

## AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

### Botswana Monthly Briefing April 2021

#### Botswana Summary 9 April 2021

*Botswana launches its Covid-19 vaccination campaign. Health and wellness minister Edwin Dikoloti notes that while the vaccine is not a cure, it will enable the revitalisation of the domestic and global economy and relieve pressure on the healthcare system. Resurgent diamond exports in January have powered Botswana's trade balance to a rare surplus, its first since January 2020. Statistics Botswana reports that the local economy contracted by 7.9% in 2020, its worst performance in recorded history.*

#### Botswana launches vaccination campaign...

Botswana launched its **Covid-19** vaccination campaign on 27 March. Health and wellness minister **Edwin Dikoloti** said while the vaccine is not a cure, it will enable the revitalisation of the domestic and global economy and relieve the pressure of Covid-19 on the healthcare system.<sup>1</sup> Botswana's vaccination campaign, dubbed "*Arm ready for Lemao*", kicked off at seven centres covering **Greater Francistown, Greater Gaborone, Kgatleng, Selebi Phikwe, Kweneng, Central, Ngami** and **Maun**.<sup>2</sup> Senior citizens, including former president **Festus Mogae** (1998-2008), former cabinet ministers **Gaositwe Chiepe** and **Daniel Kwelagobe**, government officials including Dikoloti, and Gaborone deputy mayor **Lotty Manyepedza**, were among the first to be vaccinated.<sup>3</sup>

Department of health services director **Malebogo Kebabonye-Tsie** said the roll out was the first phase of a larger exercise that would cover the entire country, noting that the choice of the initial seven areas was based on the burden of the disease.<sup>4</sup> Kebabonye-Tsie said priority for vaccination was currently given to those aged 55 and older, given their increased risk of death from Covid-19.<sup>5</sup> Those above the age of 18 and frontline workers will be inoculated as vaccine doses trickle into the country. The administration of vaccines is expected to lower Covid-19 infection rates, hospitalisation and deaths, particularly after 70% of the eligible population is inoculated.<sup>6</sup>

Permanent health and wellness secretary **Kabelo Ebineng** told local newspaper **Mmegi** that inoculation would begin with the 30,000 doses of **Covishield** vaccine that **India** donated to Botswana in March. Covishield is the brand name of the **AstraZeneca-Oxford** vaccine manufactured by the **Serum Institute of India**.<sup>7</sup> Vice president **Slumber Tsogwane** received Botswana's second batch of AstraZeneca Covid-19 vaccine from **South Korea**, 33,600 doses procured in November for \$10m through the **COVAX** facility.<sup>8</sup> Botswana is expecting over 100,000 doses in total through the Covax scheme.

As a self-financing country, Botswana is receiving its vaccine doses directly from AstraZeneca as opposed to the Serum Institute of India, which is providing vaccines for almost the entire **African** continent.<sup>9</sup> Critics have questioned why self-financing countries such as Botswana have not received

<sup>1</sup> Daily News, 9 Feb 2021

<sup>2</sup> Daily News, 28 Mar 2021

<sup>3</sup> Daily News, 28 Mar 2021

<sup>4</sup> Daily News, 28 Mar 2021

<sup>5</sup> Daily News, 28 Mar 2021

<sup>6</sup> Daily News, 28 Mar 2021

<sup>7</sup> Daily News, 9 Feb 2021

<sup>8</sup> Sunday Standard, 27 Mar 2021

<sup>9</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

their vaccines while African states supported by donors already have their consignments.<sup>10</sup> **Iryna Mazur**, a senior media relations manager at **GAVI**, an organisation that has partnered with Covax, informed Mmegi that there have been delays in securing AstraZeneca vaccines for countries such as Botswana:

*"[Some] of the first deliveries due in March are now set to take place in April. In this early phase of COVID-19 vaccine roll-out, vaccine manufacturers require time to scale and optimise their production processes. AstraZeneca, which uses a novel supply chain network with sites across multiple continents, is working to enable initial supply to 82 countries through COVAX in the coming weeks."*<sup>11</sup>

Botswana have increasingly complained to government about the lack of details of the vaccination programme since the health and wellness ministry launched the highly publicised Covid-19 vaccine communications campaign in Gaborone on 17 March, amid a worrying rise in Covid-19 cases and deaths. **Botswana Doctors Union** president **Shingie Muzondiwa** told Mmegi on 25 March that "*the Ministry of Health and presidential task team have not engaged us even on how the public will be vaccinated and people who will do it*".<sup>12</sup> **Botswana Nurses Union** president **Obonolo Rahube** told Mmegi the health ministry had only told the union that it was training some nurses on the procedures to follow in administering the Covid-19 vaccine.<sup>13</sup>

Botswana has seen a recent spike in Covid-19 cases and deaths. Between 1 January and 16 March, there were 440 Covid-19-related deaths, compared to just 45 for the whole of 2020.<sup>14</sup> As of 8 April, Botswana had recorded a total of 41,710 cases in its population of 2.3 million, with 36,958 recoveries and 616 deaths.<sup>15</sup> Cases recorded in Botswana as of 16 March show a positivity rate of about 8%, compared to the 5% the **World Health Organization (WHO)** regards as a stable infection rate.<sup>16</sup> President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** (2018-present) on 26 February told the country that the Covid-19 variant first registered in **South Africa** was behind the spiralling cases in Botswana.

Masisi requested parliament to extend the state of public emergency by six months from 1 April to 30 September.<sup>17</sup> During this period, a curfew will remain in place from 8pm to 4am and government may impose localised lockdowns to mitigate the rapid spread of the disease.<sup>18</sup> Referring to the state of emergency regulations, **Selebi-Phikwe West** member of parliament **Dithapelo Keorapetse** said government restrictions have caused the collapse of various sectors of the economy, including the alcohol industry, tourism, hospitality and events, SMEs and the informal sector:

*"The 8pm curfew is collapsing businesses and resulting in job losses. Curfew should be reconsidered. 8pm means businesses close much earlier resulting in low sales. In restaurants that serve alcohol it's a problem because most people who drink want to have alcohol with their meals which is now prohibited, alcohol is only available on take away basis in those establishments."*<sup>19</sup>

## Diamond rebound powers first trade surplus in 11 months

Resurgent diamond exports in January 2021 powered Botswana's trade balance to a rare surplus, its first since January 2020.<sup>20</sup> The local economy has suffered from rolling trade deficits since February 2020 as a result of consistently importing more goods than it is exporting. Persisting trade deficits

<sup>10</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>11</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>12</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>13</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>14</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>15</sup> John Hopkins University, 8 Apr 2021

<sup>16</sup> Mmegi, 26 Apr 2021

<sup>17</sup> Sunday Standard, 30 Mar 2021

<sup>18</sup> Sunday Standard, 30 Mar 2021

<sup>19</sup> Sunday Standard, 30 Mar 2021

<sup>20</sup> BusinessWeek, Apr 2021

weaken Botswana's foreign reserves and its currency, making this rare trade surplus a positive development for Botswana's economy.<sup>21</sup> The impact of the pandemic reflected on the country's foreign reserves, with the **Bank of Botswana (BoB)** (central bank) forced to make available more funds for short-term foreign currency requirements.<sup>22</sup>

Figures released by **Statistics Botswana** on 26 March show that Botswana's total exports in January amounted to P8.5 billion (\$780m), with diamond exports measuring P8 billion (\$734m). Exports in December were P5.9 billion (\$541m), with diamond exports measuring P5.5 billion (\$505m).<sup>23</sup> In comparison, Botswana's imports amounted to P7.1 billion (\$652m) in January from P7.8 billion (\$716m) in December, resulting in a surplus of P1.4 billion (\$128m).<sup>24</sup> The country's trade balance in 2020 was a deficit of P26 billion (\$2.3 billion), compared to a shortfall of P14 billion (\$1.2 billion) in 2019, as Botswana's major exports slumped on the back of Covid-19 disruptions in terms of markets and prices.<sup>25</sup>

Mineral resources, green technology and energy security minister **Lefoko Moagi** told parliament on 2 April that the government was noting a recovery in the diamond sector after the Covid-19-related slump in 2020:

*"Despite the difficulty, the industry has seen positive consumer demand for diamond jewellery since the beginning of the holiday season, supporting the continuation of demand for polished diamonds from the midstream sector... This, in turn, supported a steady demand for rough diamonds in the last quarter of 2020."*<sup>26</sup>

The slump in Botswana's diamond mining was underlined by lower 2020 sales reported by **Debswana**, the 50:50 joint venture between the government and **United Kingdom**-headquartered diamond mining and training corporation **De Beers**. Debswana, the world's leading producer of diamonds by value, sold 17.1 million carats in 2020 compared to 22 million carats in 2019.<sup>27</sup> **Canada**-based diamond mining company **Lucara** recorded sales of \$107m from its **Karowe** mine in 2020 compared to \$330m in 2019.<sup>28</sup> State-owned diamond trader **Okavango Diamond Company** sold \$207m worth of rough diamonds in 2020 compared to \$440m in 2019.<sup>29</sup>

Industry players are increasingly cautiously optimistic about the industry's prospects in 2021. Lucara expects its Karowe Mine to produce revenues of \$180m-\$210m.<sup>30</sup> De Beers has noted stronger demand for rough diamonds in 2021 with both its first and second auctions this year recording much higher sales than comparable auctions in 2020. De Beers, which holds 10 auctions in Botswana every year, has recorded revenues of \$1.2 billion at its two auctions thus far in 2021, in comparison to \$913m over the same period in 2020.<sup>31</sup>

### **Economy shrank by 7.9% in 2020...**

The rebound in diamond revenue is good news for Botswana's economy, which contracted by 7.9% in 2020, its worst performance in recorded history.<sup>32</sup> The Covid-19 pandemic and measures to contain its spread hit nearly all sectors of the local economy. Figures released by Statistics Botswana on 1 April show that while the local economy improved in the fourth quarter, recording a contraction of

<sup>21</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>22</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>23</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>24</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>25</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>26</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>27</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>28</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>29</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>30</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>31</sup> Mmegi, 2 Apr 2021

<sup>32</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

4.1% from a contraction of 6% in the third quarter, the full year performance reflected analysts' projections of unprecedented pressure.<sup>33</sup>

The Botswana government had projected a contraction of 7.7% for 2020, while the **African Development Bank** expected an 8.9% contraction in Botswana's economy.<sup>34</sup> The registered 7.9% is nevertheless an improvement on the 13.1% contraction that finance minister **Thapelo Matsheka** initially made in April 2020 after the outbreak of Covid-19 in Botswana.<sup>35</sup> The finance ministry revised its projection to 8.9% in October but settled on 7.7% in Matsheka's budget speech in February.

**World Bank** records dating back to 1961 show that Botswana's 2020 gross domestic product (GDP) contraction is the highest on record, falling below the previous record of 7.7% in 2009 when the global recession impacted the economy.<sup>36</sup> Botswana has experienced only three recessions since independence – in 2009, 2015 and 2020. Statistics Botswana researchers noted that the contraction seen in 2020 was primarily due to the poor performance of sectors such as mining, trade, hospitality and restaurants, as well as the construction industry.<sup>37</sup> Statistics Botswana noted the poor performance of the economy was mainly due to the impact of measures put in place to combat the spread of Covid-19:

*"The decrease of 26.2% in the real value added of the mining industry was mainly due to the reduction in the real value added of diamond, soda ash and coal by 28.8%, 10.1% and 8.7% respectively. The negative growth (in trade, hotels & restaurants) was mainly driven by the huge decrease in real value added of hotels and restaurants by 33.3%."*<sup>38</sup>

In a positive development, the agricultural sector performed against the tide, adding 2.3% in real value, while the general government added 2.8%.<sup>39</sup> The positive growth in the agricultural sector was helped by strong rains in the last season, while government's growth is associated with higher expenditure to combat Covid-19.<sup>40</sup> Statistics Botswana's 2020 figures show that trade, hotels and restaurants, and general government industries remained major contributors to GDP at 18.7% and 17.2% respectively.<sup>41</sup> Finance and business services contributed 15.3% of GDP while mining contributed 11.5%.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Mmegi, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>34</sup> Mmegi, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>35</sup> Mmegi, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>36</sup> Mmegi, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>37</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>38</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>39</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>40</sup> Mmegi, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>41</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

<sup>42</sup> Statistics Botswana, 1 Apr 2021

## Planner

Mar-Dec 2021 **(Botswana)** Timeline for Botswana's **Covid-19** vaccination campaign;

1 Jul 2021 **(Botswana)** Date for increase in rate of withholding tax from 7.5% to 10%;

2021 **Morupule (Botswana)** Expected commissioning of **Morupule Coal Mine** expanded mine;

Mar 2022 **(Botswana)** Target date to establish 2,400 new businesses, of which 32 manufacturing companies;

Mar 2023 **(Botswana)** End date of **National Development Plan 11 (NDP11)**;

2024 **(Botswana)** Presidential elections

## Chronology

7 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. **Botswana Building Society (BBS)** board meeting tensions break into a brawl as several directors fight to stay beyond statutory limits;

7 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. Health ministry reports a total of 12,945 people have been vaccinated across the country as of 2 April;

6 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Transport and communications minister **Thulaganyo Segokgo** says the introduction of mobile number portability among Botswana's three network operators has been abandoned after more than six years of preparations;

6 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Office of the Presidency*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** undertakes a working visit to **Eswatini** to engage with King **Mswati III** on issues of mutual interest and concern, particularly the socioeconomic challenges presented by **Covid-19**, and to **Maputo (Mozambique)** for the **Southern African Development Community (SADC)** double Troika summit on 8 April;

5 Apr 2021 **Francistown (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Francistown** authorities claim the government is limiting its focus to developing the **Selebi-Phikwe** economy at the expense of Francistown;

3 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. The government of the **Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)** announces it will contest for the executive secretary position of the **Southern African Development Community (SADC)**, ignoring President **Mokgweetsi Masisi's** appeal for it to make way for Botswana;

5 Apr 2021 **Francistown (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Kgalagadi Breweries Limited (KBL)**, the largest local producer of alcohol, reports pre-tax profits dropped by 23% to P286.3 million (\$26.1m) in 2020 while production volumes fell by 29% on the back of several sales suspensions implemented by the government to curb **Covid-19**;

2 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. Mineral resources, green technology and energy security minister **Lefoko Moagi** reconstitutes the board of directors of **Botswana Oil Limited (BOL)** following similar moves at **Botswana Power Cooperation (BPC)** and **Botswana Energy Regulatory Authority (BERA)**;

2 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. A rebound in diamond sales has powered Botswana to its first trade surplus in 11 months;

2 Apr 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Statistics Botswana** reports the local economy contracted by 7.9% in 2020, its worst performance on record, as the weight of Covid-19 hit across nearly all sectors;

1 Apr 2021 **Central District (Botswana)** *Daily News*. Agricultural development and food security ministry public relations officer **Clifas Kemiso** says the outbreak of fall army worm and destruction caused by elephants in the **Central District** are a threat to food security if not properly controlled;

31 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *The Monitor*. Parliament passes a motion to extend the state of public emergency by six months until September 2021;

31 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Ministry of International Affairs*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** undertakes a two-nation working visit to **Zambia** and **Zimbabwe**;

31 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Daily News*. The **Botswana Energy Regulatory Authority (BERA)** announces the retail price of unleaded petrol 93 and 95 will increase by 100 thebe (\$0,091) per litre with effect from midnight 1 April;

31 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. Local mobile operators increase prices on services effective 1 April; **BTC** and **Orange** will implement a 14% adjusted tax on all procured products and services and **Mascom** a 2% increase;

30 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** says the state of emergency prohibits retrenchments or dismissal of employees where businesses are unable to pay salaries;

30 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Government raises an additional P545 million (\$49.8m) in debt in the capital markets under the P30 billion (\$2.7 billion) domestic borrowing programme;

29 Mar 2021 **Francistown (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. A legal battle between the **Francistown City Council (FCC)** and local construction company **Wind of Glory PTY (LTD)** has delayed the construction of the **Molapo Estates** access road and **Khutse** loop;

29 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. The agricultural development and food security ministry plans to construct poultry slaughter facilities in the 2021-2022 financial year to increase access of small scale poultry producers to the market;

28 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *The Monitor*. **Botswana Sectors of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU)** vice president **Mogomotsi Motshegwa** says teachers' unions have not been briefed on the inclusion of **Swahili** in the curriculum;

27 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Daily News*. Botswana receives 33,600 doses of the **AstraZeneca Covid-19** vaccine from **South Korea** procured through the **COVAX** facility;

26 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Wildlife department will declare open season for hunting activities from 6 April;

26 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Health and wellness permanent secretary **Kabelo Ebineng** confirms that the country's **Covid-19** vaccination programme is underway;

25 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. **Botswana Patriotic Front (BPF)** president **Biggie Butale** claims that President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** will not publicly take the **Covid-19** vaccine because he was vaccinated elsewhere, possibly in **Namibia** during his many working visits;

24 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Cresta Marakanelo**, Botswana's leading hotel company, expects profit before tax for the year ending December 2020 to drop by up to 104% representing a loss of P73.4 million (\$6.7m);

23 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** lowers the national curfew from 10pm to 8pm until 31 March, citing advice from the Health Services director;

23 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Alcohol producers report losses of P880 million (\$80.4m) as a result of Covid-19-induced suspension of trade; The largest local producer, **Kgalagadi Breweries Limited (KBL)**, paid P218 million (\$19.9m) less in taxes in 2020 but alcohol consumers are expected to pay P394 million (\$36m) in 2021 via the recently

implemented alcohol levy;

22 Mar 2021 **Dodoma (Tanzania)** *Sunday Standard*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** declares at the funeral of late Tanzanian president **John Magufuli** that **Botswana** has introduced Swahili in its curriculum;

22 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. A review of Botswana's compliance with international anti-money laundering/combating of financing terrorism standards has positively re-rated three key areas of concern previously amongst a group of factors that led to the country's greylisting at global level;

22 Mar 2021 **South West Region (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Global diamond giant **De Beers** is intensifying its search for diamonds in the desert, with P26 million (\$2.3m) planned for activities this year focussing on two sites in South West Botswana;

21 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Daily News*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** departs for **Tanzania** to attend the memorial service of the late president **John Magufuli**;

19 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Cresta Marakanelo**, Botswana's leading hotel company, has dropped its bid to take over the **Phakalane Golf Estate Hotel & Convention Centre**, saying that "certain conditions" of the deal had not been concluded and had lapsed;

19 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. The **Botswana Energy Regulatory Authority (BERA)** says electricity tariffs will increase by 3% effective 1 April;

19 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Office of the President*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** departs for a working visit to **South Africa** to discuss bilateral issues and exchange views on regional developments;

17 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. A recent survey by the **Botswana Energy Regulatory Authority (BERA)** of 140 filling stations around the country found only 59 compliant with safety and health standards;

17 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. The health and wellness ministry launches the **#ArmReady for Lemao** Covid-19 vaccine communications campaign;

16 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Daily News*. During the virtual launch of the **Botswana National Informal Sector Recovery Plan**, the **United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)** resident representative **Jacinta Barrins** reports there are 161,000 informal businesses with a total of 191,000 employees in Botswana;

16 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *The Monitor*. The **Water Utilities Corporation (WUC)** is owed P1.1 billion (\$100m) as a result of President **Mokgweetsi Masisi's** call to the corporation not to disconnect its customers for unpaid bills and has resorted to reducing water pressure for defaulting customers;

16 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. Agricultural minister **Karabo Gare** says government spent more than P7.74 billion (\$707m) importing processed food in the past financial year;

15 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *The Monitor*. **Airport Junction Mall** in **Gaborone** becomes the first mall in the country to go green with an innovative renewable energy initiative;

14 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *The Monitor*. **Botswana Sectors of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU)** president **Winston Radikolo** predicts that more than 300 teachers could die from **Covid-19**;

14 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. The **Botswana Power Corporation (BPC)** removes all members of the board except the chairman;

14 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. **United States-based Motswana Bao**

**Mosinyi** has been appointed as the chief executive officer of the **Civil Aviation Authority (CAA)**;

15 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Office of the Presidency*. President **Mokgweetsi Masisi** departs for a working visit to **Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (DRC)** to engage on issues of mutual interest, including exploring ways of enhancing cooperation between the two countries, and advancing the regions peace and security agenda;

13 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Mmegi*. **Botswana Sectors of Educators Trade Union (BOSETU)** secretary general **Tobokani Rari** calls for the immediate and urgent inclusion of teachers in the first schedule for **Covid-19** vaccination, after 24 teachers died in two weeks from Covid-19;

10 Mar 2021 **Gaborone (Botswana)** *Sunday Standard*. An **Afrobarometer** survey revealed that 40% of Batswana youths skipped voting in the last national elections compared to middle-aged (35-55) and older citizens (56+ years).

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