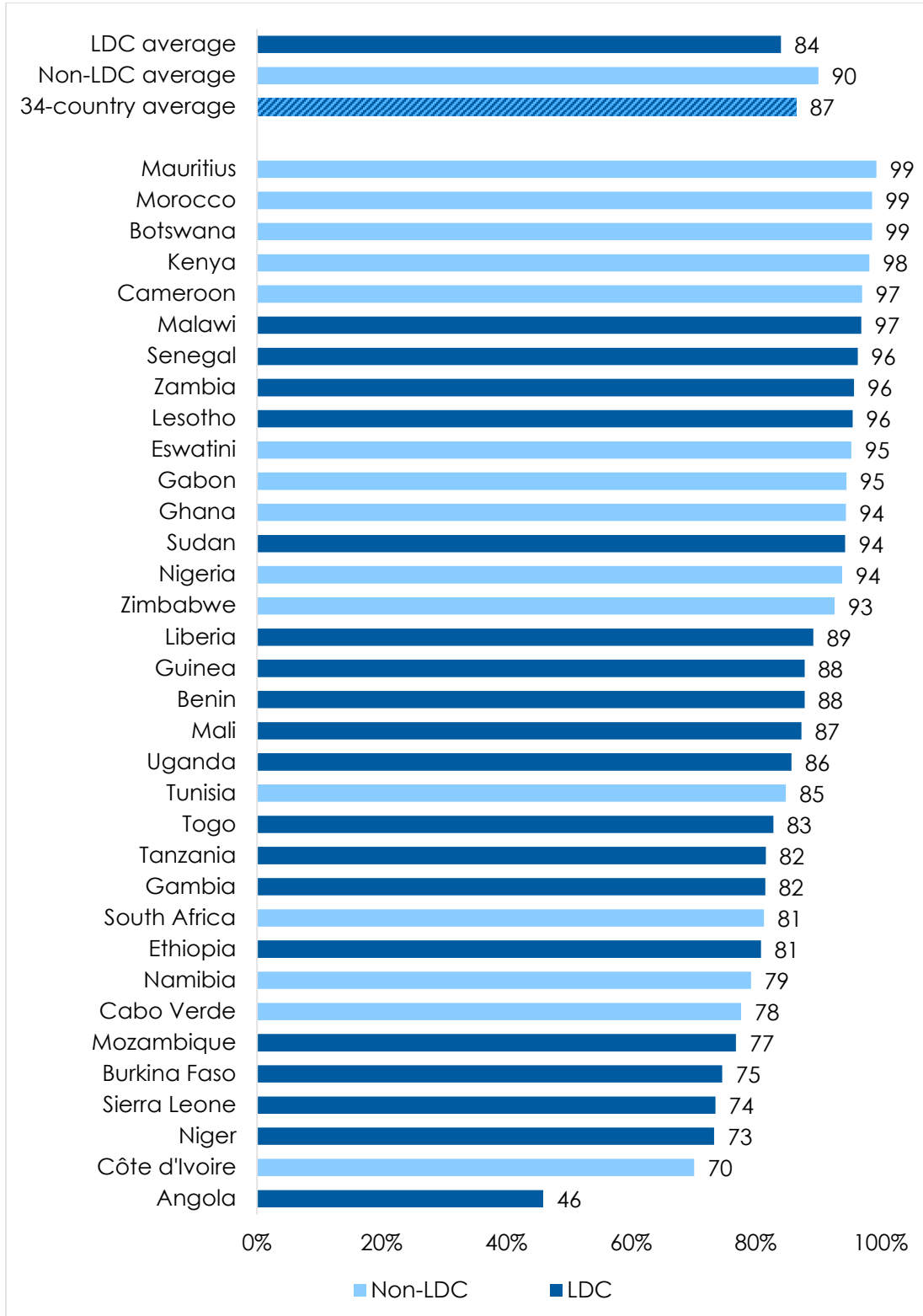
During the course of fieldwork in any given country, Afrobarometer field teams visit between 150 (for survey n=1,200) and 300 (for survey n=2,400) enumeration areas (EA). They conduct eight interviews in each EA and also capture information on the presence of basic services and facilities within that EA, including mobile phone service. The following information on mobile network coverage comes from these EA-level observations recorded by the field teams, rather than from individual interviews

Nearly nine in 10 (87%) of the EAs visited during Round 8 have network coverage (Figure 1). The gap between coverage in LDCs (84%) and non-LDCs (90%) is a relatively modest 6 percentage points. Several countries have reached nearly universal network coverage, led by Mauritius, Morocco, Botswana and Kenya. Angola stands out as having exceptionally low network coverage (46%).

On average, urban areas have a 15-percentage-point advantage in network coverage over rural areas (95% vs. 80%). The gap ranges from as little as -2 points in Mauritius and Cameroon (i.e. recorded access was actually slightly higher in rural areas) to 47 points in Sierra Leone, 41 points in Côte d'Ivoire, 39 points in Tunisia, and 31 points in Gabon, where rural areas are being left far behind (Figure 2).

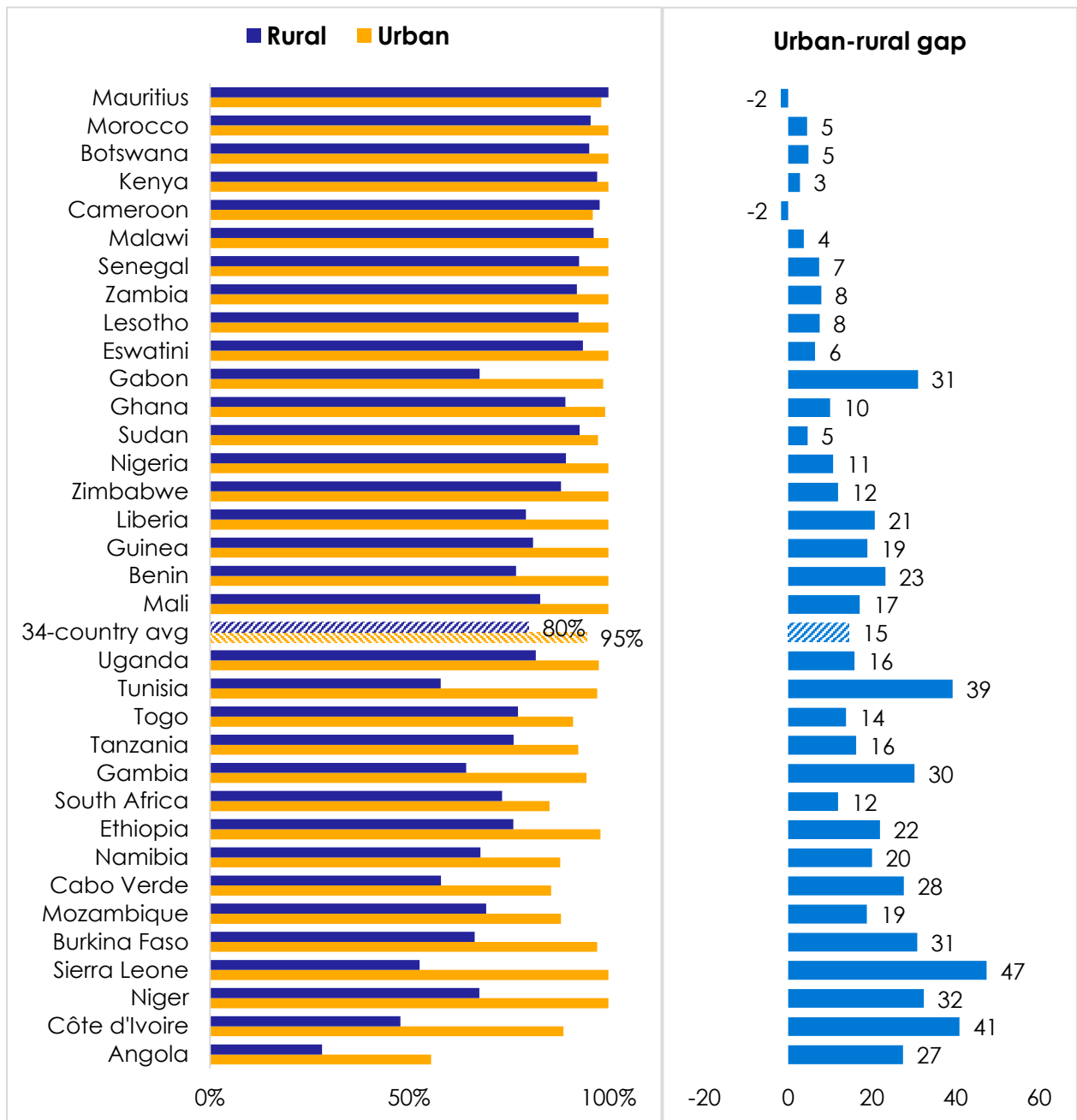
Do your own analysis of Afrobarometer data – on any question,
 for any country and survey round. It's easy and free at
www.afrobarometer.org/online-data-analysis.

Figure 1: Cellphone network coverage | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Survey enumerators were asked to record: Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit/enumeration area: Mobile phone service? (% of EAs where the response was “yes”)

Figure 2: Urban-rural gap in cellphone network coverage | 34 countries | 2019/2021



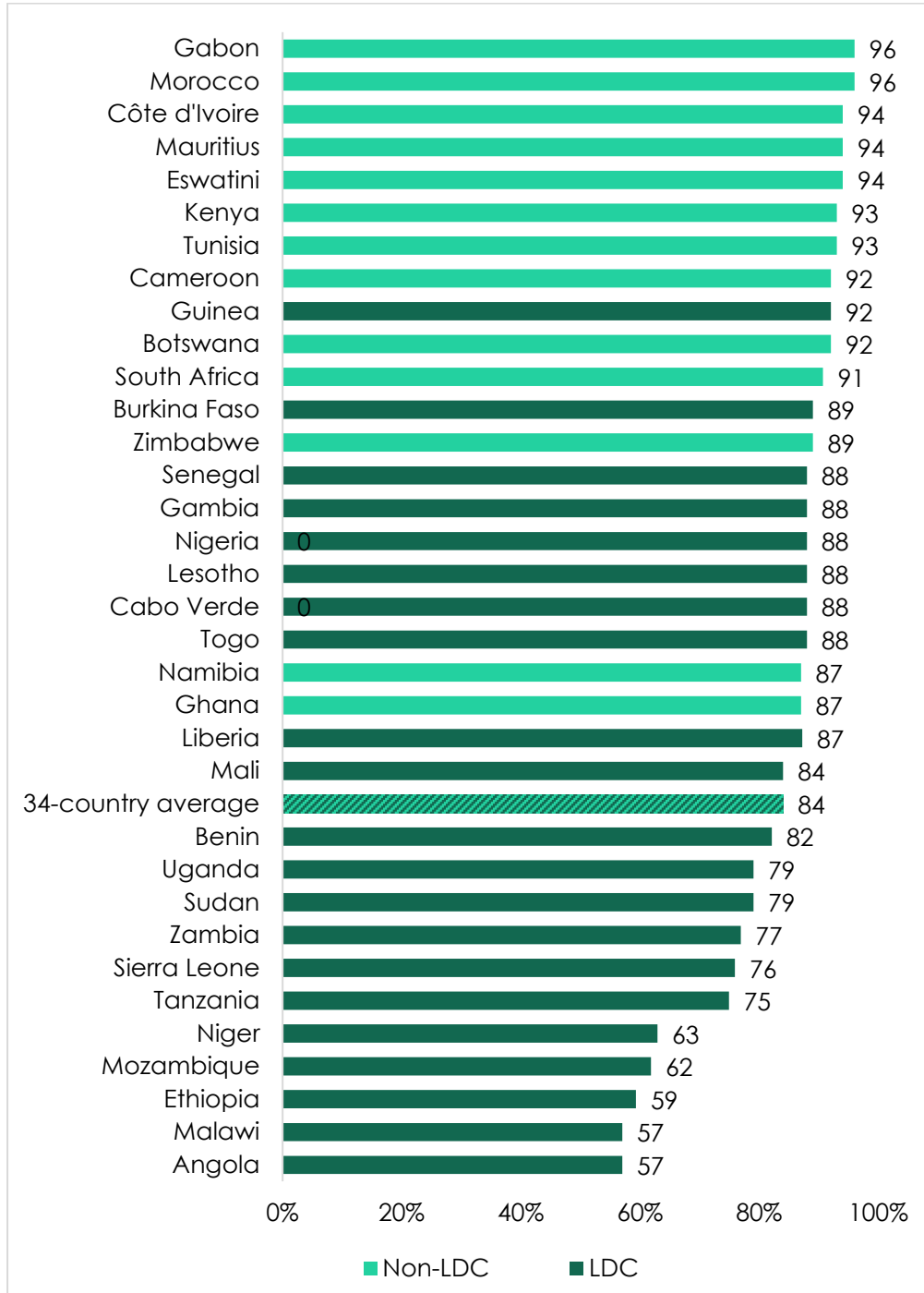
Survey enumerators were asked to record: Are the following services present in the primary sampling unit/enumeration area: Mobile phone service? (Left figure shows % of EAs where the response was “yes.” Right figure shows % “yes” in urban EAs minus % “yes” in rural EAs. Positive numbers indicate greater presence in urban areas.)

Ownership of ICT devices

On average across 34 countries, ownership of mobile phones now stands at 84% (Figure 3), with another 8% saying that someone else in their household owns a phone. Access varies widely across countries, from a high of 96% in Gabon and Morocco to just over half (57%) of respondents in Angola and Malawi. All 12 of the countries with mobile phone ownership at or

below the average are LDCs. But other LDCs report significantly higher levels of ownership, ranging up to 89% in Burkina Faso and 92% in Guinea.

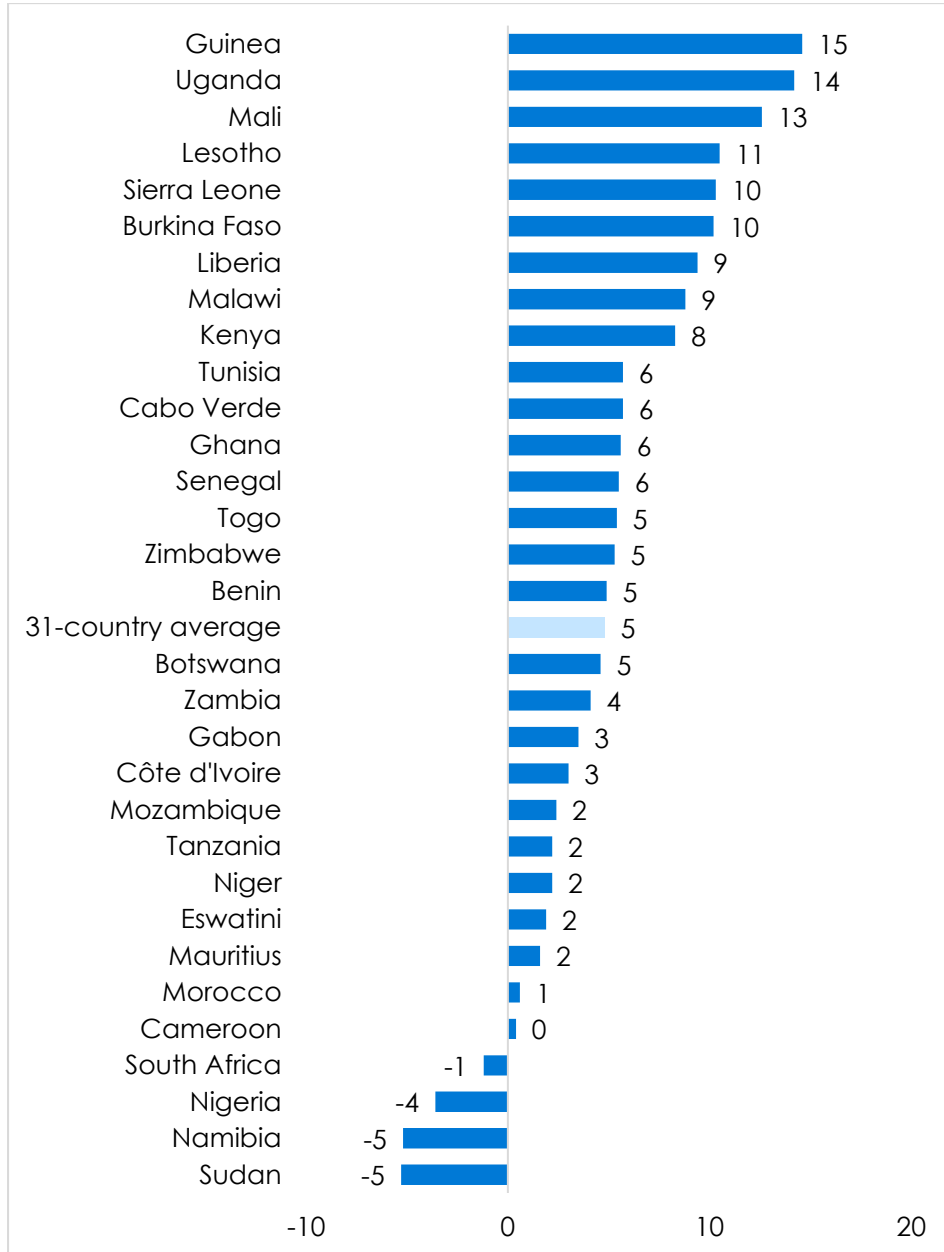
Figure 3: Mobile phone ownership | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone? (% "yes")

Across 31 countries tracked over time, ownership of phones has grown modestly, from 80% in 2014/2015 to 85% in 2019/2021. Almost all countries have recorded gains, led by Guinea (+15 percentage points), Uganda (+14), and Mali (+13 points) (Figure 4). Nigeria (-4 points), Namibia (-5), and Sudan (-5) recorded modest declines.

Figure 4: Change in mobile phone ownership | 31 countries | 2014-2021



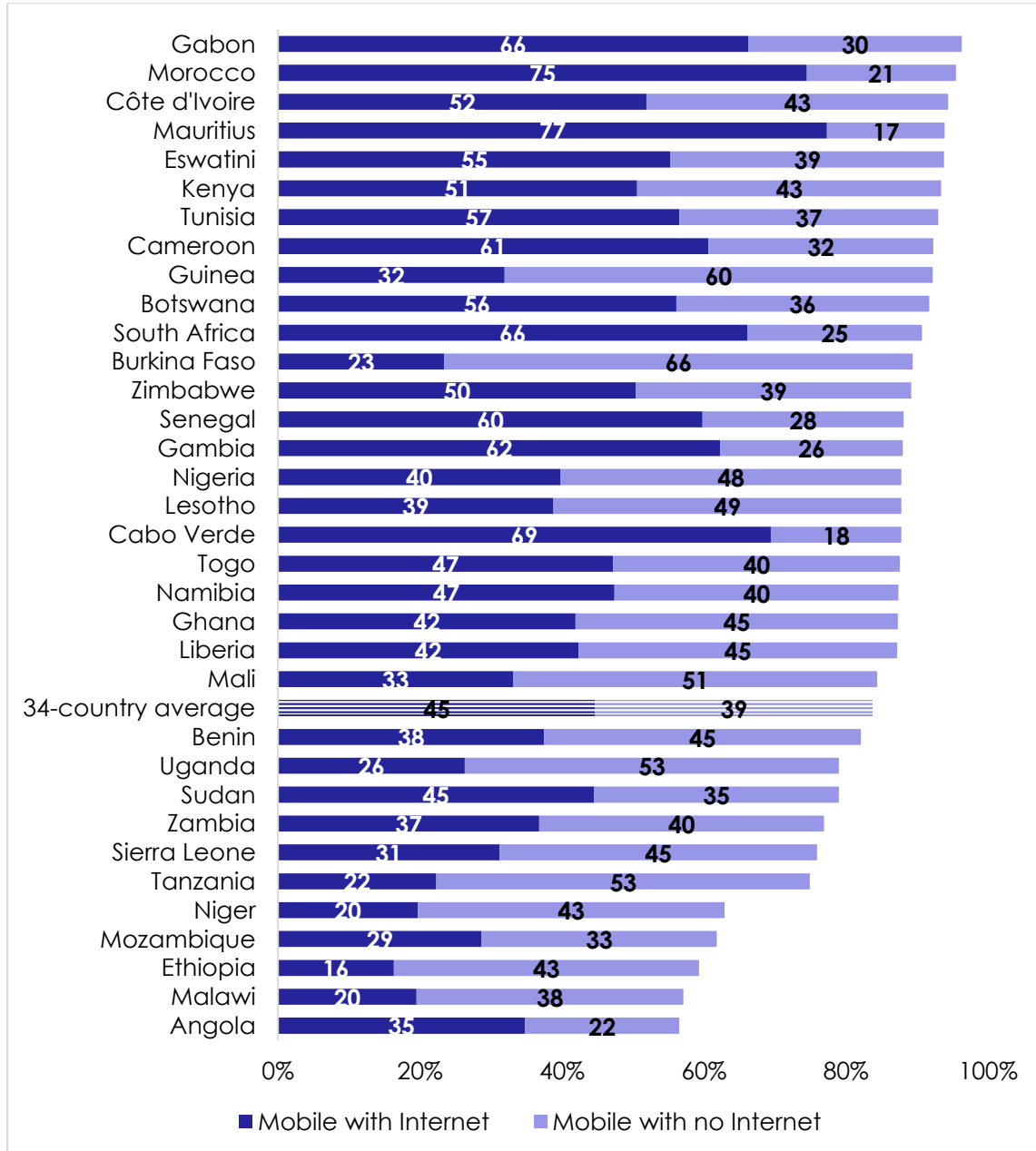
Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone?
 Figure shows % “yes” Round 8 (2019/2021) minus % “yes” in Round 6 (2014/2015). Positive numbers represent an increase in phone ownership.)

Accessing the Internet

Phone access on its own can be an invaluable tool for communication and information sharing. But of course the utility of this digital technology increases exponentially if that phone can also be used as a tool to access the Internet to tap into the wealth of news and information that is available there.

Just over half (45% out of 84%) of mobile phone owners report having access to the Internet on their phones (Figure 5), reaching a high of 77% in Mauritius, followed by Morocco (75%), Cabo Verde (69%), and Gabon and South Africa (66% each). Just one in five citizens or fewer have phones with Internet access in Malawi (20%), Niger (20%), and Ethiopia (16%).

Figure 5: Mobile phone ownership and Internet access | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone? [If “yes”:] Does your phone have access to the Internet?

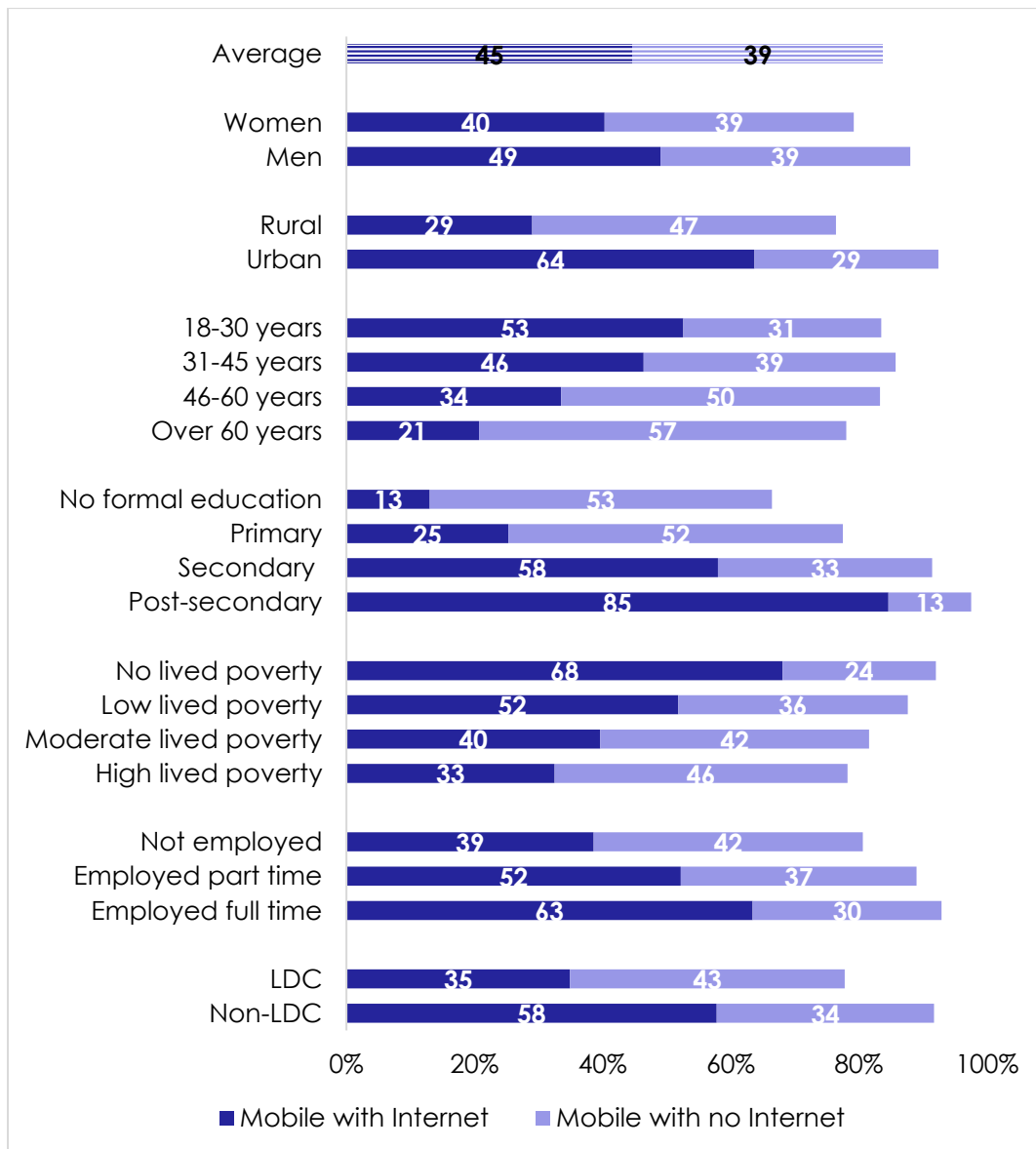
There are stark differences in phone ownership and especially in Internet access via phone across demographic groups. Men are 9 percentage points more likely than women both to own a phone (88% vs. 79%) and to have a phone with Internet access (49% vs. 40%) (Figure 6). The urban-rural gap is considerably larger, at 16 percentage points for phone ownership (92% vs. 76%) and 35 points for Internet access (64% vs. 29%).

Younger people are only modestly more likely to own a phone than their elders (84% vs. 78%), but they are more than twice as likely to have Internet access on the device (53% vs. 21%). The same is true for the wealthiest respondents compared to the poorest.

The sharpest differences, however, are associated with education level. Nearly everyone (98%) with post-secondary education has a mobile phone, compared to just two-thirds (66%) of those with no formal education. But there is a startling 72-percentage-point gap in phone Internet access between the two groups, from a high of 85% among those with post-secondary education to just 13% among those with no formal schooling.

While there is a 14-percentage-point gap in phone ownership between LDCs (78%) and non-LDCs (92%), the gap in Internet access reaches 23 points (35% vs. 58%).

Figure 6: Ownership of mobile phone with or without Internet | by demographic group
 | 34 countries | 2019/2020

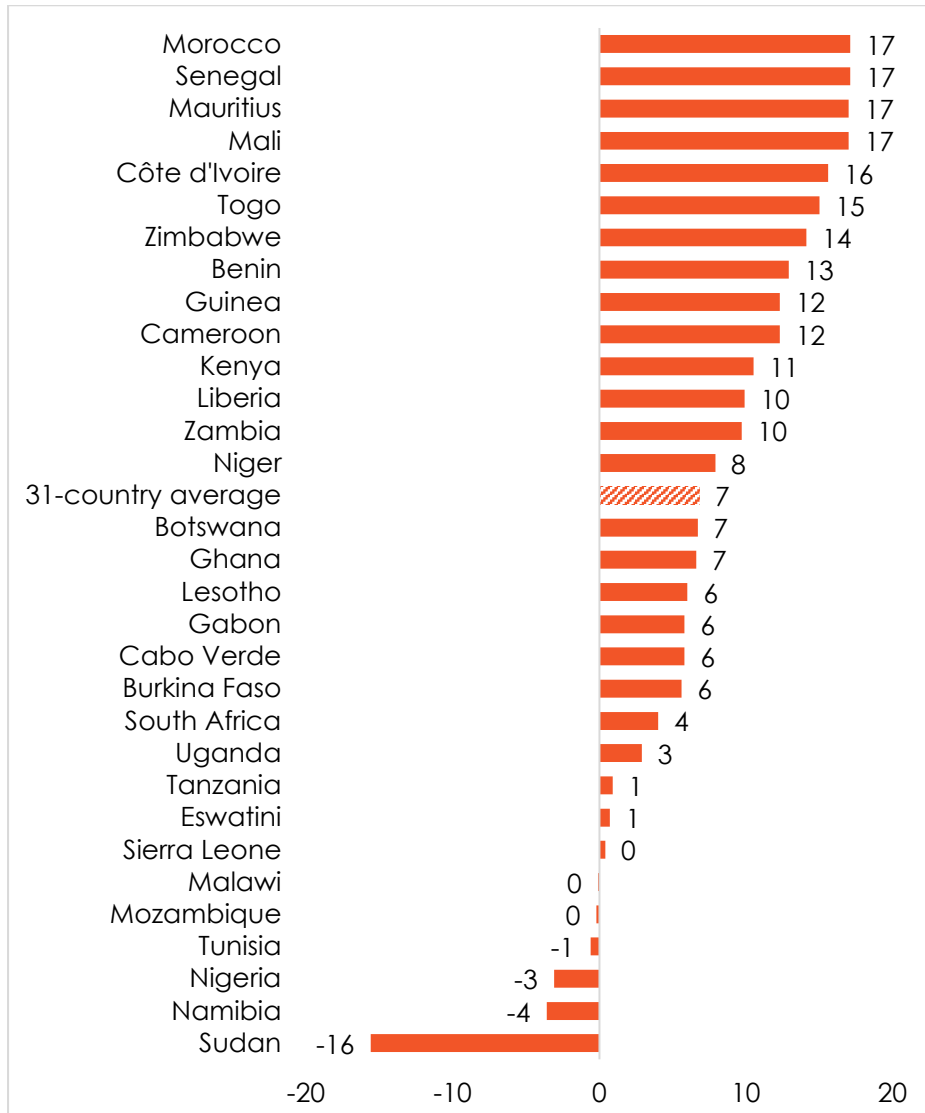


Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone? [If “yes”:] Does your phone have access to the Internet?

We saw above (Figure 4) that phone ownership has climbed by a modest 5 percentage points since 2014/2015. Gains in access to the Internet via mobiles appear to be moving faster: There has been a 7-percentage-point increase just since Round 7 surveys (2016/2018). Thirteen countries record double-digit gains, led by Morocco, Senegal, Mauritius, Mali, Côte

d'Ivoire, and Togo, all of which saw gains of 15 points or more (Figure 7). The major exception is Sudan, where Internet access via mobile phone dropped by 16 percentage points during a period of intense political turmoil in the country.

Figure 7: Change in ownership of phone with Internet access | 31 countries
 | 2016-2021

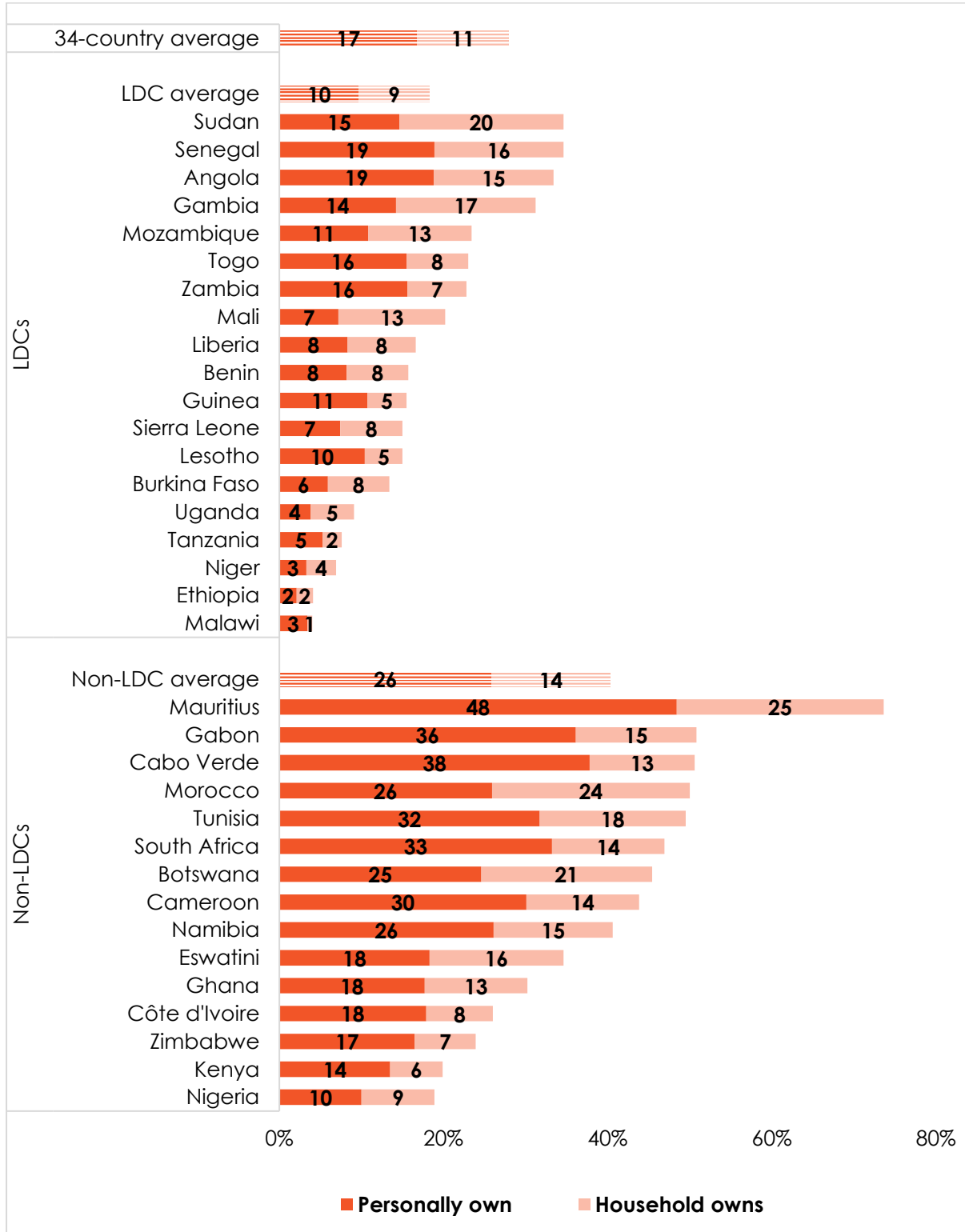


Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Mobile phone? [If "yes":] Does your phone have access to the Internet?
 Figure shows % "yes" to both questions in Round 8 (2019/2021) minus % "yes" to both questions in Round 7 (2016/2018). Positive numbers represent an increase in access to the Internet via mobile phone.

Phones are a far more accessible and widespread means of gaining access to the Internet than computers. On average across 34 countries, just 17% of adults report owning a computer themselves, while another 11% say someone else in the household owns one (Figure 8). Residents of non-LDC countries enjoy much higher rates of ownership (26%) and household access (14%) than those in LDCs (10% and 9%, respectively). In five LDC countries – Uganda, Tanzania, Niger, Ethiopia, and Malawi – access to a computer (personally owned or in the household) falls below 10%, whereas nearly three-quarters (73%) of Mauritians have access a computer. Gabon, Cabo Verde, Morocco, and Tunisia are the only other countries where at least half of the population can access a computer.

On average across 31 countries, gains in access to a computer since the previous round of surveys in 2016/2018 are negligible at just 2 percentage points.

Figure 8: Personal or household access to a computer | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: Which of these things do you personally own: Computer? [If “no”:] Does anyone else in your household own one?

Use of digital technologies

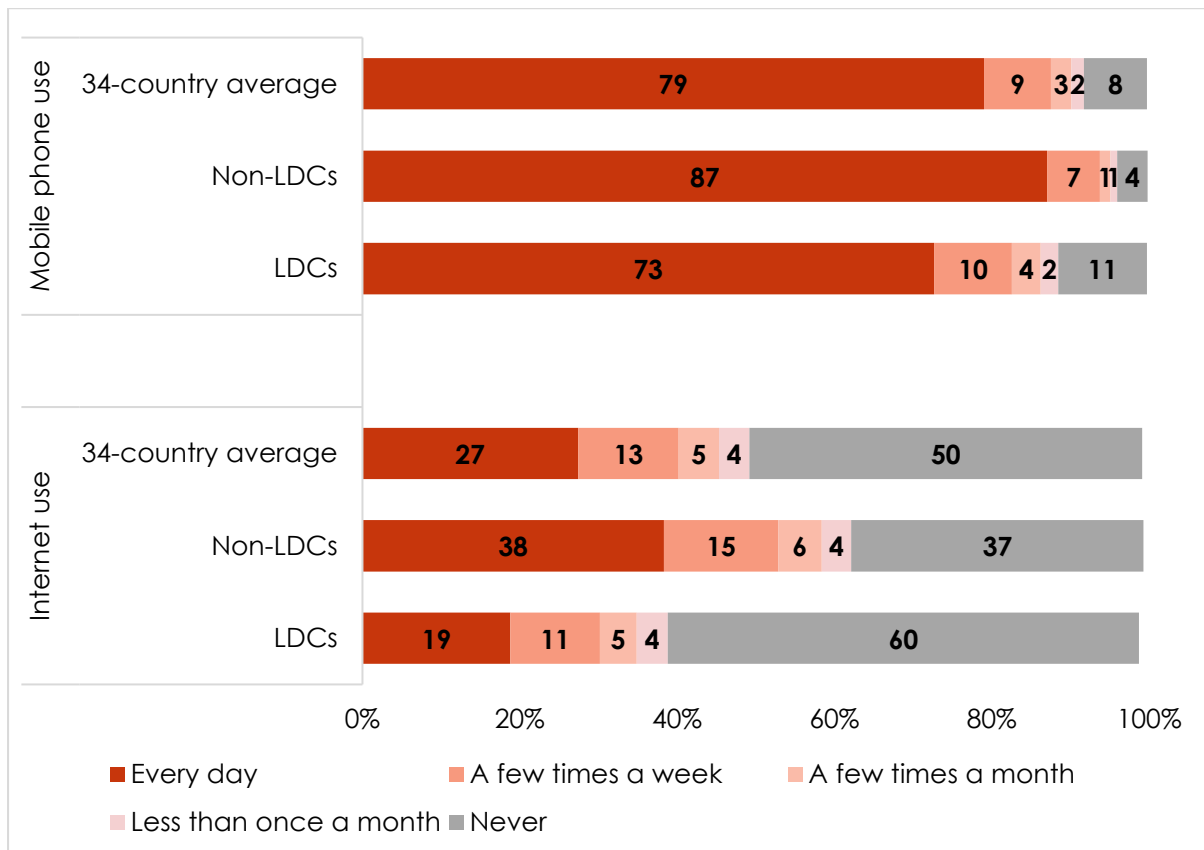
How do these disparities in levels of access to ICT devices and network services translate into profiles of actual phone and Internet use? To what extent are users realising the benefits that are expected to accrue from the use of digital technologies and services (Hilbert, 2011)?

The International Telecommunication Union (2021) status report notes that the increased availability of a broadband mobile network has not necessarily translated into increased use of the internet in the LDCs.

Gaps in the use of mobile phones and the Internet

We've already observed (Figure 3) that access to mobile phones has become very widespread across the continent. Regular phone use is similarly high: Nearly eight in 10 Africans (79%) say they use a phone every day, and another 9% use one a few times a week (Figure 9). Regular mobile phone use (at least a few times a week) is about 11 percentage points higher in non-LDCs (94%) than in LDCs (83%).

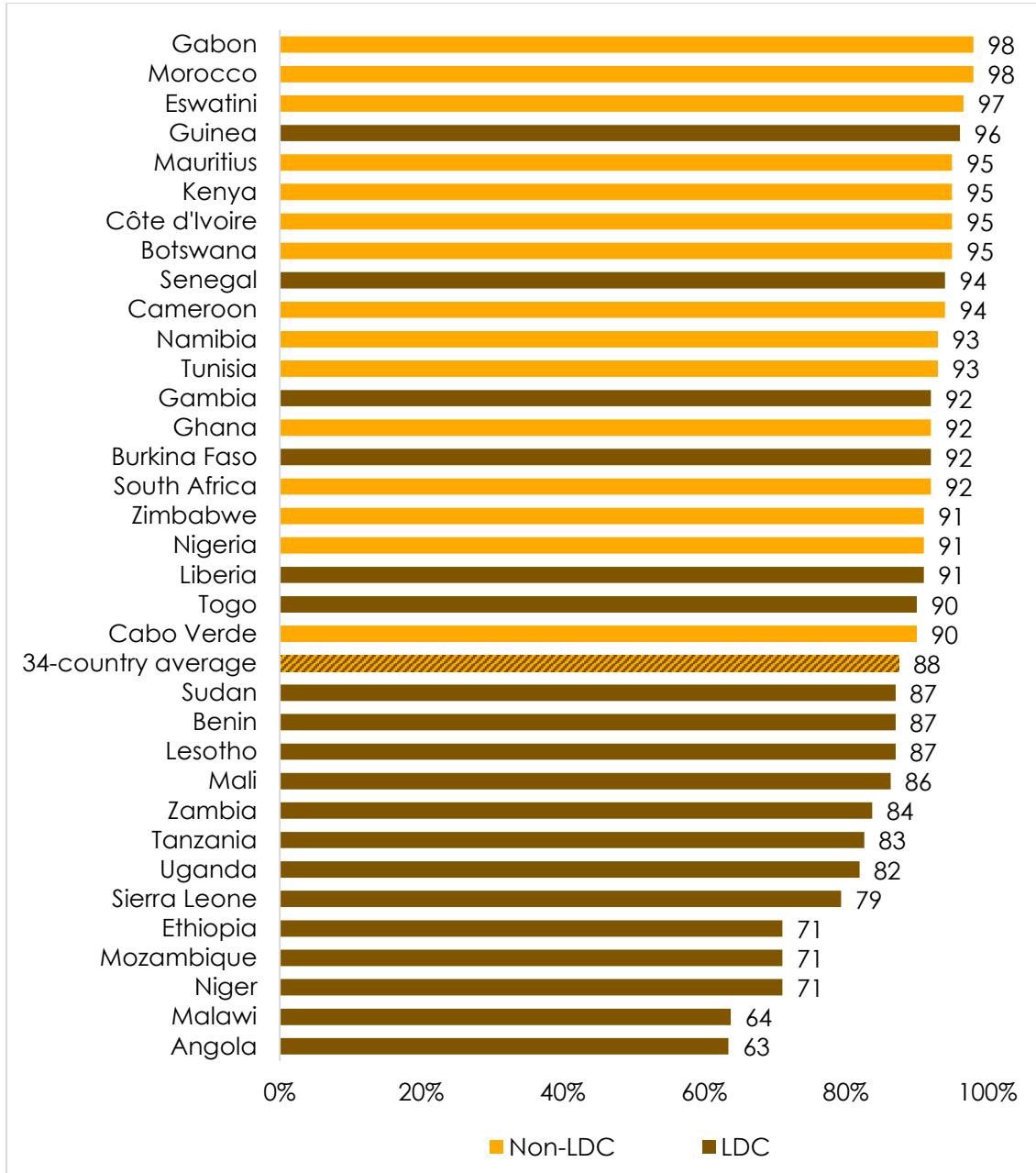
Figure 9: Use of mobile phones and the Internet | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: How often do you use: The Internet? A mobile phone?

Across countries, we see that even in the least connected countries, Malawi (64%) and Angola (63%), nearly two-thirds of the population enjoy regular cell phone use (Figure 10). Regular use by at least 90% of citizens is the norm in 21 of 34 countries, even including several of those categorised as “least developed,” such as Guinea (96%), Senegal (94%), the Gambia (92%), and Burkina Faso (92%).

Figure 10: Frequent mobile phone use | 34 countries | 2019/2021

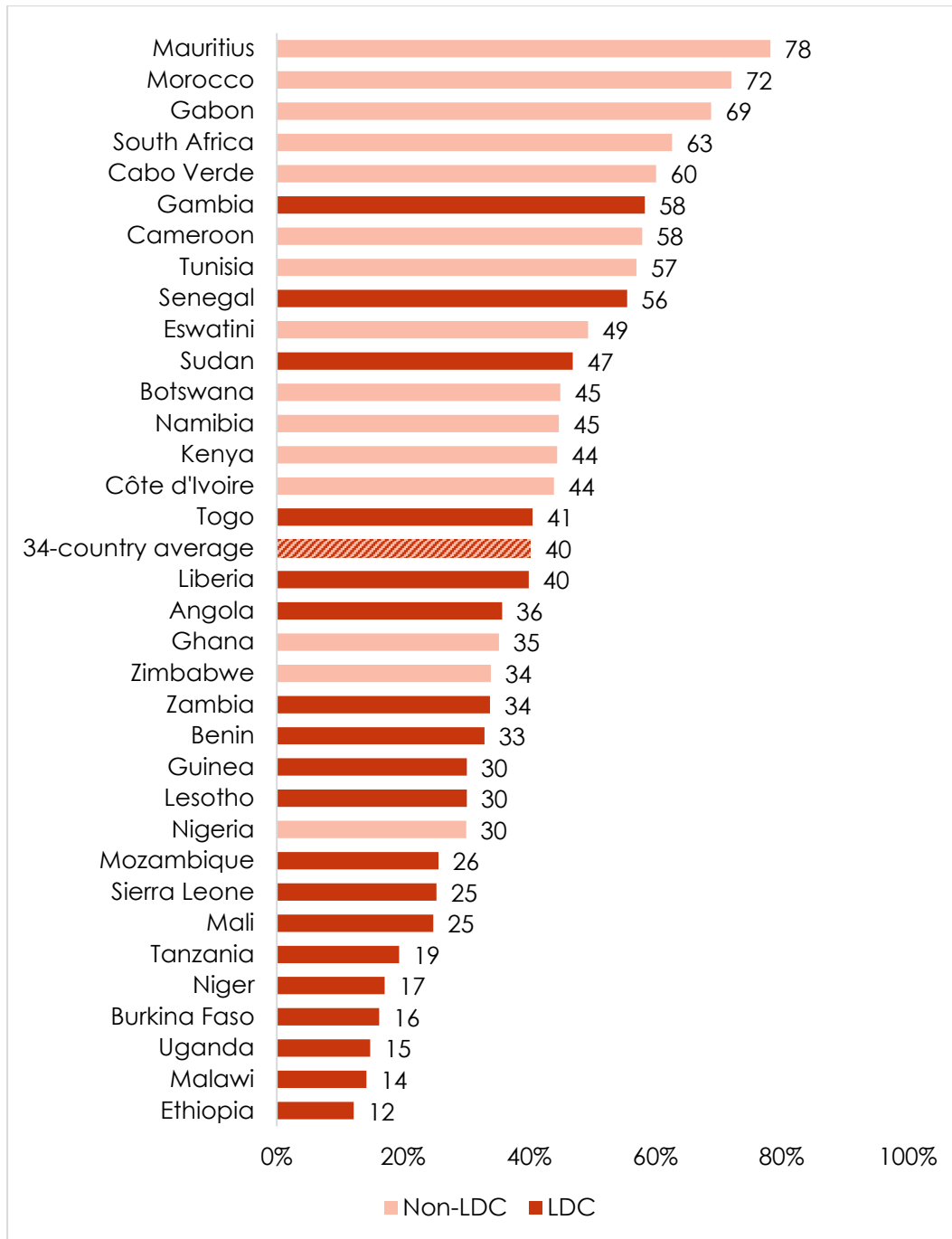


Respondents were asked: How often do you use a mobile phone? (% who say “a few times a week” or “every day”)

Whether accessed through a smart phone or a computer, Internet usage lags far behind: On average across 34 countries, about one in four respondents (27%) report daily use, and another 13% report accessing the Internet several times a week (as shown in Figure 9 above). The gap between LDCs (30% frequent use) and non-LDCs (53%) is considerably wider than that for use of mobile phones.

Frequent Internet use falls below one in five citizens in six countries, all LDCs: Ethiopia (12%), Malawi (14%), Uganda (15%), Burkina Faso (16%), Niger (17%), and Tanzania (19%) (Figure 11). Nine countries report rates of frequent use above 50%, led by Mauritius (78%) and Morocco (72%), but also including two LDCs, the Gambia (58%) and Senegal (56%).

Figure 11: Frequent Internet use | 34 countries | 2019/2021

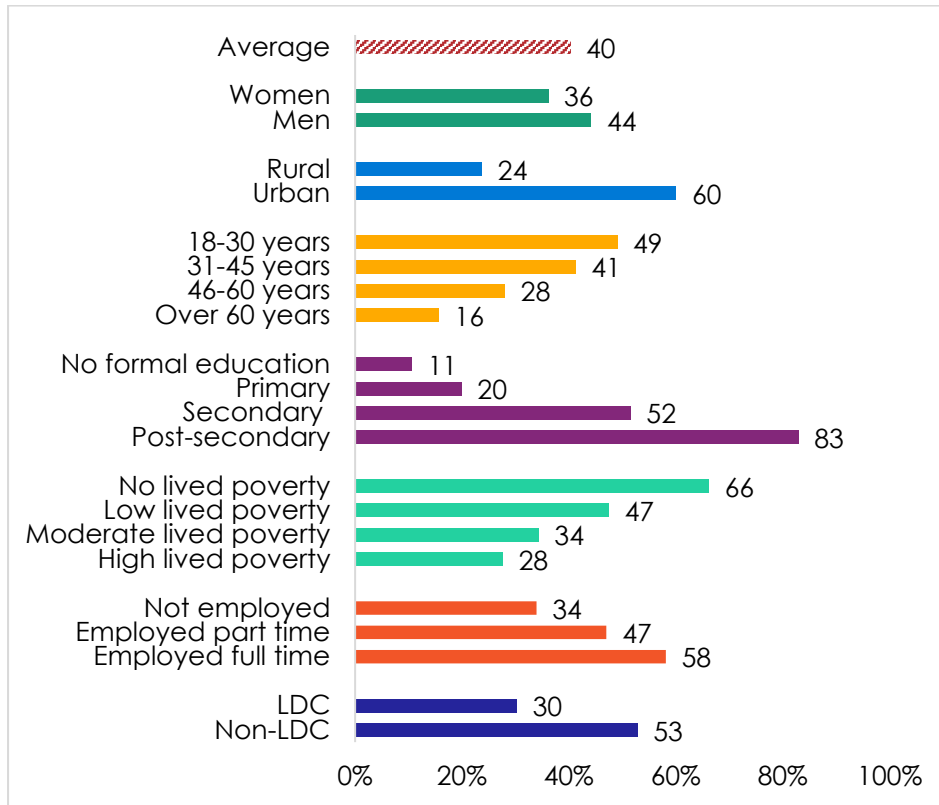


Respondents were asked: How often do you use the Internet? (% who say “a few times a week” or “every day”)

Significant gaps in Internet use are evident across key socio-demographic groups. The gap is largest for education, with a 72-percentage-point margin between frequent Internet use among those with post-secondary qualifications (83%) and those with no formal schooling (11%) (Figure 12). Urbanites (60%) are more than twice as likely as rural residents (24%) to regularly access the Internet, and the young (49%) are three times as likely as those over 60 (16%) to log on. Poverty level is also strongly associated with Internet use: A 38-percentage-

point gap in frequent usage separates those experiencing no lived poverty (66%) from those with high lived poverty (28%).²

Figure 12: Frequent use of the Internet | by demographic group | 34 countries
| 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: How often do you use the Internet? (% who say “a few times a week” or “every day”)

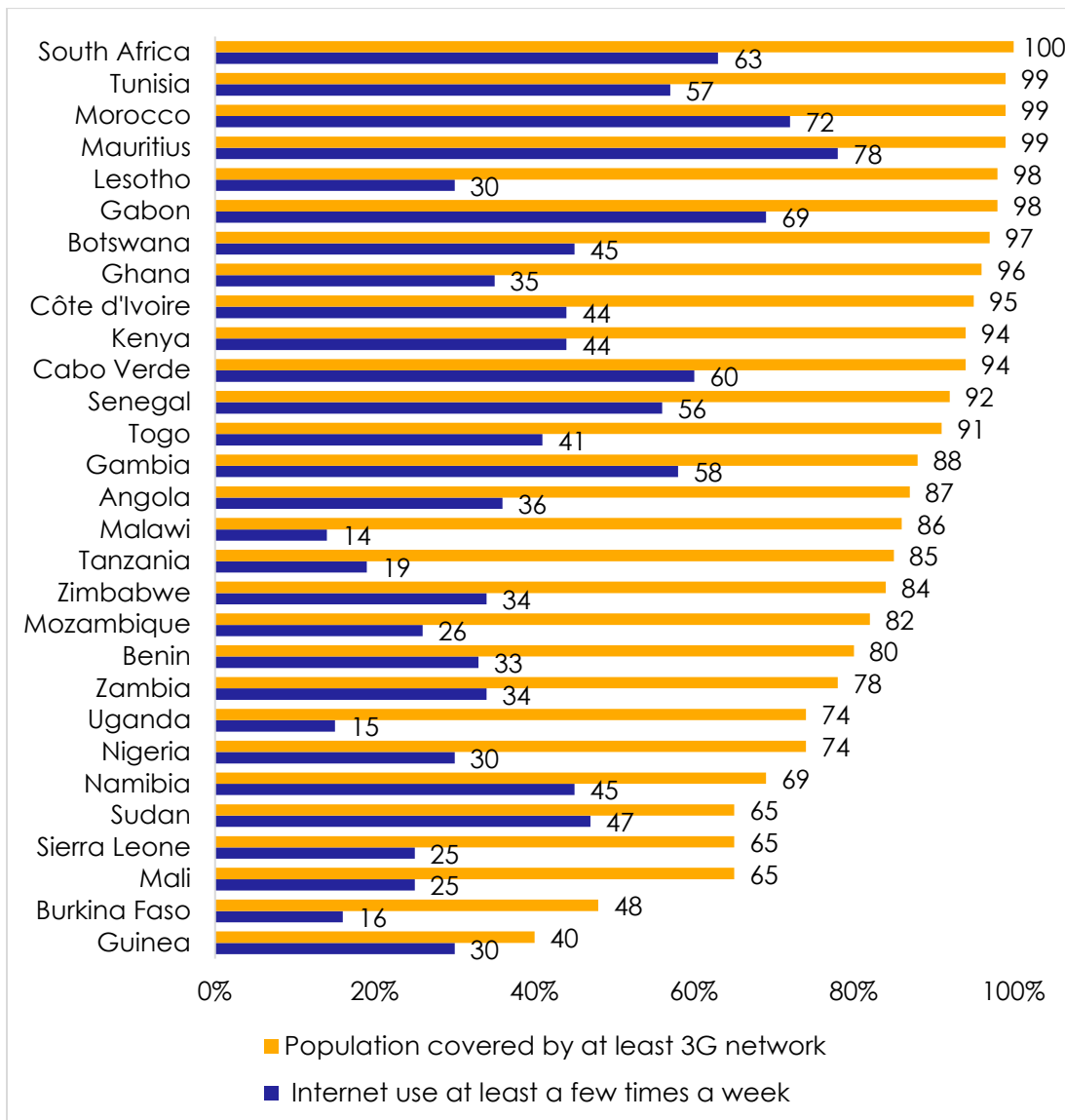
Internet use and network coverage

In noting low use of the Internet in most African countries, one question is whether there is enough broadband network coverage to support wider Internet use. International Telecommunication Union (2020a) data for 29 of our surveyed countries³ show that in every country, estimates of the population covered by at least 3G broadband network are much higher than reported Internet use (Figure 13). The difference is more than 20 percentage points in all countries except Guinea (a 10-point gap), which has the lowest reported network coverage at just 40%, and Sudan (an 18-point gap). The difference between coverage and use reaches or exceeds 50 percentage points in 12 countries, suggesting that in many places network coverage is less of a constraint on use than access to equipment, cost, or other factors.

² Afrobarometer’s Lived Poverty Index (LPI) measures respondents’ levels of material deprivation by asking how often they or their families went without enough food, enough water, medical care, enough cooking fuel, and a cash income during the preceding year. For more on lived poverty, see Mattes (2020).

³ Four countries – Eswatini, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Niger – are excluded because the most recent International Telecommunication Union data available are from 2017. Cameroon is excluded because of evident data anomalies: The level of frequent Internet use recorded by Afrobarometer (58%) far exceeds the International Telecommunication Union coverage estimate of just 19%.

Figure 13: Frequent use of the Internet compared to coverage by at least 3G network | 29 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: How often do you use the Internet? (% who say “a few times a week” or “every day”)

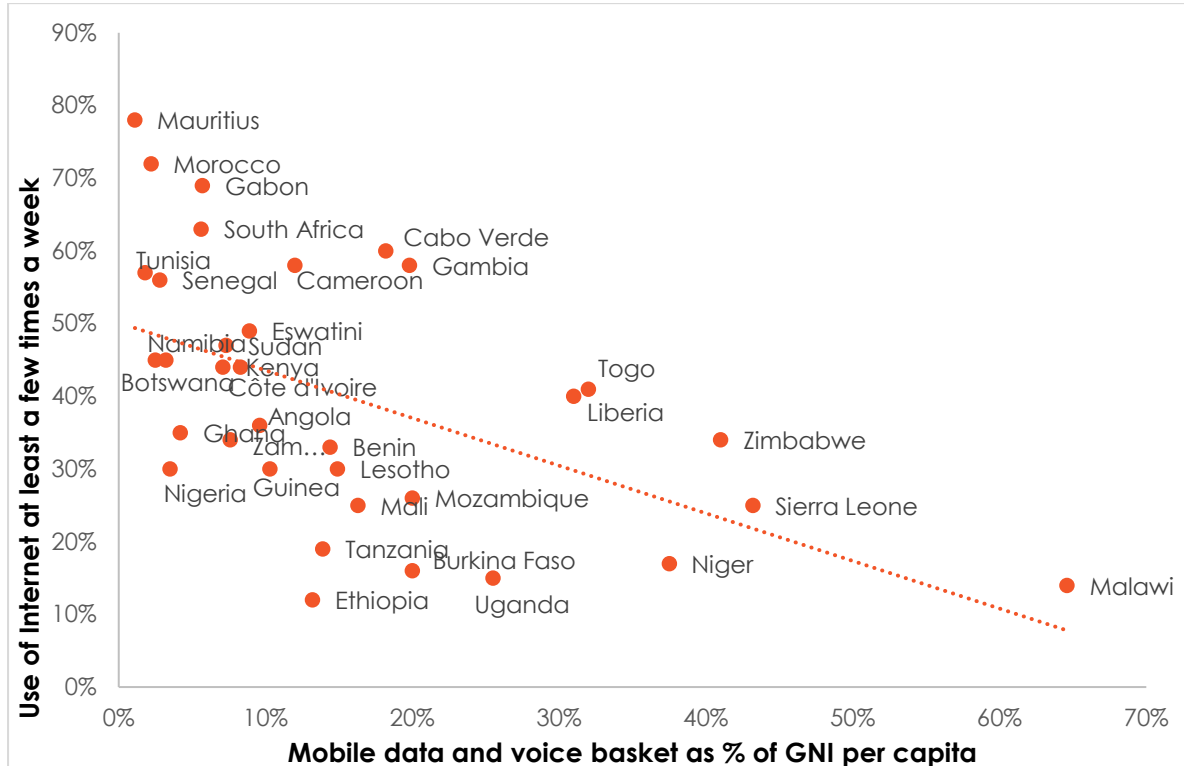
Population covered by at least a 3G network is sourced from the International Telecommunication Union (2020a) development statistics data for 2020.

Price and poverty as barriers to connectivity in Africa

Costs – of both devices and voice and data services – may be a greater constraint on Internet use than network coverage. We have already seen the strong association between economic status and Internet use, both at the individual level (see Figure 12 above) and at the country level via comparisons between LDCs and non-LDCs.

A useful measure to evaluate the effects of voice and data costs is the International Telecommunication Union’s (2020b) “mobile data and voice basket” as a percentage of gross national income (GNI) per capita. The global average is around 4.3%, while the African average is around 12%, and ranges as high as 65% in Malawi. Countries where “mobile data and voice basket” consumes a larger share of average income show significantly lower rates of Internet use (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Voice and data costs and frequent Internet use | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: How often do you use the Internet? (% who say "a few times a week" or "every day")

Cost of mobile data and voice basket as % of GNI per capita is from International Telecommunication Union (2020b), using numbers for "mobile voice and data high consumption basket" for 2020.

Pearson's $R = -.534$, significant at .01 level

The Internet as a news source

Digitally connected individuals may use their access in many ways, including for social interactions and maintaining family connections, to transact business, and to educate themselves or their children. One particularly impactful role the Internet can play is as a source of news to keep users informed and potentially help them become more civically and politically engaged.

The importance of the Internet and social media as sources of news has been growing rapidly. While both still trail significantly behind radio (68%) and television (53%) in terms of frequent users ("daily" or "a few times a week"), more than one in three Africans now get news from the Internet on a regular basis (Figure 15). Across 31 countries tracked since 2014/2015, frequent access to news via the Internet has nearly doubled, from 21% to 37%.

And whatever else they may be doing when they are online, most Internet users do use it as a news source. Among those who say they use the Internet on a daily basis, 77% say they also get daily news from the Internet, and 11% say they do so a few times a week. Comparable numbers for getting news via social media are 81% and 10%, respectively.

As might be expected given the strong correlation between Internet use and access to news via the Internet and social media, patterns in access to news via the Internet and social media across countries (Figure 16) are very similar to those observed above for general Internet use (Figure 11 above). Similarly, the patterns for access to news via the Internet and social media across socio-demographic groups (not shown) closely parallel those observed in Figure 12 above.

Figure 15: News sources | 34 countries | 2019/2021

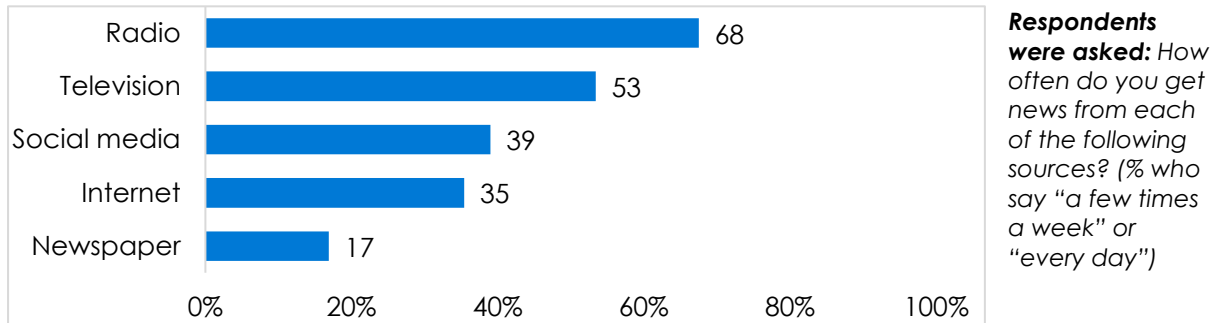
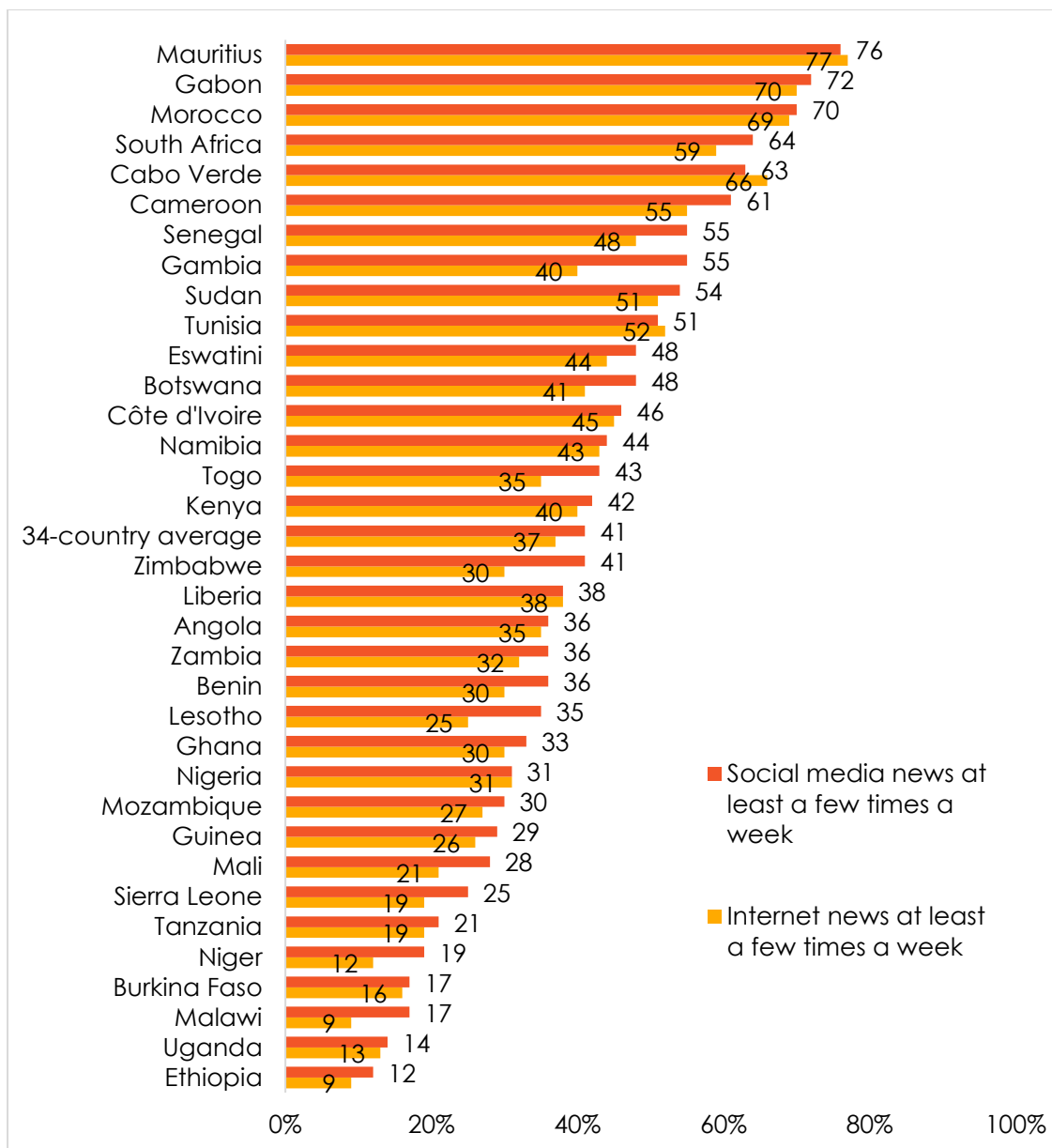


Figure 16: Access to news via Internet and social media | 34 countries | 2019/2021



Respondents were asked: How often do you get news from the following sources: The Internet? Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp or others? (% who say "a few times a week" or "every day")

Summary: The scale of the digital divide in Africa

Table 1 summarises the scope and scale of the digital divide in Africa. Focusing on frequent Internet use as an effective summary indicator, it is clear that education is, by a wide margin, the most significant factor shaping Africans' likelihood of accessing the Internet on a regular basis, whether for news, business, learning and information, social connection, or other purposes. There is a stark divide between the most educated, with ready access, and the least educated, with almost none (see also Figure 12 above). The divides between those with highest and lowest levels of poverty, between rural and urban residents, and between the young and the old are also substantial. Across demographic groups, the gender gap is actually the smallest, at "only" 8 percentage points, but this still represents a substantial hurdle for women to overcome in achieving equality of educational and economic status on the continent. At the country level, a substantial gap divides the least developed countries and those that have reached a higher economic status, but these differences are often dwarfed by those observed across status categories within countries.

Table 1: Summary of digital access gaps in Africa (percentage-point differences between highest and lowest categories, as shown) | 34 countries | 2019/2021

	Education gap (post-secondary % - no primary %)	Poverty gap (no lived poverty % - high lived poverty %)	Location gap (urban % - rural %)	Age gap (30 and under % - over 60 %)	Employment gap (employed full time % - not employed %)	Gender gap (men % - women %)	Development gap (non-LDC % - LDC %)
Own mobile phone	31	14	16	5	12	9	14
Own phone with Internet access	72	36	35	32	25	9	23
Personal or household ownership of computer	60	43	30	10	21	4	22
Frequent Internet use	72	39	36	33	24	8	23

Conclusion

Although increasingly widespread ownership of mobile phones is encouraging, full connectivity requires that one can connect to the Internet. But this is where the gaps widen dramatically: On average, relatively few African are connected. And rural, poor, and less educated Africans are at an enormous disadvantage compared to their wealthier, urban, and more educated counterparts.

Closing the digital divide remains a critical issue for most African countries, and for the continent as a whole. Overcoming the gaps will mean extending infrastructure. But as outlined by the International Telecommunication Union's (2021) status report, and confirmed by the data presented here, availability of network infrastructure alone is far from enough; it does not automatically translate into widespread increases in use of the Internet. Access to devices that can connect to the Internet is a key issue, but the high costs of connectivity may be an even more important impediment.

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Appendix

Table A.1: Afrobarometer Round 8 fieldwork dates and previous survey rounds

Country	Round 8 fieldwork	Previous survey rounds
Angola	Nov.-Dec. 2019	N/A
Benin	Nov.-Dec. 2020	2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017
Botswana	July-August 2019	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Burkina Faso	Dec. 2019	2008, 2012, 2015, 2017
Cabo Verde	Dec. 2019	2002, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2017
Cameroon	Feb.-March 2021	2013, 2015, 2018
Côte d'Ivoire	Nov. 2019	2013, 2014, 2017
Eswatini	March-April 2021	2013, 2015, 2018
Ethiopia	Dec. 2019-Jan. 2020	2013
Gabon	Feb. 2020	2015, 2017
Gambia	Feb. 2021	2018
Ghana	Sept.-Oct. 2019	1999, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Guinea	Nov.-Dec. 2019	2013, 2015, 2017
Kenya	August-Sept. 2019	2003, 2005, 2008, 2011, 2014, 2016
Lesotho	Feb.-March 2020	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Liberia	Oct.-Dec. 2020	2008, 2012, 2015, 2018
Malawi	Nov.-Dec. 2019	1999, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Mali	March-April 2020	2001, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2017
Mauritius	Nov. 2020	2012, 2014, 2017
Morocco	Feb. 2021	2013, 2015, 2018
Mozambique	May-July 2021	2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2018
Namibia	August 2019	1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Niger	Oct.-Nov. 2020	2013, 2015, 2018
Nigeria	Jan.-Feb. 2020	2000, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2015, 2017
Senegal	Dec. 2020-Jan. 2021	2002, 2005, 2008, 2013, 2014, 2017
Sierra Leone	March 2020	2012, 2015, 2018
South Africa	May-June 2021	2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015, 2018
Sudan	Feb.-April 2021	2013, 2015, 2018
Tanzania	Feb.-March 2021	2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2014, 2017
Togo	Dec. 2020-Jan. 2021	2012, 2014, 2017
Tunisia	Feb.-March 2020	2013, 2015, 2018
Uganda	Sept.-Oct. 2019	2000, 2002, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2015, 2017
Zambia	Nov.-Dec. 2020	1999, 2003, 2005, 2009, 2013, 2014, 2017
Zimbabwe	April-May 2021	1999, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2017

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