

***Advocacy workshops on the Linkages between Trade
Development and Poverty Reduction***

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***Organised By Organisation Development and Community Management Trust (ODCM)
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List of Acronyms

ACP	African Caribbean Pacific
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
ARC	Africa Resource Centre
CAP	Common Agriculture Policy
CET	Common External Tariffs
CITEE	Centre for International Trade, Economics and Environment
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSTNZ	Civil Society Trade Network of Zambia
CUTS	Consumer Unity & Trust Society
DTIS	Diagnostic Trade Integrated Study
EBA	Everything But Arms
EC	European Community
EPZs	Establish Export Processing Zones
ESA	Eastern and Southern Africa
EPAs	Economic Partnership Agreements
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	Gross Domestic Products
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms
HACCP	Hazard Analysis Critical Control Points
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiatives
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MCTI	Ministry of Commerce Trade and Industry
MFN	Most Favoured Nations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non Governmental Organisations
ODCMT	Organisation development and Community Management Trust
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RTA	Regional Trade Agreements
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SPS	Sanitary and Phyto-Sanitary
UNCTD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VAT	Value Added Tax
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZNFU	Zambia Nations Farmers Union
ZRA	Zambia Revenue Authority

1.0 Introduction and Background

It is now widely accepted that linkages exist between trade, development and poverty reduction. As trade policies may potentially affect poverty through effects on economic growth and income distribution, poverty may conversely inhibit economic growth and development schemes. The effects of income distribution on poverty reduction have been well established, lending even greater significance to the project undertaken by CUTS and ODCMT, entitled Linkages Between Trade Poverty and Development (TDP).

Following the inception of the TDP Project in 2005, the Organisation Development and Community Management Trust (ODCMT) collaborated with Consumer Unity and Trust Society-Africa Resource Centre (CUTS-ARC) to organise two National Consultative workshops in August 2005, and September 2006 respectively. Further, ODCMT and CUTS-ARC have produced a campaign toolkit, which will serve as an advocacy document, highlighting the findings of a case study on the impact of liberalisation of the Zambian economy, with a specific focus on the agro-processing and textile sectors.

Objectives

The workshops were aimed at the consolidation of TDP objectives, which include;

- Facilitating cross-fertilisation of experiences and lessons learnt on linkages between trade, development and poverty reduction in the developing countries, in order to develop appropriate policy responses.
- Strengthening the ability of developing countries to negotiate, defend and advocate for their prevailing issues of concern in the international trading system, through the provision of policy support and other know-how and do-how on trade and development issues
- Advocating development-oriented trade policies based on learning from research and other activities, by taking into account the interests and priorities (needs and aspirations) of the poor and marginalised sections of society and looking into aspects of policy coherence.

Specific Objectives

- To sensitise people on the ground to the impacts that liberalisation has, and will continue to have, on the Zambian economy
- To create awareness, and share lessons from TDP on National, Regional, and International levels
- To create a wider platform for the debate over the linkages between liberalisation and poverty in Zambia, using the TDP to demystify trade policies that are people driven - having inputs from the people on the ground
- To build advocacy skills which are useful in lobbying and enhancing media campaign strategies

2.0 OPENING SESSION

2.1 Opening remarks

The first session was chaired by Vladimir Chilinya, (CUTS) who welcomed participants and gave a brief background of Consumer Unity and Trust Society (CUTS) International, with specific attention to the TDP project. Chilinya later called upon Jimmy Daka of the Organisation Development and Community Management Trust (ODCMT), to make some remarks.

2.2. Vote of Thanks

Jimmy Daka, who highlighted that ODCMT is an advocacy organisation devoted to the issues of trade and development, delivered the votes of thanks.

3.0 PRESENTATION OF CASE STUDIES

3.1. Presentation Tool kit, Vladimir Chilinya

The presentation highlighted the following issues under the toolkit for Zambia;

- **Trade and poverty reduction versus trade liberalisation:** World trade can be a powerful force for poverty reduction, but the shocking injustice of the current world trading system is only widening the gap between the rich and the poor. World trade can be made incredibly complex or simple, but the bottom line is that unfair trade can destroy people's lives and should not be allowed to continue. For trade justice to prevail, it would be obligatory to ensure that a new scheme of fair trade policies which take into account poverty and development issues are adopted in place of the unequal and biased trade regimes of the past.
- **Poverty in Zambia:** Poverty is not just statistics – it is about people. In Zambia, poverty forces three-quarters of the population to survive below the poverty line. Poverty is not just a lack of money, either, as “human poverty” refers to low life expectancy, lack of decent education and poor access to basic needs, including secure food supply, health care, education, water, sanitation and housing.
- **Cotton:** The cotton industry in Zambia has grown from the monopolistic era prior to 1994, when the Lint Company was responsible for every activity in the industry. After 1994, over six ginning companies had become established. Privatisation of the sector prompted rapid growth which peaked in the 1996/97 season when a record seed production of 104 000 metric tonnes was realised. This level of production was a result of the numerous ginning companies that had cropped up, the increase in the number of cotton farmers, favourable world market prices and meteorological factors. The capacity of ginning companies has now increased to over 180,000 MT per annum, although production has consistently remained lower than 100,000 MT.
- **Street vending:** Since the liberalisation of the Zambian economy, the country has been faced with many problems in attempting to control the street vending system, although in recent years larger and more modern market infrastructures have been constructed in an effort to accommodate the increasing numbers of traders. Despite the construction of these markets, large numbers of local traders have continued to trade from the streets.

3.2 Trade Liberalisation and its Impacts on the Textile Sector in Zambia, Annie Zulu Chime

3.2.1 Activities of textile sector

The textile sector is very critical to the Zambian economy not only in terms of its capacity to contribute to the country's export earning, but also in terms of employment creation, desirable as a tool to aid in poverty reduction. Historically the textile sector has had an outstanding record of export earnings in Zambia. For instance, the textile sector was the largest exporting industry in 1996 among Non-Tradition Export (NTE) sectors, and has been second to Primary Agricultural Commodities in the ensuing years, despite the declining trend after 1997. It has been among the top two NTE earners since 1994, following expanded investment, especially in cotton spinning (See Export Board of Zambia, 2000). Up until the onset of trade liberalisation, Zambia possessed a well-established textile and clothing sector, boasting over 140 companies in the 1980s and empowering over 25,000 Zambians through the provision of jobs. Liberalisation however, was met with mass closures of garment factories and a scaling down of operations, especially in the textile sub-sector, which saw employment levels drop to below 2,500 (Chikoti et al, 2002).

Zambia's previous market had been receptive to the diverse range of products the textile and clothing sector produced. Today, the sector is faced with serious challenges, namely a decline in productivity that has forced number of industries to close down. This gloomy situation has largely been attributed to the removal of both internal and external trade restrictions under trade liberalisation. Many local industries soon realised they were ill prepared for the competition that accompanied an opening of the market, due to years of inefficiency allowed for by protectionist government policies.

Zambia produces a wide range of products, including cotton lint, cotton yarn, poly/cotton yarn, acrylic yarn, cotton fabrics and cotton yarn fabrics. One of the most important raw materials needed for the Zambian textile sector, is in fact cotton, and in recent years the nation has been able to successfully rely on the lucrative domestic cotton growing industry.

Commercial cotton growing was previously dominated by LINTCO; until its privatisation when many other commercial farmers switched their focus to alternative crops such as maize because cotton growing had become unviable. Today cotton production is highly dominated by out-grower schemes, a principle that involves the mobilisation of local farmers who are supplied with some basic inputs as one incentive to keep them in business.

3.2.2 Impact of trade liberalisation on the textiles sector

Since the onset of the general economic liberalisation measures implemented in the early 1990s, there has been a steady erosion of purchasing power of the population and as a result, domestic demand for most local products has been significantly reduced in the last 10 or 15 years. This problem has been compounded by dominance of traditional foreign markets by countries with more robust economies. In the case of the textile sector, this has meant that people could not afford to buy new clothes, a situation that led to the influx of imported fabrics, which in turn impeded local industrial production. For instance, *salaula* (second hand clothes) and other Chinese fabrics have greatly

undermined the Zambian textile sector. This situation has forced a number of industries that have escaped closure to reduce their productivity, resulting in low capacity utilisation of the existing textile infrastructure. This undoubtedly has led to a substantial loss of employment opportunities.

The general consensus among the respondents in this study was that the Zambian textile sector previously produced a wider range of products than is the case today. Further the respondents agreed that the textile industries that have survived the effects of trade liberalisation are those in cotton processing, which can be attributed to the increase in Zambian cotton production.

Respondents also alluded to the view that local industries are not enjoying the maximum benefit of close proximity to the suppliers of most raw materials including cotton, which is actually locally grown and ginned. The issue of import parity pricing in the case of local raw cotton supply came out prominently. It was observed that since the privatisation of LINTCO, local raw cotton is quoted based on the Liverpool price index, causing local industries to bear the CIF costs which include the cotton price, shipping freight, and insurance costs. This unfair trade practice tends to drive up the cost of production, which is in turn translated into high prices on final products that are expected to compete with similar foreign products from countries whose price of local cotton is either controlled by the government or ex-factory.

Lack of governmental political will to assist the sector was also a sore point with many respondents. They observed that unlike the South African textile industries, which enjoy lower production costs, economies of scale and greater capacity utilisation; their Zambian counterpart firms do not enjoy these same economic advantages, as the Zambian government neglects to provide any form of subsidy or direct cash incentive payments for exporters including those that utilise local raw materials. While it is acknowledged that Zambia's ability to influence international trade policies is weak, there is a need for it to implement some safeguard measures to compensate for unfair trade practices such as import parity pricing. The respondents further observed that such stimulant measures are practiced by a number of stronger economies like the USA, China, and the EU to name a few, through the provision of subsidies.

3.2.3 Impact on specific variables

Product range: The sector has witnessed a decrease in product range caused by competition from foreign products and decline in people's purchasing power resulting from job losses.

Productivity: Apart from cotton growing, the sector has witnessed a significant decline in productivity owing to: (1) the dominance of the traditional markets and other foreign markets by the Asian tigers as a result of the removal of all quotas as per World Trade Organisation (WTO) agreements in 2004; (2) inability to recapitalise; and (3) high levels of indebtedness.

Turnover: Again, except for cotton growing, there has been a decline in turnover owing to reduced productivity and shrinkage of markets.

Profit: Most of the firms just managed to break even, as their revenue structures were prominently characterised by huge debts arising from domestic borrowing for restructuring, low productivity and shrunk markets.

Employment: There has been a major downsizing of the labour force as a result of the decline in productivity. Only one firm in the sample experienced an increase in employment due to injection of capital by the shareholders and reorganisation.

Investment and capital formation: All the firms surveyed have undergone substantial rehabilitations and mechanisation, necessitated by the competition arising from trade liberalisation. Unfortunately the bulk of this investment is currently under-utilised, as the firms have resorted to reducing production to mitigate the shrinkage of domestic markets.

Human resource development: The local education curriculum does not offer any textile training and as such, all firms have had to either train staff on site or send them abroad for training. However, the sector has benefited from the local education curriculum in so far as support professions are concerned.

3.2.4 Counting blessings: How one company overcame

While many firms failed to succeed when faced with the aforementioned adverse challenges associated with trade liberalisation, we show how one company was able to transform handicap into advantage.

“One of the major advantages of trade liberalisation is that it forced initiative on many business houses and individuals. Many companies realised the need to diversify. In our case we looked at cotton, whose supply was in few hands. Ginning of cotton was monopolised by private operators such as Lonrho, Clark cotton, today’s DUNAVANT and LINTCO that supplied us with most lint. But after privatisation of LINTCO, these private operators monopolised the supply of cotton by forming what appeared to be a cartel that even regulated the prices. Unlike our company, the prime operation of these private operators was ginning of the cotton, which they sold both locally and abroad. Cotton lint was our main raw material on which the company spent two-thirds of its budget and thus we could not withstand the market conditions that prevailed as a result of the monopoly just alluded to.

The company therefore thought of setting up its own ginnery. We began by mobilising local farmers and set up an out grower scheme. This idea won the support of one Indian firm. Our company sourced machinery from China and as a result a ginnery was set up in conjunction with this Indian firm. The objective of setting up this ginnery was to ensure consistent supply of lint cotton to our company and at a reasonable price. But this ginnery secretly began to supply cotton lint to other textile industries, and our company still did not get the benefits of close proximity to this ginnery. So we decided to set up a ginnery

situated within our premises and this ginnery is still operational today.

To do this, we set up our own out-grower's scheme by once again mobilising local farmers whom we contract on some terms and we offer them some basic requirements on loan basis. This process is managed with the help of some extension officers who are trustees that ensure that all the cotton grown is supplied to our company.

Another advantage of trade liberalisation is that due to the shrinkage in our domestic market resulting from competition put up by *salaula* and other Chinese and Indian products, we were forced to start looking at other foreign markets such as Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa that we have managed to penetrate. In order to penetrate and sustain these markets, we had to improve the quality of our products by comparing them to imported products, which include *salaula*.

Maintenance of these foreign markets implies that the company has to move with time in all spheres of textile operations. This partly implies that the company has to keep upgrading its machinery and has indeed tried its best to do so.

As a result of trade liberalisation our company has also been forced to diversify. The company is now able to produce cooking oil from cottonseed, through a subsidiary firm. The objective of this move was to broaden the economic base of the company considering the fact that our business operation has peak and off-peak periods. We have also used garment manufacturing to mitigate our off peak period experiences of low returns due to low sales.”

3.3. Trade Liberalisation and its Impacts on the Agro-processing Sector in Zambia, Annie Zulu Chime

Activities of the agro-processing sector

Agro-processing involves turning primary agricultural products into other commodities for sale on the market. In Zambia the Agro-processing sector comprises those industries whose core activities include:

- Snack food production.
- Fruit and vegetable drying.
- Oil (from groundnuts, sunflower and seed cotton) and Honey Processing.
- Cereal Milling (maize, wheat, Soya beans, etc).
- Peanut Butter production.
- Sugar processing.
- Mushroom processing.
- Dairy products.
- Beef production
- Fish farming and distribution.
- Tea, tobacco and coffee processing.
- Poultry farming.

The agro-processing sector has generally enjoyed a reasonably good market in Zambia with a notably indigenous production structure, in the sense that the industries use a significantly high quantity of local raw materials. In addition to its contribution to national income, agro-processing has the potential to increase income and access to food for the poor who largely depend on agriculture for their livelihood, by establishing small-scale processing businesses that can be carried out at homes and do not require huge investments. Thus, through this transmission mechanism, agro-processing can potentially reduce poverty in a sustainable manner.

3.3.2. Impact of trade liberalisation on the agro-processing sector

It is generally observed that the agro-processing sector has recorded growth and expansion in the recent years. This is particularly attributed to the deliberate efforts by the government to support the agricultural sector, which is the key resource sector for the agro-processing industry. The agriculture sector has enjoyed a lot support from the government in its deliberate effort to diversify the economy from the mining sector to other sectors deemed to have business potential. In this sense, farmers have been granted income security. The sector has seen growth in terms of the number of players involved, and thus productivity has risen. As a result of competition the agro-producers have been forced to increase the range of their products, made possible through an increased mechanisation of the processing plants. Thus, the sector has witnessed a facelift in terms of new technology that has led to significant reductions in the cost structures.

3.3.3 Impact on specific variables

Product range: There has been an increase in product range resulting from the companies' deliberate policies of diversification, undertaken to counteract possible adverse impacts of trade liberalisation.

Productivity: There has been an improvement in productivity on account of low costs incurred through a significant use of local raw materials.

Turnover: Turnover levels in general have been satisfactory since most firms have been able to withstand competition with their foreign counterparts.

Profit: In general, firms have been viable and profitable and not overly perturbed by competition.

Employment: There has been an expansion in employment owing to diversification that has necessitated increased labour.

Investment and capital formation: There has been substantial recapitalisation, occurring mostly on account of changes of ownership through privatisation.

Human resource development: Development has occurred to some extent only within technical operations that require highly technical staff.

3.4 Plenary

A plenary discussed the two presentations, which are summarised below,

- Participants wanted to know why Zambia was no longer in a position to take advantage of the regional trading opportunities
- Participants were interested in identifying forward looking linkages with CUTS and ODCMT
- There were concerns as to how Zambia participated in the past trade forums in the absence of a national trade policy
- It will be in the long term interest of Zambia if the industries embark upon the production of finished products
- Disadvantaged persons have not been adequately consulted in the trade policy formulation process, and as a result their concerns and needs are still underrepresented
- Issues of child labour must be included in trade policy formulation
- The delays at border posts on exports have been a major contributing factor to the lack of development of the small scale sector
- Liberalisation which was meant to improve efficiency, has in most cases scored negatively; since most companies have been closed down even after selling
- The use of some chemicals by foreign firms is degrading Zambia's land creating the need to monitor the usage and availability of protective clothing by farmers, and factory workers etc.
- In the sale of cotton, the grading is done in the absence of farmers
- There is need for improved dissemination of information on trade agreements

3.4.1 Response from Resource persons

- Under the Africa Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA), small scale farmers failed to utilise the market, therefore the need to enhance their capacities through clustering has arisen
- The minimum wage in Zambia is insufficient, as it was historically designed in an effort to attract foreign investment. Since the objectives of attracting investment have been realised it is now necessary to reassess the minimum labour wage.

3.4. Agriculture (cotton trade)

3.4.1 Introduction

Agriculture is central to the food security, rural development and livelihood needs of African countries. In the ongoing trade negotiations, African and other developing countries face the danger of being forced to open their markets to agricultural exports from developed countries that continue to aggressively protect their markets. Worse, the African and other developing countries will be exposed to unfair subsidies in the

developed countries, with artificially cheapened products being dumped in their markets, displacing domestic farmers and disrupting livelihoods.

3.4.2 Cotton trade Zambian perspective

The cotton sector was reformed in the mid-1990s when the very high international prices for cotton lint allowed ginners to pay attractive prices to farmers. This made cotton growing a highly profitable enterprise for both ginning companies and small-scale farmers. However, the decline in prices from 1995 onward undermined this profitability as prices of seed cotton in Zambia fell from \$0.56/kg in 1995 to \$0.18/kg in 1999 and averaged US\$0.225/kg during the 2001/2003 harvest seasons.

We have no doubt that farmers grew accustomed to several years of increasing prices and that they did so with limited information on world market conditions. Thus they found it difficult to understand the reasons for decline in prices the ginning companies were giving them. This, together with a lack of transparency in how each buyer determined the prices and how they deducted input costs, led farmers and their representatives to the conclusions that they were being exploited.

We note that this hostile environment of inaccess to information created mistrust and in all likelihood led to the increasing rate at which farmers default on their loans. It also led to their involvement in side selling of their yield to other firms, whereby the loan repayment rate dropped from 86 per cent in 1996 to 65 per cent in 1999 and 2000.

3.4.3 Cotton Prices

We note that competition among ginners began to emerge in 1997, and that price competition was a key tool ginners used in attracting buyers, contributing to ensuing repayment problems. We have described above how farmers felt exploited by ginning companies due to the lack of transparency in setting prices. This contributed to misunderstanding between farmers and ginning firms – and henceforth to the repayment crisis.

We further note that there has been no government mandated price or pricing guidance of any sort from the government since liberalisation in 1994. Further, there is no strong evidence that shows ginning companies engaged farmers in dialogue or negotiations regarding cotton prices. We however, acknowledge that Dunavant has, as a result of its dominant role, acted as a price leader. It has been the only company that in late October announced a new cotton price before each planting season. Still, Dunavant prices have generally been lower than the smaller ginners who have paid higher prices.

3.4.4 Government's approach

We are saddened by the reality that privatisation has meant a hands off approach to the cotton sector. However, we wish to note that the government has, while leaving the cotton sector alone, continued periodically to suggest how much it will pay to support

maize prices. For example, at planting time in 2001, the government announced that it intended to offer a maize price of US\$140/metric tonne. We agree with some ginnerers that this focus on maize distorts the decisions made by some farmers and results in a shift from cotton to maize and then again out of the maize crop when government fails to fully deliver on its commitments. Further, other observers and farmers have suggested that these government policy statements have little effect on farmer behaviour. This is due to their scepticism regarding the government's ability to deliver. Recent policy initiatives by the government have included the Cotton Out Grower Fund and the proposed Cotton Board. It appears that these policies may suggest the beginning of a broader focus within government.

3.4.5. Plenary

- Participants were disappointed at the continued poor prices in the cotton sector
- There were concerns over the government's lack of intervention in resolving the crisis, despite the problem having been identified for a long period of time
- Contract farming must be monitored, as this has been much associated with stealing from farmers
- There is a need for diversification of production to other products of higher value

4.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

- There is need to identify an organisation which is based in the copper belt for the purpose of continuity of activities
- Enhanced education on trade liberalisation and poverty reduction
- The existence of follow up meetings
- Enhanced efforts aimed at building the capacity of the small scale sector in value added products
- There is a need for improved access to information on agriculture commodity prices

5.0 CONCLUSION

In conclusion Vladimir Chilinya thanked the resource persons for their technical input, and participants for their valued contributions to the process, urging them to stimulate efforts aimed at enhancing their capacities to understand the realities of trade policy and liberalisation in general.

List of participants for the Kitwe meeting

No.	Name	Organisation	Address	
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25	Anne Chime Zulu	CUTS-ARC	Lusaka	
26	Daka Jimmy Zindikilani	ODCMT	Lusaka	
27	Vladimir Chilinya	CUTS-ARC	Lusaka	