Riches from Rags or Persistent Poverty?
Inequality in the Transnational Second-hand Clothing Trade in Mozambique

Andrew Richard Brooks

Department of Geography

Royal Holloway, University of London

This Thesis is submitted in support of a PhD in Geography

Declaration of Authorship

I Andrew Richard Brooks hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

One of the understudied geographies of the world economy is the large-scale export of second-hand clothing form the global North to Africa. The consumption and re-use of clothing traces a transnational gradient of inequality between the rich and poor. This thesis examines the (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities in Britain, the international economic geographies of the used-clothing trade and the labour activities of African market traders. Coordinated and non-integrated patterns of trade are investigated through a theoretical approach which draws upon Fine's 'system of provision' analysis from heterodox economics and connects this to existing commodity studies approaches in geography. Within global second-hand clothing networks there are differential power relations between charities, companies and individuals. The socially and historically embedded roles of British charities and firms in the collection, processing and export of second-hand clothing are introduced. This is connected to the main empirical exploration of the downstream social and economic impacts of second-hand clothing imports in Africa. Linkages are made across the new and used clothing sectors and in the relationships between the decline of clothing industries across Africa, economic liberalisation and the growth of used-clothing imports. Patterns of import are investigated, with specific reference to Mozambique, where Indian merchants control distribution. Second-hand clothing markets are widespread in African urban centres and retail activities in Maputo are examined in-depth drawing upon twelve months of ethnographic research. Through specific social formations market traders have precarious livelihoods. Incomes do not provide opportunities for Mozambicans to progress out of poverty. By examining different processes at various locations in the international economy, it is demonstrated how it is not second-hand clothes which create economic relationships, but definite social relations between people.

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Acronyms

ADPP / DAPP	*Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo /* Development Aid from People to People
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
CFA (Franc)	*Communauté Financière Africaine* (African Financial Community)
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EU	European Union
GCC	Global Commodity Chain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPN	Global Production Network
GVC	Global Value Chain
IESE	*Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos* (Institute of Social and Economic Study)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialisation
METL	Mohammed Enterprises Tanzania Limited
MFA	Multi-Fibre Agreement
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRE	*Programa de Reabilitação Económica* (Economic Rehabilitation Programme)
SOP	Systems of Provision
UNCOMTRADE	United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Glossary of Portuguese words and colloquial terms used in Maputo

Alfândegas	Customs service of Mozambique.
Armazém/Armazéns	Warehouse/s or wholesaler/s.
Baixa	Lower town; equivalent to the 'downtown' area of a city centre.
Banca	Market stall.
Capulanas	Printed African textiles often worn as a sarong.
Carregador	Porter.
Chapa	Minibus.
Dumba nengue	Literally means 'rely on your legs' this name given to hawkers who work informally selling goods on the streets.
Entregar	To deliver; hand over. This word is used to describe the process of emptying a market stall and the bulk sale of low quality stock.
Estique/Xitique	Informal savings schemes, which include rotating saving clubs and money guard deposit systems.
Fardo	Bale, such as the 45-55kg bales of imported used clothing.
Impostos	Taxes.
Mamães Grandes	Literally 'Big Mothers' a small group of specialist traders who attempt to form an oligopoly of second-hand clothing supply.
Mercado	Market.
Roupas da calamidade	Clothing of the calamity. The name for second-hand clothing in Mozambique. *'Calamidade'* is often used as shortened colloquialism.
Taxa	Fee.
Totobola	Lottery.

Preface

The Mercado do Xipamanine in Maputo is a bustling centre of urban trade. On any weekday morning the entrance to the market is crowded; local *chapa* (minibuses) clog the narrow approach along the Rua dos Irmãos Roby and hawkers circle, touting cheap Chinese consumer goods such as plastic lighters, polyester socks or pressed steel cutlery. Entering the market you pass through narrow alleys between *bancas* (market stalls) selling stationary and stereos. Moving further into the market you begin to encounter noisy traders negotiating the sale of low-quality imported new clothing. There are football shirts embellished with Mozambican flags, brightly coloured ladies' tops and Obama-branded belt buckles. Beyond the new clothing vendors is the heart of the market, where second-hand clothing stalls make up the majority of trade activity.

The second-hand clothing vendors sit in the shade awaiting customers, on reed mats below their *bancas*. Each trader specializes in a specific type of previously worn clothing from the global North; this includes men's denim jeans, under-fives' T-shirts and ladies' cotton blouses. The garments are hung on display or heaped on the floor and are all different in their provenance. They come from Australia, Canada, Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom or the United Sates. Some have logos from their previous existence as new goods; international fashion brands, cartoon slogans or perhaps the name of a high school sports team. Impoverished customers pick through piles of second-hand clothing, searching for a good deal, checking garments for holes or stains, asking the trader for a quote, maybe negotiating a sale or moving on to another *banca*.

When new stock arrives in the market and a trader opens a fresh *fardo* (bale) of used clothes, there is a flurry of activity. Other traders who specialize in high-quality garments rush to pick out choice items, while consumers attempt to spot a bargain. Capital is risked and lost at such moments. Most of the day is less exciting, though, and is tediously spent hoping that customers come and purchase low-quality garments. In between the ennui of market work, traders count their Meticals (Mozambican currency) following a successful day's trading or express their frustrations at living in persistent poverty. These used-clothing vendors mediate between the supply of discarded foreign goods and the poverty and desires of impoverished local customers. Their businesses are precarious and this uncertainty determines how they are able to support themselves and their dependents. The working lives of African traders within the international second-hand clothing system of provision are explored through this thesis.

Chapter 1. An Introduction to the Study of the Transnational Second-hand Clothing Trade in Mozambique

Introduction

Second-hand clothes are retailed by market traders throughout Africa and elsewhere in the developing world (Haggblade, 1990; Hansen, 2000; Milgram, 2005; Norris, 2005). The used-clothing trade is habitual and widespread, but little understood by most people across the global North and South (Crewe *et al.,* 2003; Palmer and Clark, 2005). It has a long history which can be traced back to before the start of modern capitalism, but has attracted limited popular or academic attention (Jester, 2002; Marx, 1995; Strasser, 1999). In recent decades the used-clothing trade has been fuelled by the rapid circulation, consumption and disposal of clothing in the global North (Norris, 2010). Over 500,000 tonnes[1] of used clothes per annum are exported from the United States, the largest exporter, to over a 100 different countries (Rivoli, 2009: 216-17). African[2] economies are amongst the most important markets and countries including Kenya, Mozambique and Zimbabwe opened to the mass import of used clothing in the 1980s and 1990s (Field, 2000; 2008; Pitcher, 2002). Second-hand clothing is frequently the main imported consumer item in Africa and accounts for over 50% by volume of the retail clothing market in many African countries (Baden and Barber, 2005: 1; Frazer, 2008). Used clothing is a relatively low-value commodity and accounts for only 0.6% of the international clothing trade (Velia *et al*., 2006: 4). Nevertheless; exports from OECD countries were still valued at over US$1.9 billion in 2009 (UNCOMTRADE, 2011), which is an underestimate of the total international trade in used-clothing.[3]

The working lives of African market traders and the system of provision through which second-hand clothes are traded to Maputo (Mozambique) from the global North is analysed extensively in this thesis. The donation of unwanted clothes and their collection and processing by firms and charities in the United Kingdom is the entry

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[1] Imperial tonnes, rather than metric tons are used in this thesis as this is the unit which most frequently appeared in sources relating to the second-hand clothing trade.

[2] Africa and African refer to sub-Saharan Africa throughout this thesis.

[3] UNCOMTRADE data are extensively analysed and discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. US Dollars are used for consistency throughout this thesis rather than British Pounds, because UNCOMTRADE datasets are published in US Dollars.

point for the study, although trade practices in Mozambique are the central empirical locus of inquiry. Second-hand clothing markets in Maputo and elsewhere in Africa are connected to the (re)production of used-clothing commodities in the global North, such as the commercial activities of British charities and textile recycling firms. My analysis focuses on how the businesses of traders in Mozambique are precarious by examining how they are disadvantaged in their exchange relationships with more powerful groups and individuals in the used-clothing trade. This same method of analysis is applied to examining how intermediate merchants, who operate between the global North and South, are also privileged and disadvantaged in the trade.

The broader impact of the imports of used clothing and its inter-relation with economic liberalization in Africa are also explored. Since the early 1980s structural adjustment has had widespread effects in Africa. There has been a well documented general history of African deindustrialization, which includes a long-term trend of clothing manufacturing decline (Gibbon, 1996; Onimode, 1988; Traub-Merz, 2006). The closure of clothing factories has been attributed to the import of second-hand clothes to Africa, which has increased over the same period (Frazer, 2008; Koyi, 2006). The multiple challenges of economic liberalization faced by African clothing industries are explored in this thesis.

The opening of African economies was also intended to provide opportunities for African entrepreneurs to spur economic growth (Kapstein, 2009; Turok, 2010). Rivoli (2009) is amongst those who have argued that the second-hand clothing trading provides an avenue for Africans to profit from globalization (see also Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000; Milgram, forthcoming). My research also demonstrates how market vendors in Maputo are constrained in their ability to become embedded in profitable processes of capital accumulation (see also Wegulo, 2004).

Conceptual outline

The analysis in this thesis begins by providing a historical overview of the second-hand clothing trade and discussing how used clothing is collected and processed in the United Kingdom. This thesis explores how the (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities is different to, but also interconnected with, new clothing production and consumption (Schor, 2005). Through applying a political economy analysis to the

processes illustrated in Figure 1.1, some of the social gradients of inequality which exist in the used-clothing system of provision between affluent and impoverished people in both the global North and South are demonstrated. The export of second-hand clothing commodities from the UK is investigated and the effects of the import of used clothing to Africa, through both coordinated and non-integrated trade patterns, are explored.

Figure 1.1 Simplified schematic representation of the second-hand clothing trade

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  Purchase of new│
                    │   clothes in the│
                    │   global North  │
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
                    ┌─────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────┐
                    │     Wearing,    │        :   Household     :
                    │  downgrade and  │───────▶:    rubbish      :
                    │   disposal of   │        :                 :
                    │     clothing    │        └─────────────────┘
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
┌─────────────────┐ ┌─────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────┐
:  Local sale of  : │   Donation to   │        :  Waste and      :
:   second-hand   :◀│  charity or     │───────▶:  recycling of   :
:    clothing     : │    textile      │        :  low-quality    :
└─────────────────┘ │    recycler     │        :    clothes      :
                    └─────────────────┘        └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  (re)Production │
                    │  of used clothing│
                    │   commodities   │
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │ Export to global│
                    │      South      │
                    └─────────────────┘
                             │
                             ▼
                    ┌─────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────┐
                    │                 │        :  Discard of     :
                    │   Retail sale   │───────▶: unwanted used   :
                    │                 │        :   clothing      :
                    └─────────────────┘        :   rubbish       :
                             │                 └─────────────────┘
                             ▼
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │  Second-hand    │
                    │    clothing     │
                    │  consumption    │
                    └─────────────────┘
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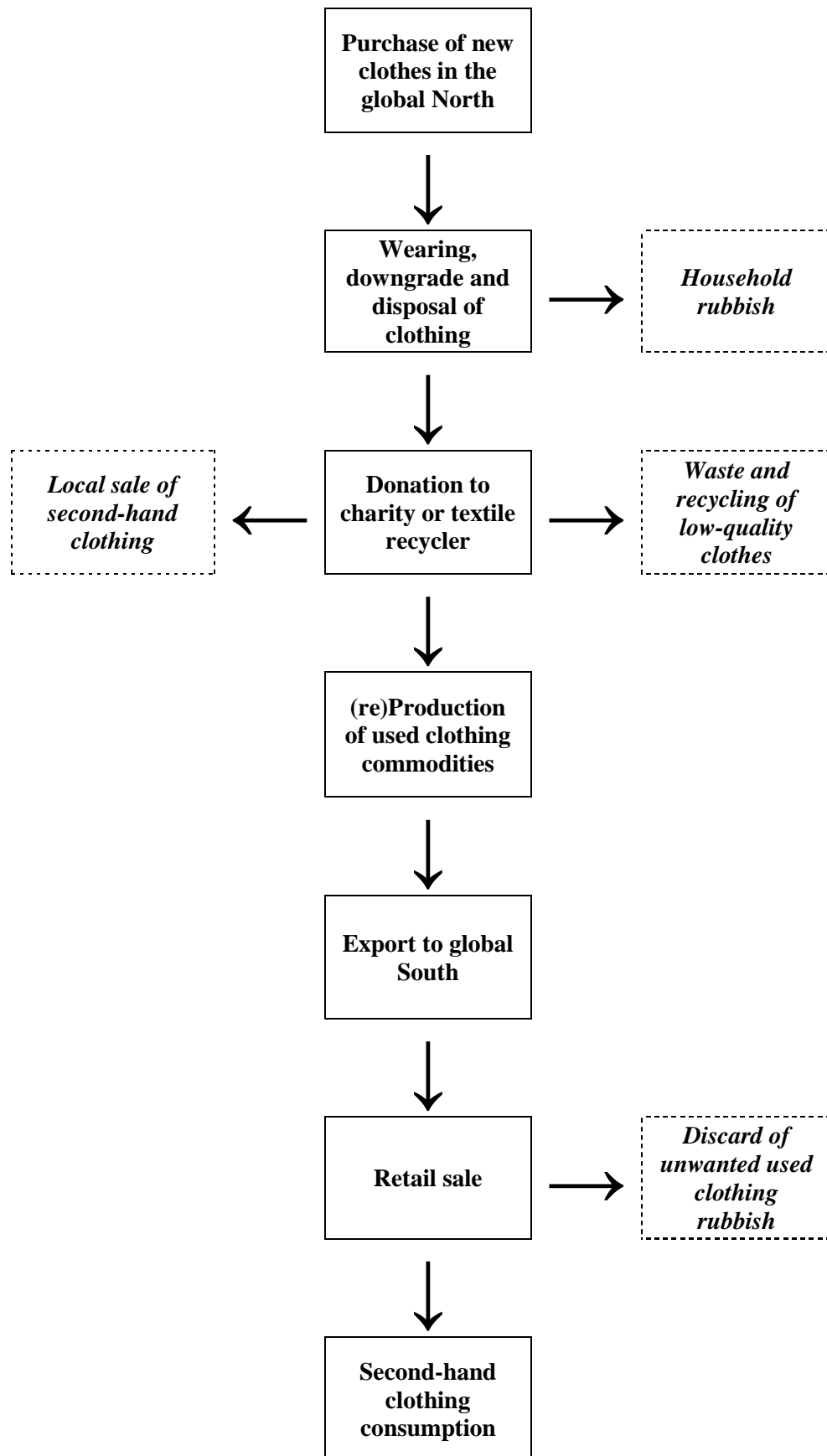
The core empirical contribution, based on twelve months of fieldwork in Mozambique, is an analysis of the working lives of used-clothing traders in Maputo. The vulnerability of market businesses was researched through detailed ethnographic exploration of traders' work activities. Financial data on the sales and expenditure of stallholders are analysed alongside diary records of businesses and repeat interviews. Their work is contrasted with other inter-connected urban livelihoods in Maputo, including new clothing traders and tailors. The relative poverty of market traders is also considered in relation to how risks of achieving valorisation are passed downstream from the global North to the global South through a lottery (*totobola*) of second-hand clothing provision.

The theoretical contribution of this thesis is that it examines the connections between (re)production in the global North and consumption in the global South through applying Ben Fine's system of provision analysis (2002) to the trade in second-hand commodities. Throughout this thesis it is argued that it is not enough just to describe an understudied trade pattern, but that it is essential to analyse the social and economic conditions through which these exchange relationships have become normalised; in this instance, to examine in-depth the situated experiences of used-clothing traders in Mozambique, in comparison to other groups and individuals who participate in the same or comparable trade patterns. In Fine's systems of provision analysis, which is explored in Chapter 2, the symbolic significance of commodities and the socio-economic processes which establish markets for particular commodities are acknowledged as well as the relationship between production and consumption to establish how exchange value is (re)produced in used commodities (Hudson, 2008; Lodziak, 2000).

This study is not therefore a rigid tracing of commodity flows, as has been implemented in various geographical studies including 'global value chains' and 'follow the thing' research (Coe *et al.,* 2008; Cook *et al.*, 2004; 2006; Cook and Harrison, 2007; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Kleine, 2008). These studies have provided stimulating and important empirical examples. However, the methodological difficulties and both the practical and theoretical constraints of such forms of research are investigated. Furthermore, by exploring a reverse trade from the global North to the South of low-value (re)produced commodities this thesis serves as a corrective to the focus of the majority of studies which link production and consumption. Geographical and historical studies of trade have arisen out of a Eurocentric politics of ethics and have

predominately investigated southern production (and impoverishment) and northern consumption (and affluence) (Hartwick, 1998; Marcus, 1995; Mintz, 1986).

Most of the literature in consumption studies begins with retail in affluent societies (Hassler, 2003; Hetherington, 2004). The study of the role of consumption as 'narration of the self' occupies much academic attention (Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Jenβ, 2005; Lodziak, 2000; Schiermer, 2010). Focusing on the act of consumption as first world shopping in isolation detracts from the labour activities that enable the supply of commodities and indeed the outrageous inequalities in the global supply of goods (Cook *et al.,* 2004). In response to David Harvey's (1990: 422) call, geographers have begun to investigate the connections between Western consumers and distant producers and 'get behind the veil, the fetishism of the market'. Empirical case studies increasingly stretch between the underdeveloped and developed economies, but they are still predominantly focused on production for consumption in the global North (Cook and Harrison, 2007; Fold and Gough, 2008; Jackson and Thrift, 1995). In contrast, processes of consumption in the global South have received relatively scant attention. This case study demonstrates how African market traders are entangled in the under researched 'back-end' of global trade networks, which link waste making and the disposal of objects in the global North to the consumption of these same things in the global South (Gregson *et al.,* 2010: 246).

A Marxist recognition of geographically uneven development is integral to a discussion of the second-hand clothing trade, which moves beyond a cultural exploration of consumption to understand how unequal exchange relationships are reproduced through a trade system (Fine, 2002). Individual second-hand clothing trade patterns have been shaped by complex arrangements of both cultural and economic factors, but ultimately the exchange activities are processes whereby the clothes of one group within global society are discarded and re-valued by another (Palmer and Clark, 2005). I argue that by being stimulated to donate clothing to charities or textile recyclers, people in the global North set in motion a series of connections which contributes to framing the impoverishment of people in the Global South. The trade depends on the waste product of one class being consumed by a more economically marginalized class and in this way it can be read to represent or articulate inequality.

There is a relative absence of critical political economy literature on the second-hand clothing trade and a need for 'further investigation' (Hansen, 2000: xiii). My awareness

of the value of a project of ethnographic research placed in a broader geographical context and positioned in a conceptual political economy framework, initially drew on first-hand visits to two places in the global South. These experiences in Papua New Guinea and Zambia were formative in shaping my own view that the used-clothing market is incredibly important to many people in poverty. Old garments no longer wanted in affluent consumer societies were one of the few commodities poor people were able to purchase. For the majority of impoverished people observed in Papua New Guinea, Zambia and later in Mozambique and elsewhere in southern Africa, second-hand clothing purchases represented a substantial financial outlay and an important process of consumption. Consumption in the global South is very different to first world shopping. Relative poverty frames all purchasing decisions (Collins *et al.*, 2009; Davis, 2006). Second-hand clothing can satisfy a basic human need of clothing for warmth and protection (Field, 2000). Hansen (2000) also argues that beyond the given physical necessity, used clothes become valuable raw materials from which people can express cultural identity. The importance of second-hand clothing as a positional good for narration of the self requires problematization, so the inter-relationships between poverty and aspirational consumption in Africa are explored.

The specific activity of selling used clothing in Maputo is examined in depth and this empirical analysis shows how second-hand clothes are marketed and consumed. Experiences of work in Maputo are connected to the second-hand clothing system of provision through which used clothes are collected, processed and traded for sale. Individual market traders selling clothing in Maputo lack agency in influencing the provision of the second-hand clothing commodities. Retailing used clothing is a precarious way of making a living. The quality of the second-hand clothing goods vendors are able to acquire and how these garments are locally perceived and valued, affects their ability to achieve profits and support families. Market vendors have to cope with fluctuating quality and supply as well as reconciling the demands of impoverished customers. These situated knowledges and experiences are privileged for analysis, but are charted within a broader discursive analysis (Kapferer, 1972). The second chapter in this thesis examines in depth how this is conceptually explored.

Research aims and objectives

This thesis examines the (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities in Britain, the international economic geographies of the used-clothing trade and the labour activities of African market traders. The research aims are not investigated as discrete issues, but rather are explored through analysis of the different stages illustrated in Figure 1.1. Different processes at various locations in the international economy are examined in order to understand the trade in Mozambique. The first aim is to map the history of the used-clothing system of provision in the United Kingdom, by tracing the social and economic geographies of the donation of waste garments and the (re)production of used clothing commodities for export. The second objective is to analyse the patterns of the second-hand clothing trade to Africa and to explore the social and economic impacts of the import of used clothing on African countries. This includes investigating the relationships between the used-clothing trade and clothing manufacturing in Africa. The third objective accounts for the greatest weight of research and the outputs of the fieldwork in Mozambique are most extensively drawn upon in the analytical chapters. This aim is to investigate in-depth the work activity of trading second-hand clothing in Maputo within a systems of provision analysis. This extends to evaluating the business practices of market trades and analysing the social context of the second-hand clothing trade.

Mozambique in the second-hand clothing system of provision

Mozambique was selected as the site for the field research within southern Africa because of both the importance of its geographical location and the gaps in existing academic literatures. South Africa as the regional economic centre was considered for research, but the ban on used-clothing imports made a study based in South Africa unsuitable, whereas the ports of Maputo and Beira in Mozambique both serve as regional import nodes for the used-clothing trade (Durham, 2004; Field, 2000; Roodt, 2008; personal observations, see Figure 3.1). Studying an entrepôt allows the dynamics of clothing imports and re-exports to be examined. There has also been previous research of the second-hand clothing trade in other southern and east African countries including Kenya (Field, 2008; Wegulo, 2004), South Africa (Velia *et al.,* 2006), Tanzania (Rivoli, 2009), Zambia (Hansen, 2000) and Zimbabwe (Field, 2000). However, there have not been any comparable studies in Mozambique, which provides

an opportunity for a new investigation in what remains one of the world's poorest countries, despite rapid formal economic growth since the end of the civil war (see below).[4]

There is a general dearth of English-language publications exploring the lived experiences of urban poverty in contemporary Mozambique (Paulo *et al.,* 2011; de Renzio, 2008; Sheldon, 2002). The dynamic effects of economic liberalisation in post-socialist Mozambique provide a stimulus for analysing the lives of the poor (Cramer, 2001; Hanlon, 2004; Sidaway and Power, 1995). A further justification was the historically marginalised role that Mozambique has played in the international new clothing system of provision; as a Portuguese colony Mozambique produced cotton for Portuguese clothing industries and has a post-independence history of failed and stalled clothing industry development (Hanlon 1984; Pitcher, 2002; see Chapter 7). In Mozambique it can be argued that that there has been what Ferguson (1999: 247) identified in Zambia as 'the abandonment of the goal of industrialization' following the opening up of the economy and the elite's orientation towards 'state capture' as a strategy from capital accumulation (Hanlon, 2004: 748). Locating the research in Mozambique allows for the impacts of the second-hand clothing trade to be considered in a country without a significant existing local clothing manufacturing sector, in contrast to other research in Africa (including Frazer, 2008; Haggblade, 1990; Slotterback, 2007; Wegulo, 2004). The broader scale connections across sub-Saharan Africa between second-hand clothing imports and the decline of clothing industries, or the restriction in opportunities for domestic industries to emerge, are explored in Chapter 6 and this is related to the specific Mozambican context in Chapter 7.

Economic liberalization has led to Mozambique being presented as having a 'good performance' (Hanlon, 2004: 748). 'Over the period 2005-2009, annual growth averaged 7.6 percent of GDP, and income per capita rose on average by 5 percent a year' (IMF, 2011: 5). Growth Figures such as these are used to frame the 'market friendly' policies adopted by the Frelimo government as being a 'success' and are part of the neoliberal discourse of Mozambique providing a model for donor intervention (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2010; Sumich, 2010). Hanlon and Smart (2008) have argued that only a minority of Mozambicans have experienced the benefits of a growing

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[4] There was an unpublished study by Abrahamsson (1988) and some discussion of Mozambique in Bigsten and Wicks (1996).

economy and that the official government and donor narrative of development success stands in stark contrast to the persistent poverty experienced by the majority. The narrow elite which have gained from recent GDP growth includes those who have been involved as importers of goods such as used cars and second-hand clothes (Pitcher, 2002; Brooks, 2011). In this thesis I explore whether the same opportunities for individual capital accumulation have been afforded to poor Mozambicans through the liberalization of the economy and the import of second-hand clothes.

Maputo was selected as the principal site for research as through literature reviewing during the planning stages the capital had been identified as the national economic hub and therefore was presumed to be the centre of the used clothing trade, which proved correct (Concelho Municipal de Maputo [Municipal Council of Maputo], 2009; Nhambi and Grest, 2008). The Xipamanine Market and neighbouring wholesale businesses are the heart of the second-hand clothing trade in Maputo. After pilot and scoping activities, these sites were selected to provide the bulk of research participants although research activities were also undertaken at different localities in Maputo and elsewhere in Mozambique and neighbouring countries, the details of which are provided in Chapter 3.

'Development' and other labels

Research conducted in Africa and elsewhere in the global South is continually associated with the 'development' label (Närman and Simon, 1999; Simon, 1997a). Development persistently serves as 'shorthand' for the modernisation of the global economy, although these narratives have lost credibility as Africa has experienced economic divergence rather than an ascent towards parity with the First World (Ferguson, 2007; Simon, 2003; 2006). The focus of Mozambique's integration into the global economy within academic research has predominantly been as an origin and exporter of products for the global North. This follows an implicit belief in export-orientated production as a route for modernist development (Cramer, 1999). This includes studies of cashew nuts, prawns and tobacco (e.g. Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Kanji *et al.,* 2004). Consumption is as integral to life in capitalist economies in the global South as it is in the global north. This study serves as a corrective by focusing on life within Mozambique, through investigating the processes of importing commodities and local retail activities in Mozambique. The culture and economics of market trading

in southern Africa require further exploration as they are part of everyday life within the global economy and are not a sidebar to a stalled development process (see Manwa *et al.,* 2010; Nuttall, 2004; Sheldon, 2003).

A simple division between producing and consuming spaces (see Hartwick, 1998; 2000) does not match the reality of the global economy. The geographies of uneven development are continually being re-configured and a binary division of global North/South, First/Third world or Developed/Developing does not map the nodes of accumulation and disposition which are spread across the world (Harvey, 2006b; Sidaway, 2007a; 2007b; 2012). In particular China does not sit within such spatial categorisations (Arrighi; 2007). China dominates the new clothing sector and produces garments for markets throughout the world including Africa and increasing Chinese commercial interests in Africa are important to consider in this thesis (Alden, 2007; Brooks, 2010; Carmody and Hampwaye, 2010; Kynge, 2006; Orlan and Jonty, 2001; Morris and Barnes, 2009). Despite the problems with abstract labels, terms have to be used to characterise the different socio-economic conditions at various locations in order to analyse the second-hand clothing trade. The divides which do exist in the global economy between, for example, the United Kingdom and Mozambique are 'an intractable political-economic reality that could not, and cannot, be wished or relabelled away' (Ferguson; 1999: 248). Therefore in this thesis the labels 'global North' and 'global South' are applied and represent spaces of affluent consumption and impoverishment, although it is also important to highlight that this thesis is not rooted in the structural development economics of core/periphery distinctions in the global economy (Wallerstein, 1979; Wolf, 1982). Similarly, the existence of sharp disparities within each city and country are recognised and, indeed are integral to my analysis.

Other terms which require clarification at the outset are 'second-hand clothing' and 'used clothing', both of which are utilised throughout this thesis. These are not different labels to categorise separate types of clothing objects, either name is used depending on the flow of the prose. For instance, 'second-hand clothing' is preferred when discussing 'use value'. This study considers all types of adult and children's clothing as used or second-hand garments and this includes factory seconds and unsold retail stock which is traded to the global South. Non-clothing items including shoes, curtains, bed sheets, towels, bags and stuffed toys which are (re)produced and consumed through the same system of provision are also included as 'second-hand' or 'used' clothes. The labels 'traders' and 'vendors' are principally reserved to designate final market retailers in the

global South, where as 'companies', 'firms', 'merchants', and 'wholesalers' as well as 'charities' are used to identify upstream economic actors in both the global North and South.

The second-hand clothing trade and economic development

In this thesis I explore how unwanted clothes are donated to charities such as Oxfam, the Salvation Army and the YMCA in the United Kingdom, and are collected by commercial companies like Choice Textiles. The processes which were researched in the United Kingdom are similar to those undertaken in many countries including Australia, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United States (Hansen, 2000; Rivoli, 2009; Row Clothing, 2007). Some used clothes are retailed in charity and thrift shops, but the majority is processed for export. Labour activities are undertaken to collect, categorise and transport used clothes and are contained in the final purchase price of the clothing sold in African markets.

One of the key social issues that this thesis investigates is the economic impact of the used-clothing trade on the lives of the poor in Africa. A frequent justification for the trade that comes by exporters of second-hand clothing is that 'this business provides many jobs: people unload containers, importers stock and sell clothing, local merchants purchase a bale of clothing, open it, have the clothes washed and ironed' in Africa (Ouvertes Project, 2005: 10). The value of these types of work activities in Mozambique are explored and contrasted to the equivalent roles in the new clothing sector for both traders and workers in manufacturing industries. The opportunities for capital accumulation for African traders are also compared to the profits made by other upstream importers, exporters and charities.

The availability of imported used-clothing alone does not create employment. Underlying social conditions of impoverishment lead to the existence and the form of different clothing markets in the global South. Micro-scale benefits may be afforded to those who participate in the trade in Africa, as vendors or importers and consumers may also benefit as second-hand clothes are a cheaper type of garment than new clothes and offer relief from inflation. However, these potential benefits have to be set against the macro-scale processes including the net outflow of money from the national sphere of commodity circulation and the potential to reproduce and sustain underdevelopment

(Rodney, 1968). To begin to assess the net impacts of the second-hand clothing trade in Africa the analysis has to investigate beyond market trading and consumption.

Several academics and popular media reports have discussed how they believe used-clothing imports directly undermine local new-clothing production. There is an intuitive argument that imports are forcing the manufacturing sector to contract, causing a significant loss of employment and eliminating opportunities for new manufacturers to enter the market (see Frazer, 2008; Koyi, 2006; Patel, 2004; Webster, 2003). The casual observer can identify a correlation and attribute a causal relationship; cheap imported used clothing entering unprotected markets is undercutting domestically produced garments, leading to the closure of local clothing factories (see Dougherty, 2004; Jester, 2002; Majtenyi, 2010; Slotterback, 2007). This relationship needs to be questioned and thoroughly investigated, as attempting to understand the real connection – if any – between these two trends is more problematic than at first appears.

In Chapter 6 of this thesis I investigate whether there is a relationship of cause and effect or if both the decline of clothing production and the increase in second-hand clothing imports are both independent symptoms of the economic liberalization policies of the late 1980s and early 1990s. I demonstrate the complex realities and explain how attempting to model a causal relationship between these two correlating trends is methodologically difficult in Africa. In Mozambique local statistics are inaccessible (Ossemane *et al.,* 2008) and United Nations Statistical Division data sets do not account for all second-hand clothing trade practices.

It is argued throughout this thesis that much crucial detail of the used-clothing trade remains unrecorded, be that in international trade statistics or ethnographic field research. This includes the thefts of second-hand clothing which are commonplace in the United Kingdom and the illegal import of second-hand clothes to markets which are officially closed in Africa (BBC, 2011a; Forrest, 1994; Lomotey and Fisher, 2006). Such activities are inherently difficult to document, but detailed knowledge of African clothing industries and marketplaces is presented to provide a counterpoint to the fragmented official historical record.

The sale of both new and used commodities is considered in parallel at various stages in this thesis. It is important not to over-emphasise the importance of the used-clothing trade, just because this is the social reality which is under observation. Many poor Mozambicans depend on the second-hand clothing markets for their clothes, but these

clothes are not the only garments available. New clothes are widely sold and garments are also made by local tailors. Second-hand clothes do not meet the aspirations of most Mozambicans and their preferences, which are constructed or influenced by local and international fashion marketing. Less-impoverished Mozambicans consume predominately new clothes as locally tailored clothing and imports of new clothing more closely match fashion aspirations. For the poor, price is the determining factor in consumption. For impoverished African consumers the distinction between the styles of new and used clothing may not always be important, when their consumption choices are primarily determined by poverty.

Thesis structure

As an aid to the reader, this final introductory section outlines the contents of each of the following chapters. In Chapter 2 the theoretical approach followed throughout this thesis is introduced. The decision to use Fine's systems of provision analysis is explained and the labour relations under which exchange value is (re)produced in used-clothing commodities is explored theoretically. Chapter 3 sets out the methodology. This chapter traces the activities undertaken through a chronological approach and considers how the power inequalities in the used-clothing trade were mirrored in the power relations which I experienced in the research processes. As a methodology chapter, it is not structured in the format of introducing various research tools, but instead discusses how different research approaches were selected in an inductive empirical approach whereby the research techniques deployed evolved as greater knowledge of the subject matter accumulated.

After the theoretical approach and methodology have been introduced, Chapters 4 through to 9 trace and conceptualise the different processes in the used-clothing trade within and between the global North and South. The fourth chapter provides important geographical and historical context by combining both analysis of original fieldwork and literature reviewing to explain how the (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities in the global North has arisen as part of a transnational system of provision. Chapter 5 interrogates the different patterns of international second-hand clothing trade to Africa through analysing how there are both structured and non-integrated activities, which have a greater or lesser extent of coordination between various groups. Powerful firms and charities use different socio-economic arrangements

in attempting to maximise capital accumulation. This chapter also examines how illegal and concealed trade practices are prevalent in the used-clothing sector. The economic and cultural impacts of the second-hand clothing trade in Africa are then investigated in Chapter 6 through an analysis of original fieldwork, literature review and published trade statistics. The relationships between economic liberalisation, clothing industry decline and imports of second-hand clothing are untangled in this chapter.

The final three empirical chapters analyse the used-clothing trade in Mozambique. The seventh chapter investigates the import and wholesale of used clothing within Mozambique, focussing in particular on the social relations between Mozambican second-hand clothing traders and Indian merchants. Chapter 8 is an in-depth ethnographic analysis of the working lives of second-hand clothing traders within the Xipamanine market, as introduced at the beginning of this chapter.[5] In the final empirical chapter, the broader social context of the second-hand clothing trade in Maputo is investigated. The working lives of second-hand clothing traders and their use of different formal and informal savings schemes are considered alongside the business practices of tailors, second-hand shoe traders and new clothing traders. Across Chapters 7, 8 and 9 the interconnections between the new and second-hand clothing systems of provision are explored and the importance of the symbolic co-construction of use value for the urban poor is interrogated. The tenth and final chapter provides a conclusion to the thesis and links the different nodes of geo-economic conditions that have been investigated through the thesis to explain the second-hand clothing system of provision.

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[5] An abridged analysis of the material in Chapters 7 and 8 has been accepted for publication in *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture* (Brooks, forthcoming), which is not cited in this thesis

Chapter 2. Theoretical Approach – The Second-hand Clothing System of Provision

Introduction

The process by which used-clothes are (re)produced as commodities requires theoretical exploration before the socio-economic effects of used-clothing imports to Africa and the working lives of used-clothing traders in Maputo are explored in depth. Tracing the initial activities situates downstream exchange relations and labour processes within a systems of provision analysis (Fine, 2002). Use value and exchange value are formed through social relations between people and via material processes and cultural practices in the global economy (Harvey, 2006a). Activities including production, exchange, consumption, waste-making, donation, (re)production and re-use "come to be regarded as socially useful, helpful or uplifting or, more narrowly but generally, as fundamental to everyday life going on 'as normal'" (Hudson, 2008: 424). These activities in the second-hand clothing trade require a theoretical political economy exploration which considers the role of labour in forming exchange value between the different groups of people which *dispose of* and *consume* used clothes. In affluent places in the global economy the rapid consumption and discarding of clothing is part of life 'as normal' (Schor, 2005). This is in stark contrast to 'everyday life' in Africa, where second-hand clothing is re-consumed by impoverished people (Hansen, 2000). The material reproduction of this social dislocation and the system of provision of second-hand clothing is investigated through this thesis.

In the social sciences, much of the understanding of production and consumption has been 'horizontal'; that is addressing empirical conditions only across a range of production activities or processes of consumption at the same spatial level, for example, a comparison of manufacturing techniques in factories or clothing fashions within a society (Saad-Filho, 2000). Ben Fine (2002) has argued that a more vertical analysis is required which brings the relationships between production and the market, and the material and the cultural, together. First, however, the merits and disadvantages of two different but inter-related groups of vertical approaches; 'follow the thing' and 'commodity studies' popular in cultural and economic geography are investigated. The 'follow the thing' approach is a method for tracing the vertical movements of commodities prevalent in cultural geography (Cook *et al.,* 2004; 2006; Gregson *et al.,* 2010; Marcus, 1995). The focus in *following* studies is on the individuality and

specificity of consumption and the reification of culture in this approach is critiqued as an example of the "economicless 'subjectivity' of post-modernism" (Fine, 2002: x). Prominent in economic geography are vertical theories including; 'global commodity chains', 'global value chains' and 'global production networks' which are discussed at length in this chapter. These 'commodity studies' trace their lineage back to the structural development economics of world systems theory (Bernstein and Campling 2006: 240). These theories focus on how producers in the global South are attached 'to world markets controlled by globally organised capitalism', but these approaches have been rightfully criticised as 'too narrow' because of their 'over-generality' and as tautologies which are 'limited to instances of its [their own] empirical incidence' (Fine 2002: 120).

The limits of both 'following' and 'commodity studies' research are discussed with particular reference to Hudson (2008), Mitchell (1995), Harvey (2006a, 2010a) and Starosta (2010). Neither of these two forms of analysis provides a theoretical framework which allows the research aims of this project to be met. Fine's 'systems of provision' analysis which offers a more complete approach to investigating the connections between production and consumption is therefore introduced in this chapter. Fine's approach is more extensive, because of its incorporation of political economy analysis and it demonstrates how a pattern of commercial activity is dependent on a set of activities beyond those which can be narrowly defined in a single chain or network. A systems of provision analysis is used through this thesis and the specific applicability of the approach to the second-hand clothing trade is discussed in relation to the work of Hansen (2000).

In this chapter I explore how second-hand clothing commodities are (re)produced from donated waste clothing. One of the theories previously mobilised to explain this shift in the value of used clothing from being an 'unwanted object' to a 'commodity' is Thompson's (1979) 'rubbish theory' (see Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Norris, 2005; 2010). My own research demonstrates how this theory does not match the reality of the international second-hand clothing trade. I adopt a political economy approach to criticising 'rubbish theory'. Then by following the systems of provision approach, I analyse how labour processes are required to transform unwanted garments into second-hand clothing commodities. The evaluation of the role of labour is also connected to a discussion of the cultural (re)production of exchange value, as my analysis follows Fine

(2002) and Hudson (2008) in linking the material and the cultural in political economy analysis.

In addition to situating the work activities of Mozambican second-hand clothing traders within a transnational political economy framework, the working lives of used-clothing traders are related to theoretical discourse on African urban livelihoods. It is explained in the final section why a livelihoods approach is not followed in this thesis, and how the in-depth analysis in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 is related to literature on how market traders in Africa make a living (e.g. Collins *et al.*, 2009; Little, 1999; Sheldon, 2003; Simone, 2004; 2005). Concepts such as the relative formality or informality of work and the entrepreneurial roles of traders are also briefly discussed, as they are problematised in the analysis of second-hand clothing sale in Maputo.

Vertically connecting consumption and production: Commodity studies

Arrangements of people working and consuming in different places in the global economy are functionally integrated with one another (Harvey, 2006b). Conceptually understanding these links has occupied social scientists who investigate 'out of the long shadow of economics' the political, cultural and economic countenance of international trade in the contemporary moment of globalisation (Amin and Thrift, 2000: 8; Fine, 2002). Anthropologists, economists, sociologists and economic and cultural geographers have brought different theoretical perspectives to investigating the interconnectedness of the global economy. Review articles have detailed the specifics of these varied and sometimes competing approaches (see Bair, 2005; Bernstein and Campling, 2006; Cook *et al.*, 2006; Marcus, 1995). I have loosely grouped these different frameworks into two bodies; which focus either on structural 'commodity chains and networks' or the symbolic value of 'things'. The former is what Bernstein and Campling (2006: 240) refer to as the 'commodity studies' field and – amending and adding to Bernstein and Campling's definition – it encompasses 'commodity chains' (Hartwick, 1998; 2000; Hassler, 2003; Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1986), 'global commodity chains' (Bair and Gereffi, 2001; Gereffi, 1999; 2001a; Ramaswamy and Gereffi, 1998), 'value chains' (Kaplinsky, 2000), 'global value chains' (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005; Global Value Chains Initiative, 2006; Kleine, 2008) and 'global production networks' (Brooks, 2011; Coe *et al.*, 2008; Henderson *et al.*, 2002; Lane and Probert, 2006; Woxenius, 2006). These approaches share in reconnecting the

geographies of production and consumption and assessing where valorisation is achieved at different stages as commodities transit to market.

Commodity studies link together a product's design, the sourcing of constituent parts and the processes of production, transport and sale; mapping the changing geographies of the contemporary global economy and the impacts of broadly defined 'globalisation' (Henderson *et al.,* 2002; Lane and Probert, 2006; Woxenius, 2006). The longitudinal trend in the movement of the locus of productive activity away from established economies in Europe and North America has been marked by growing international inequality and the transnationalisation of trade. Commodity studies have evolved from a single linear model to more variegated networks and circuits reflecting a clearer understanding of the restructuring of the global economy and the influence of the international business literature (Dwyer and Jackson, 2003), although Hassler (2003; 2006) has criticised this research as being highly Western-centric. Proponents of commodity studies, such as Kaplinsky (2000), argue that they are a joined-up response to globalisation, which uses empirical and theoretical approaches not applied in neo-classical economics. Thus commodity studies could be considered a response to what Fine and Milonakis (2009: 1) have called the 'economics imperialism': the colonialism of other social sciences by economics. Through exploring the links between privileged and exploited sites in the diverse terrain of contemporary capitalism, commodity studies offer an alternative critical perspective to that of mainstream neo-classical economics.

The objective of many commodity studies, particularly global value chains, is to understand economic inequality through focusing on the dynamics of rent (Global Value Chains Initiative, 2006). Commodity studies aim to identify and mobilise opportunities for industrial upgrade: 'focusing on the organizational power dynamics that exist along a chain allows one to look at how a country's developmental prospects are shaped' (Bair, 2005: 157; Gereffi and Memedovi, 2003). Gereffi argues that 'In order for countries and firms to succeed in today's international economy, they need to position themselves strategically within these global networks and develop strategies for gaining access to lead firms in order to improve their position' (2001b: 32). From the perspective of individual firms or nation states, particularly high to middle income countries, commodity studies research is a tool to develop new strategies for capital accumulation. However the policy implications of commodity studies research is limited. As Harvey argues, opposing international economic inequality through such processes is impossible: "Uneven geographical development is not a mere sidebar to

how capitalism works, but fundamental to its reproduction. Mastery over its dynamics is elusive. It generates many localised openings within which vulnerabilities become apparent" (2010b: 213).

The language of 'strategic/non-strategic' used in commodity studies can be seen as a semiotic substitution for the core/periphery notation of Wallerstein's world system's theory (1979), from which the evolution of commodity studies can be traced (Bair, 2005). A 'strategic' location presupposes that other countries will be defined, in binary opposition, as a less strategic or disadvantageous 'peripheral' position. This reflects commodity studies' intellectual roots in structuralist development economics, where agency and actions taken in the global North are believed to limit the possibilities for economic activity in the global South (Cramer, 1999). Upgrading is a process of exclusion, as Dolan and Humphrey (2000) illustrated through a commodity study of agricultural production in Africa for UK supermarkets. Only a minority of African firms are able to upgrade through acquiring a broad range of functions and in response to external opportunities, as UK retailers redefine their product chains, although the integration of African producers is also shaped by EU regulatory regimes (Gibbon, 2003a). In this respect, commodity studies are a tool for describing unequal geographical relationships which are reproduced through capitalism.

Starosta (2010: 435) has convincingly argued that commodity studies interventions offer 'through an essentially inductive-empiricist methodology, a typological description of the immediate outer manifestations' of trade patterns and that deeper analytical insights are needed (see also Goss, 2004). Commodity studies research would further benefit from examining 'the broader political-economic environment in which chains operate' and which condition their outcomes (Bair 2005: 154). One example of this would be Fold and Gough (2008) who link global value chains and livelihoods research to investigate how smallholders are affected by trade systems which operate on a global scale. A systems of provision analysis extends to encompass the wider social context of production and consumption (discussed further below). Starosta also states correctly that the possession of 'strategic assets' by firms in 'core-like nodes' is presupposed and that commodity studies only assume the existence of a power differential among capitals, where peripheral firms within networks or chains 'lack the magnitude of capital necessary to generate their own barriers to entry' (2010: 439-440). This leads to an impasse in commodity studies theory as, 'If geographical differences between territories and states did not exist, then they would be created by both

differential investment strategies and the quest for spatial monopoly power given by uniqueness of location and of environmental and cultural qualities' (Harvey, 2010b: 203).

Proponents of the various commodity studies approaches, especially those who advocate GPN analysis such as Henderson *et al.* (2002) and Coe *et al.* (2008b), maintain that their research acknowledges the power asymmetries between different geographic nodes which have arisen from their varied economic histories. However, Starosta (2010) believes the various chains and networks do not adequately explain the differential agency of embedded groups and individuals. The GPN approach incorporates elements of actor network theory (Latour, 1993) and attempts to explain disparate place-based social, political, legal and economic conditions (Lane and Probert, 2006), but this alone does not resolve the impasse of understanding differential power relations. As Kirsch and Mitchell (2004) and Baker and Bridge (2006) have argued convincingly, actor network theory focuses on the connections within networks rather than the inequalities that exist between various actors.

The influence and power of transnational firms headquartered in the global North and their ability to promote markets for commodities is readily documented (Knox *et al.,* 2003; Harvey, 2010b). This alone does not preclude the emergence of industries in the global South, nor is the involvement of transnational corporations always 'on the rigidly "exploitative" terms supposed by the commodity chain literature' (Cramer, 1999: 1252). The reality of the multi-polar global economy is more complicated as is evidenced by the rise of China, the emergence of new hubs of accumulation in the global economy such as Dubai and the many global transnational corporations based across the global North and South (Alden, 2007; Arrighi, 2007; Harvey, 2006b; 2010b; Kynge, 2006; Sidaway, 2007a). The geography of economic arrangements of (re)production and consumption in the new and second-hand clothing trades are examined through this thesis with a recognition of the complexity of today's global economy. In the export of low-value second-hand clothing commodities from the global North to Africa, the link between the differential capitals that relate firms at the nodes of production to those at the nodes of consumption is reversed, although the fundamental geography of the power relation between what can be thought of as a core-like global North and peripheral Africa is consistent with studies such as Dolan and Humphrey (2000), Kaplinsky and Morris (2002) and Morris and Barnes (2009). Examining such different 'reverse' geographical flows provides a corrective to the overwhelming prevalence of South to

North trade patterns explored in commodity studies in economic geography (Brooks, 2011; Hassler, 2003; 2006).

Follow the thing

Follow the thing research was led by the cultural turn in the social sciences and is named after the anthropologist Marcus' (1995: 106) sub-definition of a multi-sited ethnography. The *following* approach was washed up by 'the wave of intellectual capital labelled post-modern' which moved ethnographic fieldwork away from single sites to examine how things circulate between different locations (Marcus, 1995: 96). This research field traces the trajectories of particular items and the social and cultural context through which they move. This involves tracing the way goods 'acquire meaning' and draws upon Appadurai's (1986), Kopytoff's (1986) and Mintz's (1986) explorations of the social lives of things and their biographies. This was embedded in the world systems analysis of Wolf (1982) and *follow the thing* branched out from Hopkins and Wallerstein's commodity chain approach (1986) which offered 'a blueprint appropriate for multi-sited research' (Marcus, 1995: 107). The exemplifiers of this approach in geography are Cook *et al.* (2004; 2006), Cook and Harrison (2007), and Gregson *et al.* (2010).

The interventions by Cook *et al.* (2004; 2006) in cultural geography reflect the post-modern preoccupation of understanding differentiated personal consumption as a vehicle for narrating the self (see also Appadurai (1986), Miller *et al.* (1998) and Miller (2008a) in anthropology). This vein of research has been criticised by Hudson as overplaying the 'culturalisation' (2006: 383) of the economy whereby research focuses on practices which are perceived as being more novel and thus important than they actually are (see also Mitchell, 1995). The flurry of publications on *La Sape* fashion in Congo and the links with cosmopolitan Paris, whilst not self-defined as 'follow the thing' studies, follows in this vein (Gondola, 1999; 2010; Jones, 2009; Thomas, 2003). Other research on clothing culture in Africa has also tended to (over)privilege the interesting above the mundane. That is not to criticise the research of particular scholars, as individually many of the cultural studies of clothing, dress and culture in Africa provide stimulating examples. This includes Durham (1995), Hansen (2005), Perani and Wolff (1999), Nuttall (2004) and Sumberg (1995), which are all drawn upon in this thesis, but collectively the prominence of this mode of research and the absence

of political economy analysis, means there is a neglected space in the literature from which to analyse the consumption of clothing in Africa.

The shallowness of some *following* studies' engagement with political economy can be demonstrated by how Cook *et al.* (2004) explain that consumers do not so much pay for the discrete 'thing', they also pay for transport, packaging, wastage and profits. Such insights are hardly novel – they follow directly from Marx (Castree, 1999). Cook *et al.* (2006: 658) seek to distance themselves from engaging with an economic argument and do not want to revisit *Capital* 'again', but moving toward such a political economicless approach to human geography is facile as: 'Marxist approaches remain of central significance to radical and critically minded geographers' (Hudson, 2006: 374). Political economy must be grasped and grappled with.

A further example of the core problem of the *follow the thing* is a neglect of the role of labour in the creation of exchange value. Gregson *et al.*'s (2010: 847) 'follow the thing' study of the disposal of ships: 'brings into relief the commodity's decent towards [Thompson's] rubbish value'. By relying upon Thompson's rubbish theory (discussed below), without examining its validity or acknowledging critiques (e.g. Lucas 2002), Gregson *et al.* do not define how or more importantly *why* objects acquire and lose exchange value. Critical geographers should be doing more than 'telling stories' (Cook *et al.*, 2006: 657) about how things are transported through space. *Following* research is preoccupied with understanding how things arrive at marketplaces in the global North and with exploring how the 'connections' within networks of production and consumption, can themselves be commoditised (Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Bryant and Goodman, 2004). In order to investigate international inequality, the role of people and especially labour within trade networks and the exchange processes undertaken need to take centre stage. However, when *follow the thing* does take a person-centred approach it is frequently from the consumer's perspective in the global North, where the production of the 'self' continues to be prioritised. By contrast Fine (2002) is amongst those who take a more holistic approach, as in his discussion of fashion he illuminates, how the construction of identity is manipulated by capitalist enterprises which bring products with a stimulated demand to market, rather than agency being invested in the individual consumer (Lodziak, 2000).

Systems of provision analysis

The systems of provision (SOP) approach was developed by Ben Fine as a basis for reconstructing Marxist economics (Saad-Filho, 2000). An elementary definition of the SOP approach 'is that it is the inclusive chain of activity that attaches consumption to the production that makes it possible' (Fine, 2002: 79). The spheres of production and consumption influence one another and the provision of what is socially useful in capitalist society: 'Use values are shaped according to the modern relations of production and in turn intervene to modify those relations' (Harvey, 2006a: 7). To establish his theory of what connects exchange relationships, Fine drew upon a synthesis of research from different disciplines outside of mainstream classical economics including history, sociology and anthropology, which is a feature of his pluralistic approach to political economy (Fine and Milonakis, 2009). SOP theorising has been applied to a wide range of economic activity including new and second-hand clothing, food systems and energy provision (Chappelles, 2008; Fine, 1998; 2002; Fine *et al.,* 1995; Guthman, 2002; Hansen, 2000; Lemire, 1997). SOP has featured in anthropological and sociological studies, but the aforementioned 'commodity studies' and 'follow the thing' approaches are more prominent in geography. Economics, was Fine and (early collaborator) Leopold's (1993) intended audience, but SOP has been 'non-existent' in economic studies and Fine views this as part of the trend in which that discipline has become increasing introverted and orientated away from other social sciences (Fine, 2002: xii; Fine and Milonakis, 2009).

The SOP approach seeks to move beyond conventional research which applies a single explanatory factor across the production of all commodities on a universal basis to all societies (for example 'culture', 'advertising' or 'rubbish theory'), since such theories neglect the complexity of shifting and inter-related factors in their quest for analytical simplicity (Saad-Filho, 2000). Like the commodity studies and follow the thing approaches, SOP are 'vertical' and 'different moments along the provision are linked together' (Fine, 2002: 7). The SOP approach departs from commodity studies research by applying a thorough political economy analysis that examines the role of different types of labour-power, including the broader socio-economic processes of the creation of markets for certain commodities. This enables SOP approaches to consider the broad 'variety of institutional, organisational and technical regimes that may potentially influence the way demand is constructed and managed' (Chappelles, 2008: 263). This form of analysis can be utilised to explain how groups of commodities are produced

materially through labour-power, as is described for second-hand clothing commodities later in this chapter. SOP analysis also accounts for how commodities have cultural or symbolic values produced through a concurrent chain or network of activities that includes their production, but also their circulation, distribution, marketing and consumption. Specific and variegated arrangements of socio-economic processes (such as legal regimes, class and gender relations or advertising) determine levels of output, demand and meaning. In SOP analysis the material culture which surrounds production and consumption is extensively analysed. Fine emphasises the dynamic tensions and displacements that influence production and distribution, which can give rise to and erode different economic systems.

Consumer choice is not a natural outcome of free market economics and Fine reconstructs the dynamics between supply and demand to depict how the consumption of certain types of commodities, such as second-hand clothes, become structured through a SOP (Fine, 2002; Saad-Filho, 2000). That is not to assume that his approach can be applied universally without any shortcomings, as in the specific and important realm of food consumption Fine's approach has been criticised. Guthman (2002: 297-298) believes that Fine does not appreciate how taste is formed '[Taste] is necessarily individual and social gate-keeping and learned, and neither wholly structured nor wholly chosen'. Watts (1994: 569) has also criticised Fine and Leopold (1993) for 'not take[ing] seriously enough the cultural economy of food' when applying his SOP analysis. In the next section I explore critically how SOP analysis has been applied to the second-hand clothing sector by Hansen (2000) and then integrate a cultural analysis of the (re)production of exchange value.

A systems of provision analysis of the second-hand clothing trade

Karen Hansen utilises the systems of provision approach in her monograph, *'Salaula: The World of Secondhand Clothing and Zambia'*:

> The secondhand clothing phenomenon can be viewed as a subsystem of provision in its own right, distinct from the system of provision of new garments with which it articulates in complex ways. The system has a history and a changing one comprising distinct phases that have been shaped by economic, political, and cultural forces (Hansen, 2000: 17).

My analysis departs from Hansen's and I would argue is close to Fine's (who acknowledges the work of Hansen, 2002: 117) because of the greater attention I pay to

the role of labour-power in the (re)production of exchange value (which is outlined below). In my analysis I also interrogate directly the connections between the new clothing industry and second-hand clothing imports to Africa (investigated empirically in Chapters 6 and 7). That is not to criticise Hansen's approach to research, as her focus elsewhere, particularly the ethnographic detail of her work on the subject of dress and local clothing cultures, has greater depth than mine. But I do disagree with Hansen when she argues that SOP analysis is appropriate because it 'takes the consumption seriously as a cultural economy that shapes production rather than the other way round' (2000: 17). As I argue in my reading of the second-hand clothing system of provision, low price and availability, rather than a cultural economy of consumer choice, drive the consumption of second-hand clothing amongst impoverished people in Africa.

The processes throughout the international second-hand clothing trade are investigated in this thesis through the systems of provision approach, but the greatest analytical weight is given to the working lives of market traders in Mozambique. There has been 'a lack of emphasis on markets and their roles in livelihood development and poverty reduction' both within academic literature and in policy making (Dorward *et al.,* 2003: 319). Inequality is examined between the different nodes in the trade system and the 'social formations' that position African market traders within production-consumption relationships are examined in the greatest depth (Roitman, 1990: 676). Their businesses are precarious; stocks of capital must be maintained and shocks resisted; these risks are determined by social relations and power dynamics in the second-hand clothing SOP. Insecurities of this type are frequently neglected in research undertaken in the global South and in livelihoods research in particular (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005; Fold and Gough, 2008).

Exchange relationships across the global North and South

Conditions of richness and poverty are conventionally determined by the number of objects one possesses and wealth itself is measured by ownership of the money commodity. The social relations on which exchange is based determine inequality (Harvey, 2006a). Consumption is universal in capitalist society, the poor and rich alike 'buy commodities and that act is foundational to how people live' (Harvey, 2010a: 16). By tracing the international second-hand clothing trade, this thesis will show how different people in the global North and South have opportunities or are marginalised in

their abilities to consume and demonstrate how one particular group of traders in Mozambique are embedded in persistent poverty.

In the contemporary global North, consumption associated with affluence is the focus of society. The consumer is equated with the citizen. Consumption is limited for the poor in the global South and choosing what to consume 'remains a matter of life or death' (Fine, 2002: 155). The counterpoint to consumption is waste-making. Waste-making articulates status as discarding things demonstrates power and profligacy (Strasser, 1999). Getting rid of objects is a key 'way of narrating ourselves through the presence and absence of consumer goods' (Gregson *et al.*, 2007a: 688). Most people in the global North readily consume and wantonly discard things, when compared to their impoverished counterparts in the global South (Redclift, 2000; Samson, 2010; Schor, 2005). In poor market economies where consumption is restricted, the disposal of goods comes less readily, as the necessity to persist with property and sustain limited resources is a reality borne out of poverty (Lévi-Strauss, 1966; Davis, 2004). The poor lack the capacity to enjoy the highly differentiated consumption that has been a central preoccupation of Western post-modern cultural studies (Bernstein and Campling, 2006).

Through colonial and postcolonial capitalist development, bourgeois exploitation of the world market has formed a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption across both the global North and South (Harvey, 2010a). Historical and geographical studies that map the transit of commodities between different economic spaces share a common narrative of exploited Southern producers and privileged Northern consumers, who are bisected and coerced by corporately structured flows of capital, commodities and knowledge (Arrighi, 2007; Bair, 2005; Cook *et al.,* 2006; Marcus, 1995; Wolf, 1982). The two poles are opposed by Hartwick (2000: 1182) as: 'two utterly unequal and contrasting real spaces: the world of consumption and the world of production' which are populated by distinct and separate 'consumers and working peoples'. In Hartwick's analysis, liberation to consume in the North is divorced from exploitation at Southern sites of production. Hartwick's simple dichotomy does not match reality. Despite gross inequality, the poor still consume and the rich still work. There are inequalities in both consumption and production everywhere (Davis, 2004). The geographies of inequality are more complex than such temporally static spatial arrangements; they are reconfigured across different scales that cannot be defined in simplistic postcolonial configurations (Harvey 2006b; Sidaway, 2007a).

From a Marxist political economy perspective, both Gramsci (1971) and Bravermen (1974), through their analysis of Fordism and labour aristocracies, provided theoretical explorations of the privileged and marginalised roles certain workers experienced at various geo-historic moments. Oscillations in working conditions, both upwards and downwards, have more recently been demonstrated in the global South, for instance in Bair and Gereffi's (2001) study of the Mexican denim industry and Ferguson's (1999) analysis of life on the Zambian Copperbelt. Diverse entanglements of exchange relationships between different groups involved in both production and consumption can be found across varied spatial scales which are neglected in Hartwick's schema. This thesis highlights social and economic marginalisation in the global South which is connected and inter-linked with affluent consumption in the global North, *but* it is understood through a political economy approach which evaluates the different exchange relationships at various nodes, rather than presupposing the social relations or the geographies of inequality.

Connecting clothing consumption, disposal and re-consumption

Clothing, along with food, is part of the narrow range of commodities which has featured prominently in studies of trade from the global South to the global North. Clothes are particularly important as commodities which are purchased to express social identity and investigating their international trade originated as a counter to commodity fetishism (Crewe, 2000; Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Emberley, 1987; Gereffi, 2000; Gregson *et al.,* 2010; Nuttall, 2004). The rapid consumption of garments in the global North and the social and environmental impacts of their production and consumption are well documented (Dugan, 2007; Redclift, 2000; Schiermer, 2010; Schor, 2005). The proliferation of new product lines, such as seasonal clothing fashions, is essential for capitalist development (Harvey, 2010b). The continuous purchase of clothing is also inter-linked with the idea and practice of clothing disposability (Norris, 2010). Concurrent with conspicuous clothing consumption is the downgrading and disposal of existing wardrobe items. As clothes age, they lose their aura and the lustier of the new; unfashionable, rubbish, dirty, torn, worn-out, retro and vintage are all dynamic categories into and out of which garments can move (Gregson and Crewe, 2003). Clothes are purged periodically from the wardrobe, passed on to relatives or friends, placed in charity collection sacks, casually sold at car boot sales or discarded with

household rubbish (Gregson *et al.*, 2007b; Gregson and Crewe 1998). Disposing of things and creating space for the consumption of new commodities is central to the maintenance of capitalism (Gregson *et al.*, 2007a). The waste from consumption does not just go *away* though; it goes *somewhere* (Hawkins and Muecke, 2003). New clothing consumption creates the preconditions for the second-hand clothing system of provision. Clothing donated to charities and textile recyclers enters a new economic network. Labour activities are undertaken and profits are accumulated by charities, firms and individuals as used clothes are traded to new markets, which is explored further in Chapters 4 and 5.

As objects, unwanted clothes in the global North which are donated to a charity or textile recycler no longer embody immediate use value for their owners; otherwise they would not dispose of them. Transporting clothing to a textile bank or filling a special collection bag on a designated day are deliberate acts, more difficult than throwing away unwanted clothing and this type of household labour activity is frequently elided in political economy literature (Gregson and Crewe, 2003).[6] Clothing is different to other recylates (recyclable material), it is intend to be worn again, re-used by someone, rather than reclaimed as an undifferentiated physical material such as aluminium, paper or glass (Hawkins and Muecke, 2003; Maycroft, 2000). Used clothes embody non-use value for those who donate or discard them, and use values for those who consume them. Henderson (2004: 492) has shown that comparable donations to food banks are socially framed as activities which are decommodified this: "'disarticulates' use value from exchange value and establishes distributive criteria that are antithetical to crass market exchange." Although, Henderson also notes that such forms of charitable giving only appear because something else has gone horribly wrong. There is a social failure and the needs of all in (global) society have not been met by the normal dynamics of capitalism (Tarasuk and Eakin, 2003).

When donated to charity, used clothing has all the accompanying values of gift giving. Anthropologists have long differentiated between a commodity and a gift (Appadurai, 1986; Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Crudely put, gifts are invested with qualitative meanings that are ethnographically rich, whereas commodities are defined by their exchange value (Fine, 2002). Post-modernism, though, has, according to Fine, thoroughly rejected the

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[6] However, some Councils in the United Kingdom are piloting doorstep collections of clothing alongside other household recycling, so it may become the 'normal' route for clothing disposal (Rochford District, 2009).

anthropologist's false dichotomy, and the used clothing trade does not fit the binary rubric. These used-clothing donations are not commoditised exchanges, as with Henderson's food donations the transactions are decommodified, but the clothes become commodities through collection, sorting and aggregating processes (documented in Chapter 4). Second-hand clothes are (re)produced for exchange and not for immediate use, the aim is production of 'social use values – use values for others unknown because of the anonymity of the market' (Fine, 1975: 22). This shifting social value regime must be understood theoretically in order to situate the distinctiveness of the used clothing trade within a broader political economy analysis.

Used clothes are commodities which have been re-produced from waste in the global North, rather than made as pristine new commodities, and are consumed by poor people. This marks them out as atypical commodities, but these facts do not alter the significance of the processes of (re)production and consumption. The economic and social geographies of this process are as global as the more iconic nodes in the international economy where disparate producers and consumers are connected (see Knox *et al.,* 2003). Second-hand clothing market stalls in Maputo are as interconnected as Kenyan export processing zones (Phelps *et al.,* 2009), British clothing retailers (Dwyer and Jackson, 2000) or Dubai transport hubs (O'Connor, 2009; Sidaway, 2007a; 2007b) not through equivalent economic structures but across the shared globalised dynamic terrain of exchange relations through which value is initially being determined and perpetually redetermined (Harvey, 2010a).

Rubbish theory

The discussion thus far has begun to examine theoretically the links between production, consumption, waste and re-consumption in the used-clothing SOP, but has not explained how exchange value can be (re)produced in used clothing. Hudson (2008: 428) argues convincingly that 'to be sold, commodities must be seen to be useful to their purchasers – to have use value – and this in turn implies that they are seen as meaningful in the context of their life worlds'. This means that 'their affective dimensions and culturally coded symbolic meanings' must be needed and desired by their final consumers (2008: 428). To extend this logic, the counterpoint is that discarded used clothes are no longer seen as being sufficiently 'meaningful' in the immediate context of a 'life world', but a process takes place whereby they are bought

to a new marketplace, where their use values are needed for their 'affective dimensions' or desired for their 'symbolic meanings'. One theoretical avenue which has been used to explore this transformation is Michael Thompson's *Rubbish Theory* (1979), which features in studies of waste-making and re-consumption (see Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Gregson *et al.,* 2010; Hetherington, 2004; Norris, 2005; 2010). Rubbish theory is an attempted universal exploration of how objects at different geo-economic moments drop out of and re-attain the commodity form. However, it does not match the reality of the used-clothing trade observed in my fieldwork.

In rubbish theory, rubbish is viewed as being central to the formation of value, but has a zero-degree of value itself, ('value' is not used by Thompson in either a strictly Marxist or neo-classical sense). Rubbish is the invisible limit point of what Thompson terms 'social value'. This places rubbish in an asymmetrical relationship to Thompson's two major categories of value; (i) objects have *transient values*, which is the normal state of things – objects are commodities with decreasing values (e.g. a cheap ballpoint pen) or (ii) objects have *durable values*, which is an exceptional state where objects have permanent and increasing value (e.g. a work of art, valuable because of its scarcity, such as a painting by a deceased artist). Rubbish is a third category which has *zero value*, but which can provide a pathway for what Thompson refers to as the seemingly impossible transfer of an object from having values of *transience* to those of *durability*. Thompson argued that objects are constantly remade anew as value is a cultural construct. He emphasises that the value of objects is socially conferred upon them but fails to recognise the role of labour in creating exchange value. In Marxist political economy commodities are conventionally measured against the labour that has gone into their production (Fine, 1975; 2002).

Thompson illustrates his theory through the example of Victorian stevengraphs (silk pictures). Thompson describes how stevengraphs declined in value and followed a transient pathway and entered a 'rubbish state', as fashions changed they lost their aesthetic appeal after the Victorian period. When stevengraphs became fashionable again, they had a shift in value and became highly prized, durable objects. He describes this process without explaining the agency as to why they became fashionable, beyond offering a reification of culture. His idea of a 'value shift' is as inductive as it is initially appealing. Retro-chic used-clothing retailed in the global North can, like stevengraphs, be thought of as having gone from *transience*, via *rubbish* to *durable* value (see Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Jenβ, 2005; Palmer, 2005). It is false, though, to suggest that

some reified and undefined notion of fashion or cultural change should be attributed actual agency to explain the new socially recognised value (Lucas, 2002; Mitchell, 1995).

The core problem with this theory is that 'durable value', as with the other categorisations, is arbitrary and subjective rather than being explained through social formation (as in Hudson, 2008). Thompson's inductive methodology is a negligent simplification because abstract values such as 'fashionableness' are formed through highly specific labour activities, including marketing and speculation that capitalise on specific social moments, such as the rarity of a certain 'thing' (Jackson and Dwyer, 2000). Rubbish theory does not account for such labour activity and it is argued here that the dynamic variance in the structure of value cannot be expressed in such a reductionist approach.

Norris (2005; 2010) uses Thompson's theory in her studies of the Indian used-clothing trade. Norris describes how used clothes pass through a 'rubbish' category: "Once singular [used] garments become piles of 'stuff' they are stripped of their unique identities, and become amalgamated into heaps of material laid out in a market, waiting to be transformed into a new product" (2005: 123). These garments do become new commodities, but they do not attain the *durable* value state which Thompson argues is the only 'value shift' that can be made out of the rubbish state. The new products that emerge out of Norris' "piles of 'stuff'" in India are transient in value; 'cushions, bedspreads and wall hangings … halter-neck tops, skirts and trousers' which are produced as 'Western consumer goods' (2005: 119), items which would in Thompson's categorisation be of *transient* and not *durable* in value. Norris' own case study has illustrated how used clothing has made what in Thompson's formulation would be a transient-rubbish-transient-value shift, a progression he has argued was theoretically impossible (and my own case study in Chapter 7 provides a further example).

Lucas (2002: 16) has rightly criticised Thompson because 'he polarizes terms such as transient and durable, or value and valueless objects; more particularly, the adoption of rubbish as a universal, zero signifier places a strain on the meaning of the word and its usefulness.' The materiality of the economy is ignored in Thompson's theory as he does not recognise that the production of exchange values necessitates people working on and with things. Labour-power was neglected by Thompson and as Hudson (2008: 423) argues: "the issue of whether commodities cease to have use values and become

'wastes' or are re-valorized and take on new use values depends inter alia, on issues of meaning and processes of re-valuation".

A political economy approach to labour in the used-clothing trade

This leads to the need for a corrective to the emphasis on reified culture in isolation and the role of labour is placed at the centre of this discussion of the re-production of exchange value in second-hand clothing commodities. The complexity of the contemporary system of capitalist exchange conceals the life of workers and makes fetishism inevitable, resulting in our social relation to the lives of others being disguised by our relationship with things (Harvey, 2010a). Previous second-hand clothing trade studies such as Clark (2005), Milgram (forthcoming) and Palmer (2005), have been framed as post-modern cultural explorations of used-clothing consumption, rather than interventions focused on labour processes, although Abimbola (forthcoming) has discussed work processes and his analysis is drawn upon extensively in Chapter 5.

'Follow the thing' approaches and Thompson's discussion of value centre on 'things', but *things* have meaning only in relation to people. Used clothes are mute as to where, how and by whom they were (re)produced as commodities. Through investigating work activities and the transnational cartography of the used-clothing trade, geographical inquiry can impart something of an understanding of the spatial linkages and everyday labour practices in both the global North and South in this SOP. Theoretical discussion of political economy and labour are required in order to focus on inequality and poverty. When analysing work − such as the voluntary sorting of clothing in a YMCA charity shop and the hawking of second-hand handbags in central Maputo − these acts should not be viewed as purely physical they are embedded in social relations and ideological and mental conceptions of the network of trade arise through them (Harvey, 2010a).

The (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities and the international trade in used clothing to Africa are mapped in Chapters 4 and 5 and the import of used clothing to Mozambique is explored in Chapter 7. Understanding such transnational trade processes and the social relations at different nodes in networks can be challenging for the individual researcher (Coe *et al.,* 2008; Field, 2000; Haggblade, 1990; Marcus, 1995). To contextualise the theoretical approach, an appropriate abstraction of the used-clothing trade is to think of three linked nodes:

i) the input of unwanted clothing from affluent societies

ii) labour activities which (re)produce used-clothing commodities

iii) downstream market places in economically impoverished locations

 (see also Figure 1.1). My main empirical focus is on the third node and the work experiences of market traders. This node is privileged because the social impacts of the used-clothing trade are greatest for those who participate in the network labouring as final retailers. This research is social science as a practice of investigating problems within and between different places (Rabinow, 1977/2007). Despite this empirical focus, the economic and social processes which occur at the other two nodes are theorised, as the working lives of market traders in Mozambique are inherently linked to the preceding spheres of activity.

The second-hand clothing trade benefits and disadvantages different groups of people and in macro-economic terms it is the overall net effect in both the global North and South that should be evaluated. Providing a definitive analysis is beyond the scope of a single thesis, but the different charities, firms, groups and individuals which were researched are not considered in social isolation. This is demonstrated in Chapter 6, where the livelihoods of second-hand clothing traders, clothing industry workers and impoverished clothing consumers are considered in parallel, rather than presenting a fragmented view of their individual interests, as such analysis can embed the logic of inequality (Breman, 2009).

Creating exchange value in used commodities

It is important to recognise that second-hand clothes which are sold on the market are commodities. As objects within the social relations of capital accumulation they are 'made' as products with exchange values using recycled materials. Charities, recycling schemes and product marketing strategies may suggest that the re-use of matter through green or ethical production processes creates something that is somehow different, but they are nonetheless commodities (Maycroft, 2000; see Chapter 4). Unwanted clothes in the global North that have no use value for the owners can, at the moment of disposal, also be defined as non-commodities. Thereafter these items, under different social relations, become commodities once again.

Marx (1995) illustrated how commodities necessarily contain use value, but that an object with use value is not a commodity unless it embodies a labour cost that creates an exchange value which can be realised at the moment when the commodity is sold in the marketplace. Those who rid themselves of used clothing may recognise that the clothes they donate or discard still retain – through their particular physical qualities – use value (Gregson *et al.*, 2007a; 2007b), but these acts of waste-making demonstrate that these used clothes do not, for their former owners, have exchange value in the social context of an advanced market economy. The latent use value of used clothing is a product of the labour that was initially embodied in the clothes when they were manufactured to be new commodities. This potential can be profitably realised and the very same items acquire exchange value in markets in the global South (or charity and thrift shops in the global North). Through being donated or discarded, used-clothing, in the social context of the global North, is devalued (of exchange value) and when used clothes no longer have exchange value they drop out of the commodity form. New labour-time is required to realise the latent use value still embodied in used clothing and to imbue used clothing with exchange value so that used-clothes are reproduced as commodities when sold in a different social economic context. This labour-time is the work of collecting, sorting and packing used-clothing for export to Africa (documented in Chapter 4).

International used clothing trade processes are objectively different to second-hand sale, whereby old commodities that retain exchange value are resold in the market (such as on *eBay* or at car boot sales (Gregson and Crewe, 1997)). The new labour that is required to produce exchange value in used clothes is also not equivalent to the general material cost of merchants' activities. When selling a commodity, a merchant appropriates surplus value from industrialists by purchasing commodities at below market value, although they do have material costs of production such as financing labourers, offices and shops (Fine, 1975). In contrast, distinct processes of labour are required to produce commodities from waste or gifted clothing (that in a preceding specific social formation lacked exchange value), it is argued here that the used-clothing trade does involve a production process. The 'purpose' of production under capitalist market relations 'is to create value through the transformation of material and non-material inputs into demanded goods and services' (Coe *et al.,* 2008: 274).

Used clothing is transformed into a commodity. The creation of exchange value from unwanted clothing and the accumulation of capital from their sale are the core economic processes occurring in the used-clothing trade. The pre-existing material qualities of

clothing with potential use value is a requisite input into the system, further creation of exchange value depends upon this. What is distinctive is that although the physical fabric is not being made anew by looms and labour, a commodity is actually being produced through work activity. The labour processes that are taking places in the initial nodes of this network are, from a Marxist political economy perspective, equivalent to the role of labour in the production of new commodities and distinct from that of general merchant activities or second-hand sale.

The social relations at the donation node are in tension with the different value regimes that are later placed on the same items when they are retailed. When clothing is donated to a charity or textile recycler, it has 'been identified by someone else (their donor) as unwanted, to be discarded, cast out, yet simultaneously as of possible use to an unknown, deserving, someone else' (Gregson *et al.* 2002; 1672). This labour process undertaken in the home is the first step on the objects journey to be retailed as a commodity. Some goods are sold in British charity shops where voluntary workers labour-power is embodied in the clothing object and expressed at the point of sale:

> many hours were spent in the back room, sifting through colour-coded bags or the bin bags of individual donors; making accept or reject decisions... this back-room work has some similarities with retail workers' delivery days... the act of pricing connotes the transformation of the charitable gift into the fundraising good (Gregson *et al.,* 2002: 1672).

The moment when the used-clothes objects take on the commodity form, which arises when clothing is sold at a charity shop or exported to the global South, is explored empirically in Chapter 4. Charities and firms in the global North profit from voluntary labour in both the household and charity shop, but despite its public foregrounded charitable guise, the used-clothing trade is a capitalist system of exchange, resting upon both voluntary and waged labour activities. The price of used clothing increases as further labour processes are undertaken at later stages, imbuing the commodities with a cumulative increase in exchange value. The profit of one stage of production goes in to the cost price of the next. In Mozambique the commodity form is expressed at different geo-economic moments, and further labour-time undertaken by traders (e.g. queuing to buy clothing, sorting and pricing items) is expressed at the point of retail. The cost of all the accumulated labour power from first donation through to retail sale is borne by final consumers in Mozambique.

The use value of second-hand clothing

There is rich differentiation in consumption throughout global capitalism and one of the particularities of the commodity form is that it implies that every party involved in an exchange has the ability to consume something in particular (Fine, 2002). Although in a Marxist sense objects have a greater or lesser singular *use value,* through drawing on materialist social semiotics, objects can be defined as having two meanings, a first order function and second order symbolic value (Hartwick, 1998). Differentiation through symbolism and fashion has been a key interest of cultural geography, which has sought to account for and interpret the vast array of consumption patterns and understand how clothes are valued differently in various regions (Crang, *et al.,* 2003). The subjective interpretations of style, desire and mode – which vary in different socio-economic spaces – contribute to determining the exchange value of clothing commodities (Jackson and Dwyer, 2000; Manwa *et al.,* 2010; Nuttall, 2008; Sumberg, 1995). Previous ethnographic research of the used clothing trade by Field (2000), Hansen (2000), Norris (2005; 2010) and Milgram (Forthcoming) has explored the cultural processes that allow the re-valuing of used clothing in various places in the global South. In these studies the symbolic value of clothing is privileged for discussion, rather than an exploration of how symbolism is (re)produced though labour power, which is investigated in this thesis.

Through the processes of commodification, cultural difference is actively constituted and 'style and image are as important in the creation of exchange value as textiles and labour power' (Dwyer and Jackson, 2003: 270). Symbolic values may be subjective, but these use values have still been created by labour power as 'the manifold uses of things is the work of history' and these processes have defined objects worth through the 'nature of the objects to be measured, [and] partly by convention' (Marx, 1995: 42). The geographical diffusion of symbolic values of clothing are explored in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 9 and discussed in relation to Fine's systems of provision. Symbolic values are only relative to the political economic circumstances of production – that is labour-power – which has brought about cultural influences upon exchange value, such as stimulated fashion trends, advertising and marketing.

The division between functional use and symbolic values is infinitely elastic in its interpretation (Fine, 2002). Clothes are functional; there is a physical necessity of clothing for humans (especially in given climatic realms). However, establishing when a

particular garment becomes primarily symbolic is debatable, and it may only become so once its use value is replicated in the wardrobe. For example, the man who owns five pairs of gloves of similar utility but different design is better able to practice symbolic narration of the self than the man with one pair of gloves, although both enjoy warm hands on a cold winter's day. Under capitalist social relations, the production of use values 'operates in and through specific social relations of control, ownership and appropriation' with the mobilisation of a physical tangible thing or aspect of 'nature' and labour to produce commodities with the aim of realising embodied exchange value (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003: 905).

The empirical analysis in this thesis demonstrates that conditions of poverty in Mozambique and elsewhere in the global South mean that impoverished consumers purchase clothing primarily for functional use rather than symbolic fashionableness. The used clothes that are imported to Africa arrive as commodities with use values. There may be further labour processes that lead to additional increases in exchange value within the global South but they are not remade anew. Material changes such as tailoring, repair and washing (see Field, 2000; Hansen, 2000 and discussion in Chapters 6, 8 and 9), can enhance both functional use and symbolic value; however these are predominantly processes undertaken to enrich rather than create exchange value as new clothing with pristine use values are not being produced from materials. Equally, Chapter 7 will demonstrate how wholesale purchased second-hand clothing can drop out of the commodity form, when individual low-quality garments and rags without a use value are unwittingly purchased by traders within amalgamated bulk supplies of clothing.

For affluent people around the world the rich gloss of socio-cultural conditions, such as fashion's migrating trends, entrenches patterns of perceived obsolescence in the use value of objects. In the words of Alexandra Shulman, the editor of British *Vogue*, 'Fashion is smoke and mirrors. We create images, we create a world of stuff, yes, ultimately to make people want to have it' (Orr, 2009). Image making creates new desires and simultaneously erodes the socially constructed value embedded in previous trends. The control of fashion places consumers in a never-ending contest of purchases, which is not restricted to those who follow high end fashion, as everyone adheres to some cultural constructed norms of dress (Baudrillard, 1981; Bourdieu, 1984). Africans also respond to manipulated desires, although these are distant, aspirational and overwhelming unachievable (Ferguson, 1999; 2007). Contemporary global society is

dominated by a First World market place marked by producers manipulating demand for unnecessary goods (Schor, 2005). Consumption in the global South does not drive the system of used-clothing provision when it is a Western 'producer' who disposes of an item which for them is of non-use value and designates the physical form of what later becomes a commodity. Poor consumers in Maputo and elsewhere in the global South respond to the available commodities, rather than determining either the 'things' or the system of their provision. This conclusion is in contrast to the analysis of Hansen (2000) and is explored in Chapter 9.

The focus on fashion in the consumption of used clothing by Palmer and Clark (2005) is part of a broader theoretical trend towards a cultural explanation of consumption (Crewe, 2000). Despite this cultural turn, there is still a fundamental need to take the political economy seriously. Integrating economic theory is difficult for the critical geographer. In economic geography Amin and Thrift (2000), Hudson (2006) and Rigg *et al.* (2009) have feared a return to neo-classical economics inspired by Krugman's New Economic Geographies (1995, 1998) and a decline in concerns central to Marxist political economy, such as uneven development. Neoclassical economics dominates economic theories of consumption and gives false primacy to individuals in and around market exchanges, whilst ignoring social and structural factors (Milonakis and Fine, 2009). The power of individual poor people in the global South, as consumers (and producers) in the market, is severely curtailed and they are unable to shape their engagement in the global economy (Kaplinsky and Morris, 2008). It is false to focus on individualised consumption independent of production. The manipulated demands for 'things' and production monopolies and oligopolies determine what is consumed (Fine 2002). How the processes of production and consumption are actually connected is explored through this thesis.

Livelihoods research and the working lives of African market traders

Livelihoods research is focused upon households and the multi-plural ways in which both families and individuals make a living. Studies which follow this approach are drawn upon extensively in this thesis (Abe, 2009; Dorward *et al.*, 2003; de Haan and Zoomers, 2005; Kanji, *et al.,* 2004; Lindell, 2010; Milgram, forthcoming; Murray, 2002; Pitcher, 1998). However, my analysis does not follow the DFID livelihoods framework (1999) or other comparable models. This is because the primary unit of

analysis in this thesis is the market stall and the lives of Mozambican traders within their working environment and the connections between them and the global economy (Kapferer, 1972). The transactions that traders undertake and the profits and losses made from business activity have been investigated and the interactions amongst traders and between traders and other merchants in the used-clothing trade in Maputo were observed. Other members of traders' families were not interviewed nor were their home visited, as this lay outside the scope of this study. Examining interactions within the home requires in-depth ethnographic research. In Africa 'what is often considered the household is a fluid, open-ended interaction of diverse dynamics, where conflicting interests, powers, and tendencies are continuously reworked and rebalanced' (Hanson; 2004: 27). My fieldwork did not extend along the household axis to investigate the lives of traders beyond the market or their social relations within families (Brickell and Chant, 2010) (although this was discussed in research and is drawn upon in the analysis, especially in Chapters 8 and 9). Therefore attempting to apply a livelihoods analysis would not be appropriate.

In livelihoods research there is a focus on the different activities undertaken by the poor and the varied types of capital they utilise to sustain a living (Meikle, *et al.,* 2001). De Haan and Zoomers (2005) have argued that through concentrating the analysis on assets and networks of cooperation amongst the poor, livelihoods research downplays the structural, social and economic features that influence conditions of poverty. This includes institutions and organisations which mediate exchange relationships. As Fold and Gough highlight (2008: 1697), 'livelihoods can be greatly affected by institutions operating on a global scale.' Through its very specificity of examining in-depth a category of households, livelihood research isolates that group for analysis. In the case of the second-hand clothing trade, this could mean that the livelihoods of second-hand traders are examined and found to be more or less disadvantaged than other poor people in an African society (see Field, 2000; Haggblade, 1990), but the overall positive or negative impacts of the trade should be considered relative to the wider economic and social impacts of used-clothing imports. A broader perspective can integrate the socio-economic impacts of the exchange relationships in which the poor are entangled. This is the position I advance through the analysis of the economic and cultural impacts of the second-hand clothing trade in Chapter 6, where the effect of second-hand clothing upon local culture, employment and clothing manufacturing are investigated. Therefore as the

analysis of market work is interconnected with the analysis of international trade, the SOP lens is applied across the interlinked processes in the global economy.

Entrepreneurship, informality and social capital

The global South is increasingly urbanizing and a diverse range of urban income-earning/livelihood activities commonly defined as being part of an 'informal sector' have arisen following the liberalization of economies in the global South (Lindell, 2010). When the business of market traders in Mozambique were researched it was found that many of them participated in informal savings schemes which depended on trust and mutual cooperation, which are analysed in Chapter 9. Lyons and Snoxell (2005) analysed market work and savings groups in Kenya using the DFID sustainable livelihoods approach as a conceptual framework. Specifically their analytical method draws on the social capital concept, which has become a popular approach for theorising how the lives of the poor in the global South are exposed to and isolated from risks (Abe, 2002; Mayoux, 2002; Van Duk, 2011). Lyons and Snoxell (2005: 1089) highlight 'the importance of savings groups in building bonding social capital and the role of marketplace social capital in supporting savings and borrowing mechanisms'. Social capital is used as a term to distinguish 'capital' which is something above and beyond physical, financial and human capital, such as networks of trust or kinship. The concept has gained particular academic traction in response to the Washington consensus, although it is adopted by myriad different political actors and Woolcock (1998) and Fine (1999) argue its use often follows neoclassical orthodox economics. Trust and social cohesion are demonstrated as important in the avoidance of risks in the used clothing trade in Maputo, but the value laden 'social capital' term which has been widely criticised (see Fox, 1997; Harriss and De Renzio, 1997; Putzel, 1997; Van Deth, 2003) is applied sparingly in this thesis since the fieldwork is not examined through a livelihoods lens to explore the different 'capitals' of market traders' households.

To analyse the working lives of African market traders, a Marxist perspective on social relations and uneven geographic development is used (Harvey, 2006a; Fine, 2002; Lodziak, 2000). The marketplace is the key node in the used-clothing trade, where the final portion of exchange value is acquired by the most impoverished actors in the transnational used clothing SOP. Empirical research has neglected the positionality of African traders and consumers. There is a need for focused empirical research on

markets as institutional mechanisms for exchange in economies in the global South, through which theory can be built (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). From a theoretical perspective, such processes are analysed as local place-based activities which are part of transnational networks of production and consumption (Hart, 2002).

The formality or otherwise of used-clothing trading is another important point to consider, this is explored empirically in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. Work and survival in many African cities has become less formal as 'systems of service provision and livelihoods, [and] popular groups have devised their own sets of rules for regulating relations irrespective of state policy or approval' (Lindell, 2008: 1882). This is in part an outcome of structural adjustment programmes and the rolling back of the state in Africa (Hermele, 1992; Pitcher, 2002; Sheldon, 2002; Simone, 2005). Whilst observing that uncritically using the language of formal/informal does not match the reality of work in Mozambique (Paulo *et al.*, 2011), I will discuss how 'formal' market traders' work is. A formal/informal dichotomy is an inadequate organisational frame for delimiting and measuring the distinctions between these real or imagined sectors. Modern narratives do not represent the reality of how work is structured and the ways people find to survive in the urban economy (Kamete and Lindell, 2010; Potts, 2000). The formality/informality and the degree of regulation of trading activity in Maputo is related to the neo-classical discourse on African 'entrepreneurs' (e.g. Kapstein, 2009; Rivoli, 2009; Turok, 2010) and critiqued in Chapter 7.

In mainstream political and economic discourse, Mozambique has been heralded as a successful example of the benefits of the liberalisation of African economies and the parallel promotion of Western democratic models, although this success is disputed (Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Hermele, 1993; Sumich, 2010). Entrepreneurship has been offered as a solution to African poverty for an emancipated and individualised citizenry (Van Deth, 2003). The archetypal urban informal trader should be able to climb out of poverty now that African economies have been liberalised. Through speculating and risking financial capital in entrepreneurial activity, individuals engaged in 'the mitumba [second-hand clothing] trade and other similar activities have provided a step out of the village as well as a step up the economic ladder for people who do not have factory alternatives' (Rivoli 2009: 241-2). Kapstein has argued that "'openness' became a watchword for this small entrepreneurial class (2009: 121)" and freed from the constraints of state control of economic activity Africans should be able to independently grow successful businesses. The analyses of Kapstein and Rivoli are

driven by ideology and not matched by the reality of the experiences of the urban poor (see Hanlon, 2009; Hanlon and Mosse, 2010 and Pitcher, 2002 for examples from Mozambique). Breman (2009: 32) drawing on his own fieldwork in Java identifies how such narratives depoliticise inequality in the global South: "To suggest that these workers constitute a 'vibrant' new class of self-employed entrepreneurs, ready to fight their way upward, is as misleading as portraying children from the *chawls* of Mumbai as slumdog millionaires".

Conditions of poverty and the absence of 'factory alternatives' or other sustainable livelihoods are an outcome of the dynamics of economic change – from colonialism to economic liberalisation – rather than natural market effects (Arrighi, 2007; Ferguson, 1999; 2007). Despite the construction of liberal democratic frameworks, individuals across the global North and South who seem independent are, in reality, connected and dependent upon social structures (Mitchell, 2005). Liberalisation and individualism do not provide a route out of poverty for most traders in Maputo. The research presented in this thesis demonstrates how the limited financial resources of the poor have to be carefully managed and by preference are not risked on entrepreneurial activity (Collins *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, it is demonstrated in Chapter 7 how the 'entrepreneurial' roles played by Mozambican speculators and Indian merchants disadvantage individual market traders.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed how SOP analysis provides a more complete theoretical framework than 'commodity studies' or 'follow the thing' analysis, which are rooted in structural development economics (Wallerstein, 1979; Wolf, 1982). A core problem is the propensity to examine only Southern production for Northern consumption, often in a dichotomous arrangement (see Hartwick 1998; 2000), and to highlight 'fatalistic' conclusions rather than advance theory from which policy can be developed (Cramer, 1999: 1248). Despite this critique, it is readily acknowledged that important empirical contributions to the analysis of the landscape of the uneven geographical development have been made in 'commodity studies' and 'follow the thing' research and examples are drawn upon through this thesis (including; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Gibbon, 2003b; Gregson *et al.,* 2010).

I have also previously utilised the Global Production Network (GPN) approach in my research on the international trade in Japanese used cars to Mozambique (Brooks, 2011). I adopted an inductive empirical methodological approach framed as GPN research, to explore how and why a trade assemblage is put together. In that analysis, I contextualised the case study by considering how powerful actors in Mozambique were embedded in the used-car trade through drawing extensively on specific discourse on corruption and state capture (e.g. Brown and Cloke, 2004; Hanlon, 2002; 2004; Hanlon and Mosse, 2010; Sumich, 2010). This was intended to extend the analysis of the socio-political conditions in which trade operates; for which Fine (2002) has argued. One of the relevant strands of the GPN approach to my previous study was the analysis of the importance of the control of the rate of transit of commodities through certain key nodes (Lane and Probert, 2006; Woxenius, 2006). A GPN approach was used as a heuristic tool to discuss these processes. The speed of transactions has also been vital to analyse in the second-hand clothing trade and relevant commodity studies literature is cited where appropriate. It should though be noted that the importance of controlling the pace of capital flows and the tempo of acts of exchange is widely known in and beyond heterodox economics (Harvey 2006a; Lawson, 2005; Marx, 1995; Milonakis and Fine, 2009).

In this thesis I move away from the commodity studies research to draw on Fine's SOP approach which, as he outlines, can be seen as a more complete approach than commodity studies. In order to advance the application of SOP of the used-clothing trade beyond that of Hansen (2000), it was necessary to investigate how exchange value is (re)produced in second-hand clothing commodities through a theoretical political economy discussion. In particular, I highlight how labour is integral to the (re)production of exchange value. This is in marked contrast to the reified agency accorded to culture in Thompson's rubbish theory, which has thus far informed much analysis of the trade in second-hand commodities (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Gregson *et al.,* 2010; Hetherington, 2004; Norris, 2005; 2010). What is also especially important in SOP research is the analysis of linked and concurrent processes beyond production which can be seen as creating the conditions for consumption. In the case of second-hand clothing, this includes the structural adjustment of African economies and the diffusion of international fashion trends which give rise to and erode different systems of clothing provision in Africa, which are analysed in Chapter 6 and the material culture which surrounds used clothing donation in the global North, explored in Chapter 4.

My discussion has followed Gregson *et al.* (2002) in arguing that the form of the initial clothing input is decided by the person who disposes of a certain garment, which implies that particular used-clothing items are exogenously supplied to the global South. Palmer and Clark (2005: 1) believe the contrary, that used-clothing 'consumer agency and taste are the final determinations of sales, costs and, ultimately the fashionability of dress'. This argument, also applied by Hansen (2000), follows in the tradition of cultural inquiry which presupposes that 'The consumption of goods, not their production drives history...Modernity is also marked by the rise of mass consumerism and by its ascendency of the consumer over the producer' (Quartaret, 2000: 1 quoted in Fine, 2002: 3). Such privileging of the act of consumption is challenged throughout this thesis, both in the global North and South. Systems of provision analysis is used to illustrate how certain patterns of consumption become normal practice and are not unilaterally led by consumer choice. The historic evolution of the used-clothing sector normalised the act of donating unwanted garments to charities in the global North. An 'everyday' activity of waste-making (the donation of unwanted clothing) is part of a SOP, which influences what is consumed in some markets in the global South (Hudson, 2008).

Individual livelihood opportunities of used-clothing traders (or entrepreneurs) have to be set against the unequal exchange relationships which enable other charities, firms and individuals to accumulate more from the trade and how money spent on clothing expenditure leaves the national sphere of commodity circulation (Rodney, 1968). There is a theoretical impasse in using an inductive empirical approach, which assumes *a priori*, that used-clothing market traders are in economically marginalised positions vis-à-vis other actors in the network (Starosta, 2010). The analysis undertaken in this thesis is not rooted in structuralist development economics and attempts to move beyond this failing by deducing rather than pre-supposing the underlying power relations and entrenched inequalities of international trade. In Chapters 6 and 7 it is explored empirically how the used-clothing SOP is organised between the global North and South and why this is to the disadvantage of Mozambican traders.

Chapter 3. Researching the Geographies of the Second-hand Clothing Trade

Introduction

Approaching transnational trade patterns as research themes can be intimidating for the individual researcher (Coe *et al.,* 2008). Working across disparate locations and vertical scales with limited prior knowledge of the trade flows under inquiry makes accessing the subject challenging and there are both practical and theoretical difficulties to navigate. Finding a methodological direction and locating points of reference to position a geographical study of the second-hand clothing trade involved both drawing on previous studies and being reflexive to the topic under enquiry. When reviewing the literature prior to research design, identifying interventions that had explored comparable socio-economic processes and which could inform the methodological construction was difficult, although lacking such information is not uncommon when planning international research, especially in developing areas (Choguill, 2005; Murray and Overton, 2003).

There are, though, approaches and fieldwork tools that can be utilised to chart the trade in low value goods from the global North to the South and to analyse in-depth the work activities of labour entangled in such commodity flows (Beuving, 2004; 2006; Dobler, 2008; Gregson *et al.,* 2010; Hansen, 2000). In this chapter the practical challenges of tracing the transnational trade in used goods and investigating the working lives of the urban poor in Mozambique are explored and the research processes undertaken are documented and evaluated. Commodity studies' analysis of the flows of goods from the global South to the North (Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Gereffi, 1999; Gibbon, 2003b; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005; Hartwick 1998) and literature on social research in the global South (Chambers, 1983; Collins *et al.,* 2009; Ferguson, 1999; Hansen, 2000; Hart, 2002; Iyenda, 2007; Rabinow, 1977/2007) was drawn upon in the design and evaluation of the methodology and these texts are critically discussed in reference to the fieldwork undertaken.

The methods were selected and implemented to meet the aims of this project and, through inductive empirical research, knowledge of the organising principles of the second-hand clothing trade was accumulated. This informed the design of research interventions, which provides an effective method for multi-phase social science

research (Fife, 2005; Mayoux, 2006; Twyman *et al.,* 1999; Watson, 2003). The first objective was to understand the (re)production of used-clothing commodities in the UK, which was addressed through a series of interviews with key stakeholders and by analysing reports of used-clothing collection activities (for example House of Lords, 2008; Lomotey and Fisher 2006; Ouvertes Project, 2005; Shea and Brennan, 2008). This had to be accomplished through original field and desk top research because there were gaps in the existing academic literature and the practices of clothing collection in the global North had not been thoroughly explored (see Gregson *et al.*, 2007a; 2007b). This work was limited in extent because the overarching empirical and analytical focus in this thesis is on the used-clothing trade in the global South.

When the UK research outputs were analysed, in conjunction with literature reviewing, the roles of charities and commercial operators in the trade were illuminated. This informed the activities that were later undertaken in Mozambique (Potter and Subarahmanian, 2007). Research was reflexive as it was informed by a constructivist approach whereby knowledge of the used-clothing trade was generated by the interaction between ideas and experiences. Situational knowledge about the conditions of the used-clothing trade accumulated and was built upon to inform the design of subsequent fieldwork tools.

Evaluating the contemporary political economy of the transnational trade in used clothing was not approached directly thorough explicit research questions in 'the field', but in-depth knowledge of the actual processes of the second-hand clothing trade was requisite for addressing this objective and is discussed critically. This was also linked to a desktop analysis of published trade statistics (Barham, 2008; Frazer, 2008; Ossemane, *et al.*, 2008). The extensive knowledge that was accumulated through an extended (12 month) period of research in the global South and the opportunity to observe labour processes and economic transactions at nodes throughout used-clothing networks enabled the nuanced analysis which is presented through the chapters of this thesis, especially Chapters 5, 6 and 7 (Watson, 1999).

The core empirical contribution of this thesis which accounted for the major empirical effort of the fieldwork, was to understand the social and economic dynamics of the second-hand clothing trade in Mozambique. This involved tracing the local-scale economic geographies focusing on the modes of sale and income generating opportunities for individual market traders in Maputo. These were researched through

extensive interviewing and the use of financial diaries (Collins *et al.* 2009), which are analysed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

This methodology chapter departs from the normal structure familiar in postgraduate theses and other research reports i.e. it does not commence by introducing a 'toolbox' of research techniques and then have following dedicated sections on elements such as 'research design' and 'sampling' (see Hoggart *et al.*, 2002; Robson and Willis, 1997). Instead the research approaches that were followed are introduced chronologically and the justifications for different methods are discussed. This is because an inductive empirical approach was implemented and, by tracing how the different research methodologies were used at consecutive stages, this chapter maps why methodological approaches evolved and how knowledge of the second-hand clothing trade was accumulated. This chapter first provides a theoretical overview of how the research processes were implemented. The research activities undertaken in the UK are then documented (see also Table 3.1) and then some specific ethical issues encountered in Mozambique are explored, before the research processes carried out in Maputo and elsewhere in southern Africa are documented.

The field research programme followed a constructivist approach and the techniques were refined through the process, evolving from an iterative process, following pilot and analysis phases and periods of reflection (as detailed in Table 3.1) to implement a 'multi-strategy' method (Sender *et al.*, 2006: 314). Documenting how these different activities were arranged provides the clearest and most appropriate description of the study of the second-hand clothing trade. This chapter structure is especially appropriate for the subject area because prior knowledge of the inter-linked process in the used-clothing system of provision was limited (Hansen, 2000). Practical constraints as well as the theoretical difficulties and strengths and weaknesses of different tools that are relevant to this thesis are extensively explored, although more general discussions of the application of a broader range of research tools in developing countries can be found elsewhere (see Desai and Potter (2006) and Iyenda, (2007)). The conclusion of this chapter reflects on the power relations which were both experienced by myself as a researcher and demonstrated through the different research activities which transacted disparate social and economic spaces.

Table 3.1 Sequence of fieldwork research activities

Date	Main research activity	Additional activity
November 2008 – March 2009	UK interviews with used clothing collection organisations	Literature review of published and unpublished sources
March – June 2009	Preparation for overseas fieldwork, including language training in Portugal	
June – July 2009	Scoping and pilot research in Maputo and Matola	Orientation in Mozambique
July – September 2009	Overview research of second-hand clothing trade in Maputo	Language training (intensive course August – October, continued with private study throughout fieldwork)
October – November 2009	Interviews with second-hand clothing traders in Xipamanine Market	
November – December 2009	Phase 1 6 week financial diaries with second-hand clothing traders (Xipamanine Market)	
December 2009 – January 2010	Critical reflection in UK and re-design of research activities	
February 2010	Analysis of diaries and follow up interviews in Xipamanine Market	Visits to second-hand clothing markets in Swaziland and South Africa
March – April 2010	Phase 2 6 week financial diaries with second-hand clothing traders (Xipamanine Market)	Research trip interviewing second-hand clothing traders in Vilankulo, Inchope, Beira, Tete and Lilongwe (Malawi)
May 2010	Analysis of diaries and follow up interviews in Xipamanine Market	Research of second-hand clothing importers and wholesale activities in Maputo
June – July 2010	Phase 3 6 week financial diaries with new clothing and second-hand shoe traders (Xipamanine and Compone Markets). Follow up interviews	
August 2010	Return to UK	

Framing research of the international second-hand clothing trade

Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted how this study is not a rigid tracing of commodity flows, as has been implemented in commodity studies and follow the thing research by Cook *et al.* (2004), Dolan and Humphrey (2000) and Kleine (2008). Tracing the exact movement of used commodities is difficult, because the irregular networks lack the precise coordination between production and consumption which characteristics new supply chains (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005), although following the movement of individual large used commodities such as second-hand cars has been demonstrated to be possible (see Beuving, 2002; 2004; Brooks, 2011). Journalists, Packer (2002), Durham (2004) and Dougherty (2004) followed the movement of second-hand clothing items from the global North to Africa. Their outputs are anecdotal, but these examples demonstrate the difficulties of following a single item. The final destination is not known at the outset of a study, the cooperation of unknown firms and individuals at all the different nodes are required and significant time and resources are needed. In Durham's case study, discussed in depth in Chapter 5, a blouse took over two months to transit from donation in the UK to final retail in Africa.

A more rigorous approach, mapping the life cycle of a single T-shirt, has been applied by Rivoli (2009). Rivoli's study is undertaken within a neo-classical economic framework and some of the specific weaknesses of her study are examined at length in Chapters 5 and 7. In order to do such an exact tracing of multiple commodities I would have had to work directly with organisations, as Kleine (2008) did with wine co-operatives. This could have been achieved in a PhD following the model of a CASE studentship, for example Le Mare (2007) collaborated with *Traidcraft plc* in her study of the impacts of Fair Trade handicraft on women in Bangladesh. Such a research engagement can be practically advantageous; however the horizon for critical discourse may be foreshortened, as the preferences for certain outcomes and other 'political' factors can complicate the environment in which research is undertaken (Chataway *et al.,* 2007). A critique of the roles of charitable and commercial organisations in the used-clothing trade runs through this thesis and such a discussion can be constrained when academics work in partnership with NGOs (Cottrell and Parpart, 2006). Furthermore, the destination of the clothing donation that could have been traced would not have been known at the outset of the project. This would have made the study logistically very difficult, given constraints of funding, language ability and travel, for example.

The analytical frameworks of 'commodity studies' research approaches were critiqued in Chapter 2, but some of the actual methodological approaches undertaken in 'the field' of studies (including Bair and Gereffi, 2001; Hartwick, 1998; Hassler, 2003; Kleine, 2008) were drawn upon in the research design. Research issues and potential sources of information have framed this inquiry, rather than constructing a methodology based on the latest paradigm or approaching the topic with a fixed philosophy (Peil, 1983; Starosta, 2010). An inductive empirical approach was implemented, whereby research tools evolved as greater knowledge of the subject matter accumulated (Fife, 2005; Twyman *et al.,* 1999). The analytical outputs were always considered in order to meet the research objectives of this thesis. The fieldwork in Mozambique was developed to provide data which allowed a depth of analysis; for example, this required quantitative data to be collected to assess the income and precariousness of market trading. Furthermore, to provide an in-depth political economy analysis, more than documenting lived experiences needed to be undertaken and research had to extend across spatial and economic scales (see Hart, 2002; Hulme and Toye, 2006).

The research approaches implemented in Mozambique with disadvantaged people follow Rabinow (1975; 1977/2007), Chambers (1983), Ferguson (1999) and Collins *et al*. (2009). Rabinow's critical perspectives on the norms of cross-cultural research, Chambers' sensitivity to the expert knowledge of people and the critical depth of Ferguson's research were all implicitly drawn upon when research activities were implemented and Collins *et al.* (2009) informed the revision of the financial diary tool, discussed below. In order to understand the broader situation it is often necessary to extrapolate what is happening at a micro level, such as inquiring what occurs at individual stalls in used clothing markets and relating this to the macro i.e. transnational level (Murray, 2002). Research in the anthropological vein (such as Beuving 2004; Ferguson, 2007; Hammersley, 1992), records specific events in a designated space and implies, through logical inference, that findings can stretch beyond the immediate descriptive social context. Making linkage across an economic sector can give a better understanding of the connections within a system by harnessing multiple perspectives, although, as with any multi-scale approach, care has to be taken to avoid ecological fallacy; that is making inferences from higher levels of aggregation to lower levels. (Abbot and Gujt 1998; Hoggart *et al.,* 2002; Meentemeyer, 1989). Different modes and scales of research were implemented in this study and how these have facilitated an original contribution to knowledge to be constructed is reflected upon.

Prior to starting the research process the principles which organise the second-hand clothing trade were first identified through reviewing the literature, see Chapters 4 and 5 (for example, Bigsten and Wicks 1996; Field 2000; 2008; Hansen 1995; 2000). To illustrate how a novel contribution is being made; this research project and the methods implemented can be defined in contrast to previous work whilst acknowledging that it owes a debt to previous interventions (Keith, 1992). For example, the ethnographic studies of Field (2000) and Hansen (2000) focused on how second-hand clothing can have benefits for African consumers, satisfying a basic need for clothing, warmth and protection, but they neglected to appreciate the broader economic impact of the used-clothing trade. The research design was therefore influenced by such 'gaps' in knowledge. This is also reflected in following chapters, as for example the contextual overview in Chapter 4 incorporates both literature review and analysis of fieldwork from the initial stages of research in the UK.

Research into the second-hand clothing trade in the United Kingdom

The research undertaken in the UK enabled me to understand how value is formed out of the discarded clothing that transits from the global North to Africa. Carrying out research in the global North allowed the linkages between different nodes of the trade to be explored and furthermore demonstrates how 'the field' is not just some 'other' space (Ite, 1997; Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). To understand the trade in Mozambique the linked formation of second-hand clothing commodities in the global North needed to be researched primarily as the existing literature had not documented these activities. Through interviewing the managers and directors of charitable and commercial organisations which collect, sort and export clothing, the economic processes which occur to produce used clothing commodities were investigated. The UK was selected as this was practical for a British-based researcher, but also because Britain plays a central role in the trade and has the highest rate of used-clothing export in the EU (Ouvertes Project, 2005). Britain is also one of the major origins of used-clothing imports to Mozambique (UNCOMTRADE, 2011; see discussion in Chapter 7).

To research the UK used-clothing trade the following charitable organisations were selected: British Heart Foundation, The Children's Society, Great Ormond Street Hospital, Help the Aged, Humana, NSPCC, Oxfam, The Salvation Army, Scope, Sue Ryder, TRAID and YMCA. These organisations were identified as large collectors of

used clothing and this sample represented a range of different types of originations, working in social fields including with vulnerable children, health, disability and international development. Detailed knowledge about the relative importance of all the different charities operating in the trade, from which a systematic sampling strategy could have been developed, was not available but this sample did include Oxfam, which, with over 700 high street shops, has the largest number of stores in the UK (Oxfam, 2010) and The Salvation Army Trading Company Limited which collects approximately 15% of the used clothing and is the largest collector in the UK (Ozanne, interview 21/11/08).

Nine of these organisations (British Heart Foundation, Great Ormond Street Hospital, Help the Aged, Humana, Oxfam, The Salvation Army, Scope, Sue Ryder and TRAID) were contacted by email on 06/11/08. When possible named individuals rather than general contact emails were used and supporting phone calls were made. The responses received included decisions not to participate in the research including automated responses (British Heart Foundation, Oxfam and Scope) and individual emails (Great Ormond Street Hospital, Humana, Sue Ryder TRAID) all of which were followed up without further offers of participation. Two organisations, Help the Aged and The Salvation Army, responded positively. Three other charities, The Children's Society, NSPCC and YMCA, were contacted via pre-existing personal contacts and the YMCA contact led to an offer to participate in the research. In this instance, my social relations and positionality facilitated the research activity.

Interviews were conducted in the UK between November 2008 and March 2009, as detailed in Table 3.2. Questions for these interviewees were pre-prepared and the interviews were carried out in a formal structured manner, although many follow-up questions were asked when appropriate and participants were given opportunities to make further points and comments. Responses were recorded in short-hand. In addition to the formal interviews, key locations were visited (see Table 3.2), except in the case of The Salvation Army, where a telephone interview was carried out. The participants from Help the Aged and the Salvation Army also volunteered internal or non-published documents that were used in the literature review (Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Morley *et al.,* 2006; Shea and Brennan, 2008). These three interviewees were asked if they had further contacts in the industry and Help the Aged provided contact details for a manager at Oxfam and their commercial partners at Precycle and YMCA provided contact information for Choice Textile division.

Table 3.2 UK interviews with second-hand clothing collection organisations

Name	*Position*	*Organisation*	*Interview Location and/or Site Visit*	*Date*
Paul Ozanne	National Recycling Coordinator	Salvation Army Trading Company Limited	Telephone Interview	21/11/08
Steve Wooldridge	Head of Property and Stock Operations	Help the Aged	Help the Aged, Head Office, London	03/12/08
Brian Lincoln	Regional Team Leader	YMCA	YMCA High Street Shop, Staines	10/03/09
Tony Clark	General Manager	Oxfam Wastesaver	Oxfam Wastesaver processing plant, Huddersfield	13/03/09
Aloysius Ihezie	Director	Choice Textiles Division	Telephone Interview	19/03/09

The contact with Oxfam proved to be particularly valuable as they had not responded positively to the earlier contact and previous attempts to research their activities in an ESRC-funded project into charity shops, had been unsuccessful (Nicky Gregson, personal communication 20/11/08). An extensive interview was undertaken and a site visit was made where labour processes were observed and photographed (details in Table 3.2, see Figures 4.6 and 4.7), which is analysed at length in Chapter 4. The director of Choice Textiles was also interviewed by telephone and provided insights into the trade networks that extend from the UK to Africa. Interviews on two different dates and a site visit to Precycle were arranged, although in both instances the individuals elected not to participate at short notice. There were practical challenges in obtaining all the five completed interviews; repeated telephone calls and emails were required and participants shifted dates and appointments. The power relations in these interviews are discussed in the conclusion of this chapter. These interviews demonstrated how the collection, sorting and processing are background processes in contrast to the foregrounded charitable activity, which is part of the public face of NGO communication (Smith, 2004).

Ethical considerations in Mozambique

The extent of the research in the UK was limited, since the main focus of research activity was in Mozambique. This social research was intended to be 'problem-orientated' (Rabinow, 1977/2007: 18) and the greatest impact of the 'problems' in the used clothing trade were presupposed to be amongst poor people who are entangled as retailers and consumers in the used clothing trade in the global South, rather than with those who discard clothing or work in the global North (Hansen, 2000). Research in to sites of poverty is frequently brief, ephemeral and shallow and can fail to understand these spaces (Chambers, 1983). This project is informed by the changes in research approaches that followed the appreciation of 'other' systems of knowledge and the importance of dialogue and working with people in the global South as well as the cultural turn in human geography (Freire, 1970; Pain *et al.,* 2007). The duration of the fieldwork undertaken in Mozambique and the extensive lived experience and rigour that has been applied opposes the shallowness of 'rapid' research interventions (Gladwin *et al.,* 2002; Watson, 1999). Development research can be further criticised for following an extractive model of 'data mining' and having a profound inability to address the pressing demands and needs of research participants (Ferguson, 1999 Gibson-Graham, 1994; Hart, 2002; White, 2001). Meeting research participants' demands is not an intended output of this process nor is this policy-orientated research, but this thesis and linked publications and conference presentations (Brooks, 2010; 2011; forthcoming) contribute to critical discourse on trade and development which may be *policy relevant* in the mode of Simon (2006).

The methods used did not follow a participatory approach, but attempted to engage participants on an equal basis. Mayoux (2006), who endorses participatory approaches, argues that empowering people and influencing social change goes in parallel with seeking knowledge and influencing theory, but this was not attempted through this research. Rather, at the fieldwork level, the dichotomy associated with cross-cultural research was alleviated by preceding and following interviews by offering to share stories and invite questions about my own life to build a sense of rapport, although Rabinow (1977/2007) documents the problems of effective communication across such gulfs of cultural difference. I also gave participants the opportunity to ask questions about my knowledge of the transnational clothing trade, although being careful to not imply bias or influence their subsequent responses. The interview methodology rather than a focus group approach (which was not implemented), makes this form of research

more personal, enabling a more engaging experience for the interviewee. Using a focus group methodology and managing discussion through a second language or with the facilitation of a translator would have been more difficult (Crane *et al.,* 2009).

An audio recording device was not used in the interviews in Mozambique. This was primarily because in-depth textual analysis of interviews was not being applied to satisfy the research aims and objectives. Transcribing responses in colloquial Portuguese and subsequently translating answers would have been a very challenging and time consuming process (especially in the early stages of research when my proficiency in Portuguese was lower, discussed below). Recording interviews in a busy and noisy African market would also have been very difficult. An alternative approach to provide a direct 'voice' for research participants was implemented using the financial diary exercise (discussed further below). This included a section for market traders to write daily comments about their working lives (see Figures 3.3, discussed below). Their comments are quoted extensively in the analysis in Chapters 7, 8 and 9, and supporting quotes written down during interviews are also used.

Further ethical considerations are specific to investigating a trade pattern which has been found to be controversial (Andrews, 2011; Churcher, 2007; Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Shea and Brennan, 2008). When researching disadvantaged people in Maputo, they were found to be less knowledgeable about this controversy than clothing importers, exporters or charities, which are aware of the potential for critical research to impact negatively upon their businesses. They were willing to participate but as Manzo and Brightbill (2007: 33) note, 'giving participants a voice risks revealing their survival strategies'. There is also an 'ethical' problem of being empathetic towards used clothing traders and thus not reflecting critically on their roles within the network (Thomas, 1993). The institutional support, provided by the IESE (*Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos* – Institute of Social and Economic Study) which hosted my research, was valuable as it provided a detached space for reflection and analysis away from 'the field'. Rabinow (1977/2007: 38) discusses how '[f]ieldwork is a dialectic between reflections and immediacy'; such *apartness* in a different cognitive and experiential context, allows 'further reformulation and recasting of our thoughts and ideas' (Watson, 1999).

Positionality and cross-cultural research in Mozambique

Prior to discussing the fieldwork activities, the process of working with a research assistant and *my* positionality are reflected upon. The main research assistant, Manuel Nogove, was a student recruited from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, studying translation and interpretation.[7] His role evolved through the research process. Initially he acted primarily as guide and translator, but as my experience of the socio-cultural context and Portuguese language proficiency developed, the significance of his involvement diminished (Crane *et al.,* 2009; Watson, 2003). He also facilitated the design of research tools but, in these instances, Nogove's input was associated with style and presentation rather than substantive design of fieldwork activities.

In the early months of research, in June and July 2009, there was a relative *dependency* upon the assistant. Throughout these stages and later periods of research, fieldwork activities were also undertaken without the support of a translator, which allowed greater immersion as Rabinow discusses (1977/2007). When Portuguese language skills developed, the reliance on a translator declined (Twyman *et al.,* 1999). The translator was useful throughout the process in interpreting colloquial phrases and providing Shangana (the local African language in Maputo) translations. A few interviews were also conducted exclusively in Shangana. An initial reassuring conversation with the local research assistant in Portuguese or Shangana encouraged people to participate and ensured their informed consent, prior to beginning the formal interview (when working alone I ensured that interviewees consented to their participation).

The markets and other research sites were areas with which the translator was familiar, although he had no prior personal connections to them and in that respect was not a *classic* gatekeeper (Francis, 2000; Leslie and Storey, 2003). As an intermediary, he acted a degree of separation between researcher and research participant, which can be disadvantageous (Crane *et al.,* 2009; Mandel, 2003). However, there were practical advantages to this distance. By norms of social practice, Western visitors to African markets are unusual and they attract attention (Skinner, 2008). In some instances, when I worked alone in 'new' places, where people were unfamiliar with a foreign 'other', I drew so much attention as to make research unmanageable (Robson, 1997). For example, people would be trying to sell me goods and services, assuming that I was a

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[7] He was paid a wage of 700MT (approximately US$20) per half day, which was deemed after discussion with staff at IESE and NGOs to be, *pro rata*, a 'good' wage.

tourist or involved in an NGO project; on rare occasions, I was abused verbally (see Hanlon, 2009). When I worked with an assistant, people viewed him as an *intermediary*, even if I and the assistant himself did not intend this. Mozambicans were then less likely to approach me directly in an unsolicited manner. This helped me 'manage' participation in the research process and enabled the research to be focused upon specific issues. There is a clear hypocrisy in this 'advantageous' power relation as, either through the translator or independently, I wanted to engage people in research only in a systematic and rigorous process, when it was practical and served the interests of my research project. This reflects the persistent power inequalities in researching impoverished people (Freire, 1970; Gibson-Graham, 1994; Hart, 2002; White, 2001).

Figure 3.1 Map of Mozambique and surrounding countries, highlighting research sites.

Source: Adapted from University of Texas (1995a).

Scoping and pilot research of second-hand clothing trading in Maputo

In June and July 2009 scoping research was undertaken in Maputo. Eight principal research sites were identified (listed in Table 3.3) including the large formal markets and informal street trading in downtown areas (see Figure 3.2) located in and around the '*cidade de cimento* (cement city)', the central area of Maputo where modern buildings are predominately multi-storey cement and brick built, and the separate, surrounding '*cidade de canico* (cane city)' where structures are constructed of cane, wood, corrugated iron, and increasingly cement blocks, although this simple distinction is 'problematic' (Nielsen, 2010; Sidaway and Power 1995: 1469). Locations in the *cidade de canico* and neighbouring Matola (a satellite settlement adjacent to Maputo) were also visited, although the principal research activities were located in the *cidade de cimento*, see Table 3.3 and Figure 3.2. In the scoping and pilot research, these sites were observed and casual discussions and more rigorous interviews were held with used-clothing traders and customers, both with and without the translator.

Questions to be used in interviews were agreed upon before starting fieldwork on days when research was undertaken with the research assistant. The research considers the formal markets and city centre areas and does not extend to further circuits of clothing sale in the most deprived areas of the city. Maputo is a city of over 1 million people (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística*, 2008) and visiting all the small scale vendors and documenting all the markets in the informal settlements is outside the scope of this project. As Davis (2004: 24) found there are 'formidable theoretical and empirical problems involved in studying the urban poor', especially those who are involved in informal and peripatetic trading. In this respect, this is a project which is not putting 'the last first' (Chambers, 1983) as it privileges for discussion those whom Hanlon and Smart (2008: 57) have identified as the 'better-off' of the urban poor who have greater assets than 80% of the population in Mozambique, although research was not strictly delimited and sought to focus on those who worked in the trade rather than a specific social segment of Mozambican society. Informal street hawkers were also interviewed and their activities are on the margins of legality, so were investigated carefully as research of such informal activity can bring unwanted attention from the police for both the participants and researcher (Kamete and Lindell, 2010; Paasche and Sidaway, 2010).

Table 3.3 Research sites in Maputo and Matola

Name	*Brief Description*
Baixa de Maputo	Down town area of Maputo where most government ministries and formal commercial activity is concentrated. Informal second-hand clothing hawkers operate in this area, including along the Avenída 25 de Setembro.
Jardim dos Madjermanes	A former children's playground in the city centre, which is now an informal market where specially selected and presented used shoes, handbags and clothes are re-sold.
Mercado Compone	Market that straddles the Avenída Vladímir Lenine and specializes primarily in used shoes.
Mercado da Estrela	Mixed market with all types of household goods and food, includes a grey-trade in second-hand car parts.
Mercado Municipal	Small very formal and well organized indoor market, no used clothing in actual market building, but surrounding streets had extensive informal pavement trading.
Mercado Nwa Nha-Kawi e Mercado Fajardo	Near Praça 16 de Junho, two extensive inter-connected market selling vast range of goods, including some second-hand clothing.
Mercado dos Santos, Matola	Small dispersed market stalls distributed throughout Matola along the main street; Rua Massacre de Wiriamo.
Mercado de Xiquelene	Very large area of sprawling market, used clothing is sold alongside many other goods and many tailors work in this market
Mercado do Xipamanine	The most important market in Maputo. A covered and well organized market with the largest concentration of second-hand clothing
Praça 21 de Outobro, Alto Maé	A traffic intersection and hub in the second-hand clothing trade. Many second-hand clothing wholesale warehouses are located in this area.

Figure 3.2. Map of Maputo showing principal research sites

Maputo

1. Baixa de Maputo
2. Jardim dos Madjermanes
3. Mercado Compone
4. Mercado da Estrela
5. Mercado Municipal
6. Mercado Nwa Nha-Kawi e Mercado Fajardo
7. Mercado de Xiquelene
8. Mercado do Xipamanine
9. Praça 21 de Outubro, Alto Maé

Road to Matola

Estuário do Espírito Santo

Ponta Vermelha
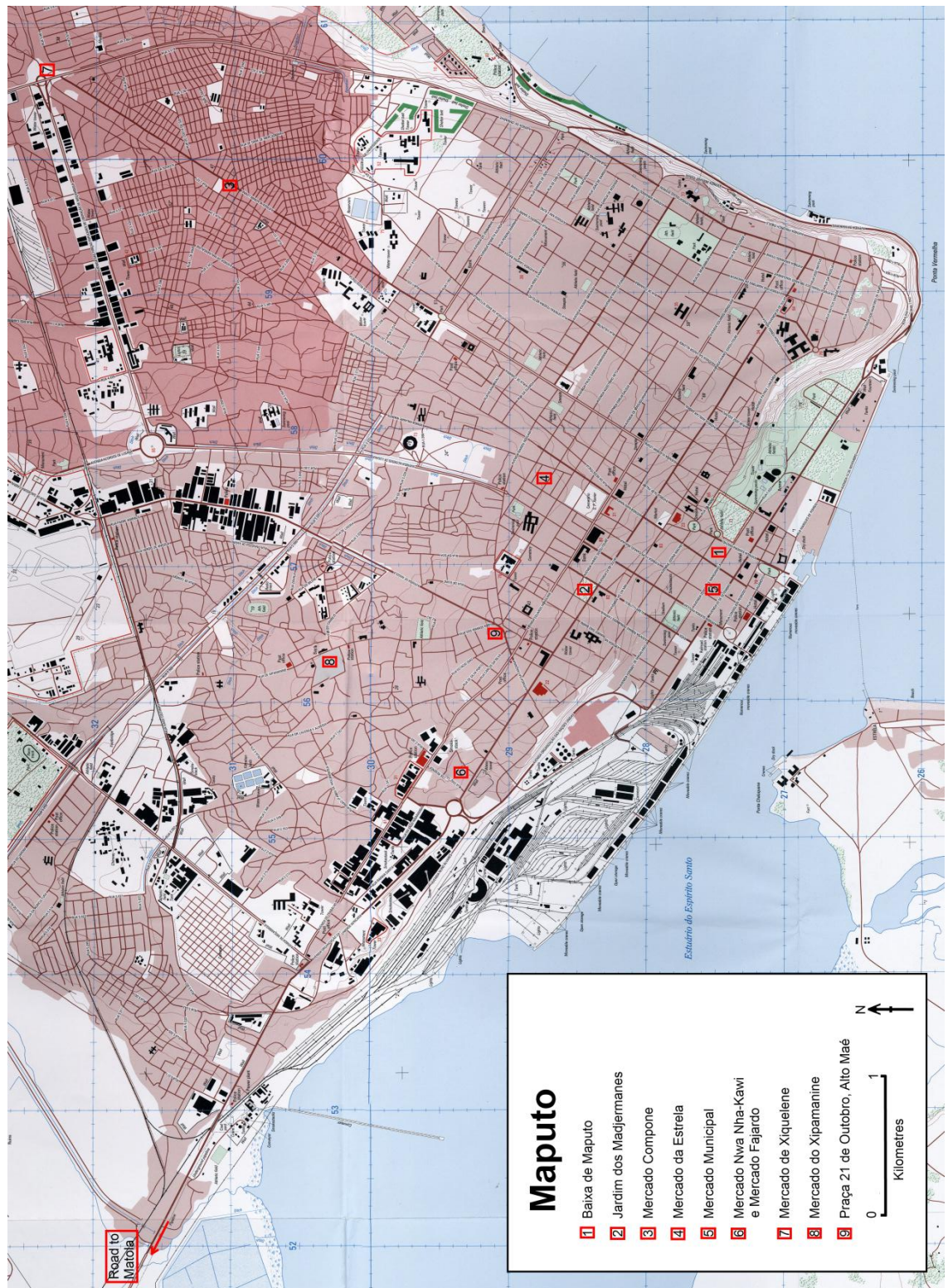
Source: Adapted from University of Texas (1995b).

During the pilot phase gender dynamics were also reflected upon. Simone Field (2000) and Karen Hansen (2000) both discussed how used-clothing trading is an important occupation for urban African women and Kathleen Sheldon (2002; 2003) specifically researched the experiences of Mozambican women in urban society and their struggles over the transformation of urban localities. It was important that this research project also captured such insights. As a male researcher with an accompanying male assistant, I found in Maputo that it was possible to engage female market traders in the research process, although when approaching females it was found that they were often more reserved and timid. During the research process, female interviewees were open in discussion and although there were observable gender differences, the responses they gave to questions were comparable in their extent and depth to those of males. Age was a greater differentiating social characteristic than gender. Older people, in this context approximately 50 years old and over, were more cautious in their participation.

Other scoping activities included fieldwork with people who were directly or indirectly involved in the used-clothing trade in Maputo. Informal interviews were conducted with a director of the Maputo Port and a shipping agent. Fashion shows and cultural exhibitions on local clothing trends were also visited. These activities provided important background knowledge but are not directly analysed in later chapters. This phase of research identified the principles which govern the trade pattern and explored the outer manifestations, so it could be reflected how Maputo and Mozambique in general fitted into the international used-clothing network. The subsequent overview phase involved more robust research which would feed directly in to the final analysis. This was carried out at breath, and later stages would bring further depth.

Maputo overview research

Overview research of the used-clothing trade in Maputo was completed between 08/07/09 and 07/08/09. Fifty five street vendors, market traders and tailors were formally interviewed (Appendix I gives details). These interviews were carried out working with the research assistant, who translated responses. Most participants were interviewed individually although some, at their discretion, were interviewed in pairs or groups of three and their different responses were recorded. A semi-structured approach was used, with some pre arranged questions (see Appendix II), but many follow-up questions were also asked in response to interviewees' earlier answers. The interviewees

were prompted to give narratives of their experiences and the length and extent of each individual interview depended on the research participants preference.

Fieldwork was initially undertaken at different times and weekdays. The different benefits and problems associated with various times informed the latter design of research activities. Market traders were typically found to be occupied before 10.00 setting-up market stalls and in the late afternoon, after 15.00, were difficult to engage in the research process following the enervating process of retailing. Monday to Thursday were found to be the best days for research work. Therefore research in the markets was primarily undertaken for several hours at a time between 10.00 and 15.00 Monday to Thursday and the amount of time spent interviewing and discussing the research process varied. Following the overview research, these results were analyzed.

The markets and street-side stalls and clothing importers in other parts of Maputo and Matola, including all the sites identified in Table 3.2 and Figure 3.3, were also visited independently (i.e. without the translator), observations were undertaken and traders were interviewed informally, with notes recorded in a research diary. This was repeated throughout the 12 months of fieldwork in Maputo. These diary records and the lived experience of being in a city and navigating between different spaces allowed a depth of knowledge to be built up (Crang and Cook, 2007). Within anthropological epistemology it is through such individual experiences that knowledge is generated and validated (Gardner, 1999). Through comparable research, Sheldon (2002; 2003), also working in Mozambican markets, explored trader hierarchies and power relations.

Xipamanine interviewing research phase

Following the overview research it was decided to undertake in-depth interviewing in the Xipamanine market, which was identified as a key hub in the second-hand clothing trade (discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8). Sampling in locations such as African markets is restricted by the circumstances of local economic activity and the absence of a population frame from which to sample necessitated a more reflexive approach (Kapferer, 1972; Zarkovich, 1993). In practice this led to an on-site assessment that drew on the earlier scoping research of the population to engage a broad social range of traders. A standardized list of approximately 30 questions (Appendix III) was designed and twenty four people were interviewed (Appendix IV) between 13/10/09 and

06/11/09 for between 40 minutes and one and a half hours. The length of interview depended on the traders and was carried out so as to not disrupt their business activities; for example, there would be a pause in questioning when they needed to attend to a customer.

The questions were grouped into five different themes ('Starting the business' 'How does the business work?' 'Livelihoods' 'Customers' and 'Problems'). The assistant asked the questions and when necessary translated the responses. Working co-operatively with a research assistant allowed me to make extensive notes during the interviews, without long pauses, which can be unsettling or distracting for interviewees. I retained control of the structure of the interviews as the assistant followed standard questions designed by me, although alterations and deviations in the interviews were made when appropriate. Within each theme additional follow-up questions would be asked either directly by the researcher or via the translator, before moving on to the next theme. The responses were recorded in English in shorthand, with key terms and phrases noted in Portuguese.

The depth of understanding that was gained through this process was greater than in the previous overview phase due to the development of Portuguese language ability and cultural awareness of the social context (Watson, 2003), but also because these questions were developed in response to the earlier phases of pilot and overview research (Twyman *et al.*, 1999). This phase sought to identify general patterns of economic activity; later financial diary research, observations and further interviews were employed to provide greater ethnographic depth and direct quotations were taken from the diaries and are analysed in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. The interview responses were typed up at the IESE, usually in the afternoon and in the day following an interview. This extensive in-depth investigation into the work activities of used-clothing market traders mapped how the retail trade works in Maputo. Further research interventions in Xipamanine were a survey of the number of stalls and types of second-hand clothing items sold (26/10/09) and observations of clothing items and bale labels to assess clothing origins and make assessments of the qualities of garments.

Phase 1 financial diary

In order to understand the relative profitability of selling used clothing, a financial dairy research tool was developed to be used with clothing vendors in the Xipamanine market. It had been planned that research in Mozambique would involve a longitudinal element tracing local transactions, but the specific diary activity had not been designed prior to starting field research in Mozambique and was rather informed by the preceding phases of interviewing and field observations. This had begun to illuminate the variability and risks associated with used-clothing trade, but had not provided the requisite depth of information about income levels and the working lives of traders. This was accumulated through in-depth analysis, tracing the economic activities of traders over a prolonged period.

The financial dairies consisted of two standardised proformas, one for expenditure and the other for income; in which traders record all their daily transactions including stock purchases, sales and overheads and payments to saving schemes (see Appendix V and VI) and Figure 3.3 shows an example of a later completed diary record (discussed further below). Each proforma was made up of seven sheets corresponding to the days of the week. I worked through a demonstration of how research participants were to record the data before the exercise began. In addition the participants were interviewed before commencing the diaries, using the questions in Appendix III. The diary keepers were also encouraged to write short comments about their daily activities. They were interviewed weekly and further support was given to them with the assistance of the translator in the first days of research. A comparable diary approach has been implemented by Collins *et al.* (2009: 4) which enabled them to 'discover the crucial importance of financial tools for poor people' (such tools are discussed in Chapter 9). Iyenda (2005: 62) also successfully utilised daily diaries to record 'the total income and profit earned each day by respondents' in his study of urban poverty in Kinshasa (Congo).

It was decided that twelve traders would be involved in this research activity, as a compromise between sample size and depth. A specific sampling strategy was not used, as it was initially difficult to persuade individuals to participate in this exercise and therefore a more pragmatic approach to engaging participants was required. For instance, on the first day (27/10/09) of searching for participants in Xipamanine market, ten traders were approached, some of whom had been interviewed previously (see

Appendix IV), but only three agreed to participate in the study. Over three days of field visits to the market with the assistant, twelve willing participants were identified. The research participants were provided with a daily *per diem* of 50MT[8] ($1.72) (paid weekly) which was equivalent to the cost of a warm lunch and a carbonated soft drink purchased on the market. The *per diem* provided an incentive for some traders' participation, although when the opportunity to participate in the study was broached, with the assistance of the translator, the *per diem* was discussed only after they had initially demonstrated some interest in participating. The sample included both female and male traders who sold different types of clothing (see Table 3.4)

I visited the market three or four days per week collecting completed records, asking supplementary questions or facilitating research participants' record keeping. Some of these visits were carried out with the support of the research assistant. This phase of research ran from 27/10/09 to 13/12/09 with vendors participating for between four and six weeks. A pre-arranged return to the UK had been planned and the research assistant collected proformas between 01/12/09 and 13/12/09, noting any significant occurrences.

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[8] An exchange rate of 29.00 Meticais (MT) to 1 United States Dollar ($) is used throughout this thesis. This is the exchange rate at the mid-point of the research 28/12/09 (OANDA, 2011).

Table 3.4 Financial diary research participants

Phase 1 27/10/09 – 13/12/09		Phase 2 01/03/10 – 11/04/10		Phase 3 14/06/10 – 25/07/10	
Name	*Clothing Item*	*Name*	*Clothing Item*	*Name*	*Clothing Item*
Paulo	Men's shirts	Paulo	Men's shirts	Sergio Silvino	New clothes, mixed male and female
Maria	Textiles and curtains	Maria	Textiles and curtains	Ussene	New clothes, mixed male
Sergio	Children's T-shirts	Sergio	Children's T-shirts	Anselnio	New clothes, female skirts and tops
Mario	Jeans	Mario	Jeans	Manuel Boas	New clothes, mixed male and female
Jossefa	Ladies' shorts	Jossefa	Ladies' shorts	Forunato	New clothes, female blouses and trousers
Judite	Ladies' tops	Judite	Ladies' tops	Isabel	New clothes, female mixed
Alfonso	Jeans and khaki trousers	Marie Antonio	Children's clothes	Aleima	Second-hand shoes
Raquel	Children's clothes	Eduardo	Ladies' tops	Amceilia	Second-hand shoes
Sara	Bags	Amélia	Children's clothes	Peonardo	Second-hand shoes
Ana	Ladies' tops	Rabeca	Children's new clothing	Anestencia	Second-hand shoes
Lize	Bags	Emilia	Night dresses	Berta	Second-hand shoes
Mauricio	Tracksuits	Maria-Elisa	Children's clothes	Patricilia	Second-hand shoes
				Veronica	Second-hand shoes

This research technique combined quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative recording of daily sales and expenditure structured the exercise and provide important data of the market transactions of trader. This approach, though, was multi-strategy; the participants' diary records of their transactions were used as a stimulus for discussion when they were visited. These discussions were as important as the diaries which were produced and, as Sender *et al.* (2006) found when combining quantitative and qualitative research methods with impoverished research participants in Mozambique, long discussion with participants which are contextualised through extensive quantitative research can produce high-quality evidence. Although individual response and opinions expressed by research participants in either written diary comments or supporting interviews and discussions may not be statistically representative, when they are allied to detailed analysis of a broader process of research they can proved a nuanced understanding of the social and economic context and identify trends that may be missed when extensive surveys are used in isolation (Collins *et al.,* 2009; Sender, *et al.,* 2006).

There were limits to this method, principally a bias towards literate traders (Collins *et al.,* 2009), which is discussed further below. However, the earlier phase of interviewing had sampled across a broad social range of people who work in the used-clothing trade in Maputo. The other major practical disadvantage was that traders commenced their diary keeping record on different days of the week. This system had been decided upon as it was envisaged that staggering the starting days would give more time for research, as traders could be visited on different days. Furthermore, as it had been difficult to persuade people to participate and it took several days to amass 12 participants; traders were asked to commence the activity as soon as they had agreed to take part. This would later make the research process difficult to manage and meant that gaps were left in the records. This was especially problematic as there were days when the market was visited and particular traders were absent, when they may, for instance, be buying stock or unwell, and then completed records and new proforma could not be exchanged. When this research tool was later implemented again (discussed below), the traders were clustered when possible, in groups of two or three, as this meant that neighbouring participants could hold and exchange records for traders who were absent. All dairies were also then carried out on a Monday to Sunday cycle and the market was visited every Monday specifically to collect and distribute proforma, with other visits Tuesday to Thursday for further discussions and interviews.

Critical reflections and refinement of the research tool

There were ongoing visits and discussions with traders throughout the diary keeping exercise and the analysis in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 reflects upon how the social context of the financial data had to be understood to give the quantitative data meaning (Hammersley, 1992). The output of the diary tool was not just to produce complete records of their business, but also to establish a structured routine for visiting the market and interacting with market traders to get a longitudinal perspective of their work. After the research process was completed, the collected data were input into an Excel database and follow-up interviews were carried out which explored notable occurrences and attempted to clarify meanings. Despite efforts to validate and triangulate the data, there were time-lags between collecting the data, analysing it and then being able to return to interview informants, especially during my return to the UK, by which time the participants may have not recalled the event which was under discussion. The collected data remain an abstraction of reality and are not a perfect representation of the traders' business activity; there is what Giddens (1987: 19) has termed a 'double hermeneutic' that represents the gap between reality and communication. Through the dynamic of designing the proforma, the researcher frames the research intervention, in this instance to provide an understanding of business activities in Xipamanine market. The results and analysis presented in this study are an interpretation of the traders' interpretation of (their) working lives. It is acknowledged that the diary keeper and researcher jointly (and to a lesser extent, the research assistant) created the diaries.

Various problems and challenges were identified during this phase. The participants would interpret the proformas in different ways, some thought certain information was not important and would have to be reassured as to what should be included. Many of the traders were not used to writing down information on sales and purchases and considerable support and energy was required to maintain the diary. Furthermore, this research was an attempt to create a standard reporting process for activities that may be informal, unregulated or concealed (Lindell, 2010; Paulo *et al.,* 2011). Expanding the sample size would have led to a decrease in the quality of research outputs. During the critical reflection phase in the UK (in December 2010 and January 2011) the design of the financial diary research tool was developed particularly through drawing on Collins *et al.* (2009). When the financial diary was later repeated in two further phases, the refined tool would produce outputs which were a more accurate representation of the trading activities on the market.

Phase 2 financial diary: A refined record of market trading

The new activity was easier for traders to complete, whilst it also captured more information, especially the traders' acquisition of stock which was previously missing or under-reported. The design of the second revised record was done in consultation with six traders who were identified to continue with the exercise and six new traders were added to the sample (see Table 3.4). Involving research participants in the project design can enhance the quality of outputs (Chambers, 1983); however, that is not to suggest that this intervention followed the popular participatory research methods (e.g. Kesby *et al.,* 2007; Mayoux and Chambers, 2005; Mayoux, 2006). One of the principal practical refinements was to change the design of the proforma, replacing two separate sheets for expenditure and sales with a single combined record sheet (see Figure 3.3). The continuing participants were selected as individuals who had provided the most complete records and extensive comments. Those traders who produced higher quality outputs may have presented a bias towards the well organised, potentially more successful business people. Having six participants continue in the exercise also allowed for a deeper understanding of their business activities and personal contacts to be established over an extended period, becoming more familiar with these individuals through repeat interviewing and discussions which were distinct from the research process helped mitigate the power inequality and gave greater depth to the study (Twyman *et al.,* 1999). As noted, the new participants were chosen so they 'clustered' and an effort was made to select new participants which retailed different types of clothing to those that had previously been investigated (see Tables 3.4, 8.1 and 8.2).

Figure 3.3 Example of a completed diary entry from Amélia, who sells children's clothes, from the second phase of research. Translations have been added in red.

Nome: Amélia Mario's   Name: Amélia

Data: 22 / 03 /2010 Date	Segunda-Feira Monday

Custos da Segunda-Feira Costs incurred on Monday

Deixei em Casa: 30,00   Money left at home: 30MT ($1.03)

Taxa Daria: 6,00   Daily fee: 6MT ($0.21)

Matabicho: 10,00   Breakfast: 10MT ($0.34)

Alomoco: 30,00   Lunch: 30MT ($1.03)

Bebidas (Agua, Fresco, Cha): 10,00   Drinks (water, cold drink, tea): 10MT ($0.34)

Estique: 20,00   Saving Scheme: 20MT ($0.69)

Chapa: 10,00   Bus: 10MT ($0.34)

Carregador: 12,00   Porter: 12MT ($0.41)

Pagamento para assistente: ∧   Payement for assistant: no

Comprou o fardo / ou o estocagem em peças: ncã   Buy bale or pieces: no

Outras Custas: —   Other costs: no

Vendas Segunda-Feira Sales on Monday

2 calsos de 50,00   2 trousers at 50MT each ($1.72)

2 Bulusos de 35,00   2 blouses at 35MT each ($1.21)

3 vestidos de 40,00   3 dresses at 40MT each ($1.38)

2 cres demoios de 10,00   2 pairs of socks at 10MT each ($0.34)

Notas Segunda-Feira Notes for Monday

O Dia foi bem fraco não havia movimento das Pessoas e nem comiraram bem.

The day was very poor it did not have movement of people (turnover) and it was without people buying well.

The other major change (which followed after Collins *et al.* (2009)), was a reduction of the weekly per diem from 300 to 150MT ($10.34 to 5.17) and the balance was replaced with a final gift – dinner sets for male and *capulanas* (printed textiles) for female participants – at the end of the research processes. This change was implemented because, in part, it responded to the participants' own needs and desires, as many of the previous participants had saved their per diems and spent them on a specific purchase at the end of the process, for example on sets of drinking glasses. Giving material gifts to the traders rather than money was an attempt partially to decommodifiy the exchange, thereby reducing the direct financial incentive for traders to participate, but equally continuing to reward them for their generous support (Appadurai, 1986). However, the process of distributing these gifts at the end of the research process was very conspicuous in the market and appeared to generate envy amongst other market traders and may have biased future participation as other people could have been attracted to participate in the research, but as this gift giving came at the end of the research activities with used-clothing traders in Xipamanine, it did not directly impact this project.

This second financial diary intervention was carried out between 01/03/10 and 11/04/10. This process was again preceded by standard interviews (Appendix IV) and further follow-up interviews were carried out where appropriate. At times when I was absent from Maputo undertaking other research activities, the assistant collected and distributed financial diaries. Initially there were to be twelve research participants, but two participants dropped out and a supplementary participant was added mid-way through the study. This refined financial diary tool provided a deeper understanding and the quality of outputs was greater in this phase, thus a greater weight of analysis is given to the more robust data-set in Chapter 7. Throughout the analysis in this thesis, the financial diary participants are referred to by their first names and the dates of the interview or diary comment are recorded, the names of the 31 traders and the phases of research in which they participated and the goods they sold are given in Table 3.4. Other Mozambicans who were interviewed are not named but referred to by their occupation e.g. tailors, security guards or used shoe traders.

Phase 3 financial diary: New clothing traders and second-hand shoe sellers

After the analyses and follow-up interviews of the second financial diary phase, different groups of market traders from various economic sectors were considered for a final diary phase and two new groups were selected; used shoe traders at the Compone Market and new clothing vendors at Xipamanine Market (Table 3.3). New clothing traders had been interviewed in March using a similar approach to that in the second-hand clothing overview research. This had examined the origin of new clothing and the similarities and contrasts with used-clothing vending, which are analysed in Chapter 9. Tracing the transactions of six new clothing traders would allow the pattern of their sales and profits to be compared to the second-hand clothing sellers that had previously documented their businesses in Xipamanine. This would give the research greater breath, specifically to analyse the commonalities between new and used clothing retail. Compone market is an important site for selling second-hand shoes as many specialist traders work there and researching the sale of shoes; a very specific type of used clothing commodity by seven traders would give further insights. These two different groups recorded their transactions between 14/06/10 and 25/07/10 along the same model of sampling and research monitoring, with supporting interviews and visits, as described above. The same format of financial diary was used with these two new groups, albeit with minor revisions to the proforma to reflect the changes in the type of good.

Following from Collins *et al.* (2009), it was noted how the diary method excludes illiterate people. Traders were not asked directly about their literacy when first contacted about participation, as this was thought to be a potential cause of embarrassment and it would be easier for them just to choose not to participate if they did not have the literacy skills to complete the proformas. But one illiterate woman in Compone Market did agree to participate and instead got a neighbour, a teenage male who was not involved in the research, to record her transactions. This demonstrated how diary tools can be used with underprivileged participations and how participants can find local solutions to research challenges (Chambers, 1983; Opondon *et al.,* 2007).

Research of used clothing imports and wholesale trading in Maputo

The import and wholesale of used clothing in Maputo was also investigated through the research process. It was, though, initially a lower priority in meeting the research aims, which were focused on the overall network and the micro-scale income-earning opportunities in Maputo. Researching this node of economic activity was found to be more challenging than researching the activities of the market traders. The pilot phase of research illuminated how this activity is less visible than the retail trading of second-hand clothes. For two inter-related reasons this economic activity was considered after the collection of information on the retailing of used clothing in Maputo.

The first reason was that attempts were made to make social contact with used clothing importers through expatriate networks, as used by Hansen (2000) and preliminary interviews with market traders had identified that used clothing importers were foreign 'Indians' (their ethnic and national identity are discussed in Chapter 7). Such approaches can be a successful method for contacting key informants (Brooks 2011; Thomas, 1993). Despite ongoing attempts through the months of working and living in Maputo to identify and contact individuals through networks of expatriates, including the large populations of South Africans and Portuguese in Maputo, this proved to be unsuccessful.[9] The second reason was that I anticipated that there might be some hostility towards research because of the controversy attached to the import of used clothing (Frazer 2008; Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Shea and Brennan, 2008). If importers wanted the trade to remain concealed, in addition to refusing to participate (discussed below), they might also have attempted to dissuade clothing retailers not to participate in the research activity or used other means to disrupt the research process. This supposition was in retrospect overly cautious as the importers did not exert such direct influence over market traders. Market traders, particularly those involved in the financial diaries, were also asked if they had any contacts at the importers through whom it would be possible to arrange interviews, but they did not.

In May 2010 a survey of firms in the areas of Alto Maé and the Baixa of Maputo was undertaken (Figure 3.2). These areas were identified as main the locations for purchases of bales by the researcher participants at Xipamanine market and by many other used-

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[9] In contrast the lived experience of being in Mozambique for over 12 months presented the opportunity to investigate international networks in the second-hand car trade (see Brooks, 2011). This included ethnographic research following the transactions of key participants who worked transnationally to negotiate imports.

clothing vendors interviewed in Maputo. The following importers were identified: ADPP (Humana), AHP Commercial, Almadina Commercial, Europatex LDA, Fatah Trading (3 warehouses), M. Mawji and Sons, Mohiba Enterprises, Sabah Enterprises and UMUT World Connection. All these firms were contacted for interviews although most refused to participate. The most positive responses came from ADPP and UMUT. At UMUT a full and extensive interview was conducted with one of the supervisors, which is analysed in Chapter 7; questions were asked in Portuguese in a pre-determined structured interview. Two interviews were carried out with ADPP in Maputo on consecutive days (04/05/10 and 05/05/10): the first interview was with the Cameroonian Assistant Manager in English and a follow-up was arranged with the Mozambican Manager. However, the second interviewee was less cooperative and more cautious about participating; only limited insights were gained. A further extensive interview with the Manager of the Humana/ADPP shop in Matola was carried out on 06/05/10.

At the other firms that were approached there was a range of negative responses. Attempts were made to speak to the managers or senior staff, all of whom were Indian merchants, rather than African Mozambicans. The identities of these Indian merchants and the tensions between them and Mozambican traders are discussed in Chapter 7 (see also Pitcher, 2002). Sometimes it was possible to have a 'doorstep interview' whereby I could ask a few questions and glean some information that was recorded in the research diary. But frequently there was a dismissive response, being told to come back later, go to another office, or they took my contact telephone number, but despite following up these responses I got no further and people were generally unwilling to engage in the research process. Sometimes I was just ignored and the warehouse management would walk away. One importer was outwardly hostile and I had to leave rapidly. This was an unassailable problem, as participation in research processes is voluntary. I also attempted to establish informed consent in the research process and if this was not forthcoming an interview was not carried out. There are limits to how much one can 'push' for the involvement of groups and individuals who choose not to take part as informed and willing consent is requisite for academic study (Manzo and Brightbill, 2007).

Other attempts were also made to research these nodes. Observations where made when warehouses were visited and some brief questions were asked to Mozambican workers such as security guards and porters, but they were reluctant to be interviewed. In addition, a different research assistant, Helder Gudo, who had worked previously as a

journalist in Maputo, was asked to visit the warehouses and attempt to interview staff, particularly Mozambican employees, because it was envisaged that he would attract less hostile attention than a Western researcher. A set of questions was designed for him to use. He encountered similar problems at the four warehouses where he attempted to conduct interviews on the 08/06/10 and the process was not repeated. These additional informal research processes did allow principles of the trade process to be identified, which are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 and also triangulated some of the information which had been given about the import processes which occur in Africa by both the market traders and UK based exporters, but the activities of importers are to an extent encapsulated by taking the concept of a 'black box', where the inputs (containers of used clothing) and outputs (sale of clothing bales) are known, but there is a lack of clarity as to what happens between one and the other process and knowledge of these power laden spaces is policed by gatekeepers (Kitchin and Fuller, 2003; Latour, 1993).

Researching the used-clothing trade beyond Maputo

The fieldwork activities were centred on Maputo, the empirical focus of the thesis, but research also explored whether the types of processes that were being investigated in depth in Maputo could be observed in other sites, so that learning from the Maputo research might be relevant to broader discussion of the second-hand clothing trade nationally and regionally. Second-hand clothing markets were identified and observed in Manzini and in the Malkerns Valley, Swaziland and in Nelspruit, South Africa. Traders in Maputo had discussed how clothing transits to these sites to be sold. Markets in other areas of Mozambique were also investigated and from 23/03/10 to 09/04/10 a field trip was taken through Maputo to Lilongwe, Malawi. Field observations were made and markets were visited along the route (analyzed in Chapter 7). Interviews with second-hand clothing traders were carried out in Vilankulo, Inchope, Beira, Tete and Lilongwe (Figure 3.1). For logistical reasons, the duration of this trip was limited and therefore the interviews were done without systematic sampling or exploration of the markets and trade patterns in these locations. But this process did allow for common themes to be identified and complements the research activity in Maputo. All of these interviews were carried out in Portuguese without a translator, except those in Malawi which were done in English.

Conclusion

This chapter has documented and provided some critical reflection on the research activities which were undertaken in the UK and Mozambique. The effectiveness of the research methods is discussed further through the subsequent analytical chapters. One of the themes that runs through this chapter is the methodological difficulties in investigating the used-clothing trade (Field, 2000). The literature, both specifically of the used-clothing trade (Bigsten and Wicks, 1996: Field, 2000; 2008; Hansen, 1995; 2000) or in commodity studies, follow the thing or systems of provision analysis (Cook *et al.,* 2006; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Fine, 2002; Gereffi, 1999; Gibbon, 2003b; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005; Hartwick, 1998), does not offer perfect models that can be followed directly. Accessing sources of information was challenging and this section of conclusion focuses on the power relations that were encountered through the research process. The 'accessibility' of research participants at different nodes in the used-clothing network reflects the relative agency that those same groups and individuals have in the network, which is articulated in the analysis in Chapters 4 to 9. Research, though, is also a form of power and the deliberateness of investigation ensured that my agency, as a researcher, also affected the outcomes (Hakim, 2000).

The majority of charitable organisations contacted in the UK chose not to participate in the research, which can partially be explained by their have pressing constraints on staff time (as indicated in response from British Heart Foundation, Great Ormond Street Hospital, Humana, Oxfam (initially), Scope, Sue Ryder and TRAID). This contrasts with the long spells that used-clothing traders experience without making sales in Maputo, which makes them more immediately accessible and interested in participating as 'surplus of spare time' amongst the poor is an unfortunate phenomenon but an aid to the researcher (Rabinow 1977/2007: 34). NGOs, dependent on charitable giving, also have images to protect (Smith, 2004). For example, Great Ormond Street Hospital 'currently do not have a clothing collection scheme up and running' and did not wish to participate in the research process (email received 10/11/08). When Lincoln of YMCA was interviewed (10/03/09) he said YMCA had had 'problems from other charities' and cited Great Ormond Street Hospital as being one of the charities which had been involved with the less ethical commercial operators, an issue discussed further in Chapter 5. The senior charity managers who were interviewed in the UK were careful in their responses to questions. For example, when Clark of Oxfam was interviewed (13/03/09) about the export process, I asked how does a container 'get to, say, Lagos?'

and he was quick to question whether that was 'a Freudian slip' on my part, as he wanted to know if I was trying to catch him out and discover if Oxfam were exporting to Lagos (when the import of used clothing to Nigeria is illegal). In actuality, the question I was asking was a follow-up question and I had said 'Lagos' as it was the first large West African port that came to mind. This example demonstrates how Clark was acutely aware of the responses he was giving in the interview and wanted to respond accurately and protect the image of Oxfam.

Throughout the research process, but especially in Mozambique, an accumulation of knowledge informed the research design (see Table 3.1). Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are not complete chronological records of research activities in Mozambique. Fieldwork does not present progressively coherent encounters for academic analysis. Indeed, the preceding analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 both implicitly and explicitly draws upon the ethnographic investigation in Mozambique. The information presented here is 'reconstructed' from research processes as the output of different research tools and periods of fieldwork are analysed to provide a coherent narrative of the social and economic issues (Rabinow 1977/2007: 7).

The extended period of fieldwork in a different cultural context allowed insights to be developed in the vein of ethnographic inquiry (Crang and Cook, 2007). Immersion in developing countries is vital to understanding the conditions of poverty (Iyenda, 2007). This included developing Portuguese language ability and – through weekly, sometimes daily visits to the markets – the lived experience of being amongst market traders challenged prior assumptions about 'other cultures' and gave accurate perspectives on their working lives (Hammersley, 1992: 33, Twyman *et al.,* 1999; Watson, 2003). In effective research of impoverished people in the global South, more has to be done than simply asking questions or collecting anecdotes as responses need to be assessed critically and positioned within a wider context (Hart, 2002; Sender *et al.*, 2006). Combining the overview interviewing with quantitative insights from the financial diaries and additional phases of repeat interviewing with the same research participants gave depth to the research outputs and informs my systems of provision analysis (Collins *et al.*, 2009; Mayoux, 2006). Research efficiency was also improved by harnessing multiple perspectives and exploring varied avenues by different methodologies and triangulating findings (Abbot and Guijt, 1998; Hoggart *et al.*, 2002).

Practical constraints affected what methods were applied where, when and with whom. The scheduling of different research activities was important in influencing the design of different tools. Interviews were carried out as an exchange of information (Chambers, 1983; Freire, 1970), whereas the later diary keeping was a more commoditised exchange as these participants gained a per diem for their participation, although this method of remuneration was partially supplanted by the additional use of non-monetary gifts in the second and third phases (Appadurai, 1986; Collins *et al.,* 2009). This technique, though, was framed to the needs and abilities of research participants and could not have been applied throughout the study population, for example it would not have been logistically possible to have used the diary technique with itinerant traders or those that sold informally on the street.

I was an outsider in the market space and in that context I had agency which was helpful in managing the research activity (Skinner, 2008). I also attempted to use this same status to the advantage of the research project by trying to contact used-clothing importers through ex-patriot networks, but this proved to be unsuccessful (in contrast this was successful in Brooks, 2011). When warehouses were visited, my foreign status made these groups reluctant to engage with me, although this was also an insoluble problem for Gudo, a local Mozambican (see also Hanlon, 2009). This could be explained by two factors, firstly that they may not want their trade publicised. Importers who are knowledgeable of the different values that are placed on used clothes may be unwilling to discuss their involvement and the profits they accumulate from the trade (Bigsten and Wicks, 1996). They want their activities to occur in a concealed backstage, in contrast to the foregrounded charitable acts of donation in affluent countries. Clothing donors could potentially react negatively if they were aware of the commerciality of the used clothing trade, which is discussed further in Chapter 4 (Gregson *et al.,* 2007a; Shea and Brennan, 2008). A comparison can be drawn with how labour practices are concealed in new-clothing supply chains in the global North (Hale, 2000; Hale and Shaw, 2001; Lane and Probert, 2006). The second reason is that importers may make illegal payments to customs officials when importing used-clothing, discussed further in Chapter 6 (*Business Weekly*, 2011).

The two different sites where research was undertaken, the UK and Mozambique, are not presented as directly connected nodes in a 'global production network' or 'global value chain' (Coe *et al.,* 2008; Kaplinsky, 2000; Kleine, 2008; Lane and Probert, 2006). Neither are the actual 'things' that were being reproduced and sold as commodities

identical, although it is argued they are comparable as economic units. The structure of the commodity flows in the used clothing network are varied and under-reported. As will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5, this makes the systems of provision difficult to map and this dynamic is observable at both micro and macro scales. The initial pilot and interviewing phases of research in Maputo demonstrated the different networks of used-clothing retail in a large African city. Networks shifted and changed through the duration of research in Mozambique, market traders sourced second-hand clothing bales from various suppliers and informal itinerant retailers switched sales locations and concealed trading work from police authority. Investigating and revealing the complexity of local commodity chains and networks in Maputo required extensive ethnographic research. Extending this level of inquiry across a 'global' scale lies beyond the scope of a PhD project. The complexity of transnational trade has been illustrated as making the various commodity studies approaches difficult to implement (Coe *et al.,* 2008; Sarasota, 2010) and the following chapters will document some of the general patterns in the used clothing trade and how the agency within and between places in commodity flows varies.

Chapter 4. The Historical and Social Context of the Second-hand Clothing Trade in the United Kingdom

Introduction

In the international used-clothing trade, exchange value is produced from waste products (Bigsten and Wicks, 1996; Hansen, 1995; Rivoli, 2009). Consumers who can readily afford to buy new items in the global North discard clothes that are outgrown, worn out, unfashionable, or no longer needed. This produces a waste stream of unwanted garments, which are stockpiled, passed on to friends or family, used in the household or thrown away (Gregson and Beale, 2004). These used clothes flow through a network of charitable and commercial exchange that intimately links the richest and poorest people of the world; as the waste clothes of the affluent are re-worn by those in poverty. Intricate and perplexing supply networks are a feature of the international trade in used clothing (Haggblade, 1990; Velia *et al.*, 2006). Amongst those who donate or discard clothing there is ignorance of final destination and market, and the origin of used clothing is not understood by those who consume them in countries such as Kenya, Mozambique, and Zambia (Field, 2008; Hansen, 2000; Packer, 2002; Shea and Brennan, 2008; repeat fieldwork interviews).

The socio-economic context of places and the spatial relationship between concentrations of affluent and poor people determine the pattern of the trade in used clothing, both within and between national economies. This can be represented by the three main nodes in the used-clothing trade introduced in Chapter 2:

i) the input of unwanted clothing from affluent societies

ii) labour activities (re)produce used-clothing commodities

iii) downstream market places in economically impoverished locations

The main empirical focus following this chapter is on the third node in the global South and specifically the work experiences of Mozambican market traders in this network, who are privileged for discussion because the social impacts of the used-clothing trade are greatest for those who participate in the network labouring as final retailers. The first two nodes are considered in this chapter. This begins with a historical analysis of the second-hand clothing trade. Contemporary and historical trade patterns are mapped

to reflect how the connections between these three nodes trace and rest upon gradients of inequality; that is how the second-hand clothing trade has developed as a system of provision of clothing from the rich to poor (Ginsburg, 1980; Lemire, 2005).

Palmer and Clark typified second-hand clothing trading as an exchange process where '[o]ne group or class's discards, or rags, are taken up by another group or class and regarded as riches (2005: 3).' Palmer and Clark are correct that the national and international used clothing trades depend on the waste product of one class being consumed by a more economically marginalised group and thus can be read as representing or articulating class differences, but their reading of the re-valuing of clothing is false. The research undertaken in Maputo identified that used clothing is not regarded as 'riches' in Mozambique. Some second-hand clothes are desired; especially those of high physical quality. However, Mozambicans have their own aspirations for local fashions and styles and high quality new clothing articles, rather than the discarded trends from the global North. This will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7, where the inequality embodied in the connection between the global North and South is investigated (Ferguson, 1999). In this current chapter, the morphology of gradients of inequality in the used clothing trade are discussed in different historical and geographical contexts through reviewing literature and interview analysis.

Used clothes pass from the rich to the poor within and between national economies. They are also consumed as fashion items and circulate as gifts, charitable donations and through formal and informal sale and the history of these exchange patterns pre-dates the development of industrial society (Martin, 1994; Marx, 1995; Norris, 2005; 2010; O'Kelly, 2005; Strasser, 1999). Examples of used-clothing trade are explored and related to developments in new clothing manufacturing and international trade. I also investigate how used clothing is (re)produced as a commodity in the UK, through analyzing the field research which was undertaken with second-hand clothing collectors. The morally ambiguous nature of used clothing exchange and the role of charitable and commercial actors is also discussed, further drawing on the original fieldwork and relating this to a review of published and unpublished sources.

Second-hand clothes in world history

Second-hand clothing has a history that is as long as the production of clothing (Palmer and Clark, 2005). A conceptual discussion of historical moments in the second-hand clothing and rag trades is relevant to the contemporary geo-economic processes, as this history influenced the development of the contemporary system of provision. The value of used clothing has changed from pre-industrial history to the post-modern contemporary, as the tunics and breeches of the ancient world were more readily reworn than the T-shirts and board-shorts of today. The high regard in which used clothes were held in the pre-modern era was bred by the dearth and monetary cost of garments. The physical need for clothes was great in pre-industrial Europe, production was laborious and clothes were expensive (Frick, 2005). Used clothes have historically been so valuable that they have served as alternatives to currency and servants and slaves were gifted old clothing from their masters (Lemire, 2005). The scarcity of clothes among pre-industrial societies ensured their careful husbandry and people were *bricoleurs* (a skilful or creative person) preserving and reusing clothing in crafty ways (Lévi-Strauss 1966; O'Kelly 2005; Riley, 2005). In circumstances when used-clothes were commercially traded, the exchange depended on dealers finding the right markets which would allow them to release the latent value (Ginsberg, 1980; Strasser, 1999). The dearth of clothing, its careful use and the importance of finding the right market continue to be salient processes today, especially in peripheral societies in the global South (Hansen, 2000; Norris, 2010). It was observed that the poor in Mozambique treat clothing careful today, as their opportunities for consumption are limited by poverty, discussed further in Chapters 8 and 9.

Waste domestic clothing was also an input for early industrial processes. As Marx discusses, the rag industry was '[o]ne of the most shameful, the most dirty, and the worst paid kinds of labour…They are used for manure, for making bedflocks, for shoddy, and they serve as the raw material of paper (1995: 279)'. Some torn and soiled clothing is also recycled in the present, including as blankets, car interior furnishings and furniture stuffing, although the major profit in the sector has always been driven by the resale of clothing to be worn again (Clark, interview 13/03/09; Ozanne, interview 21/11/08; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08). The nineteenth century networks had a transnational geographical extent which is paralleled in today's second-hand clothing system of provision: 'Great Britain… is the emporium for the rag trade of the whole world. They flow in from Japan, from the most remote States of South America, and

from the Canary Islands. But the chief sources of their supply are Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Egypt, Turkey, Belgium and Holland (Marx, 1995: 279-280).' And this can be compared to some of the contemporary trade routes in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Selected examples of used-clothing trade patterns

Territory	Example of exporting and importing country	Source
Mozambique[10]	UK to Mozambique	Durham (2004), personal observations and interviews at Xipamanine
	Sweden to Mozambique	Bigsten and Wicks (1996)
	Australia, Canada and Spain to Mozambique	Personal observations and interviews at Xipamanine
	Mozambique to South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe (*re-export of used clothing*)	Velia *et al.* (2006), personal observations and interviews with traders
Africa	Canada and US to Zambia	Chigbo (2008) and Hansen (2000)
	UK to Benin, Gabon, Ghana, Togo and Senegal	Clark (interview 13/03/09) and Ihezie (interview 19/03/09)
	UK to Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania	Personal observations, interviews with market traders and Ozanne (interview 21/11/08)
	Benin, Ghana and Togo to Nigeria (*re-export of used clothing*)	Abimbola (forthcoming) and Bigsten and Wicks (1996)
	Italy to Algeria	Jameh (2008)
	Senegal to France (*haute couture designer fashions)*	Rovine (2005)
Non-African	Japan to the Philippines	Milgram (2005)
	UK to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Uzbekistan	Clark (interview 13/03/09) and Wooldridge (interview 03/12/08)
	Australia and New Zealand to Papua New Guinea	Personal observations in Papua New Guinea
	UK to Poland and Lithuania	Ozanne (interview 21/11/08) and Office of Fair Trading (2004)
	US to Tonga	Besnier (2004)
	US to Hong Kong	Clark (2005)
Within national economies	UK	Ginsburg (1980) and Gregson and Beale (2004)
	India	Norris (2010)
	South Africa	Velia *et al.* (2006)

[10] The import of clothing to Mozambique is discussed further in Chapter 7, Table 7.1 provides data on the main importers of second-hand clothing to Mozambique.

With the development of industrial garment manufacture, Strasser (1999) discuss how clothing re-use changed from a predominately closed household systems, to open market transactions, where clothing was both an input to industrial processes and sold to be worn again. Ragmen worked the streets, collecting clothing in the late nineteenth century United States, exchanging unwanted clothes for new commodities such as pins, needles and dishpans. Similar non-monetary exchange relationships have been documented in contemporary India, Mozambique and Zambia by Norris (2005), Pitcher (1998) and Hansen (2000) respectively, with people receiving second-hand clothes in payment for goods or services. Despite the de-commoditised visage of a barter exchange, Strasser (1999) emphasises that merchants actually made sophisticated calculations of the monetary value of used-clothing and weighed this against the market exchange value paid in new commodities as Norris has also recently found in India (2010). Buying and selling used things is diversionary from the customary path of capitalist exchange and such processes carry 'a risky and morally ambiguous aura' (Appadurai, 1986: 27). The job of the rag pickers and used clothing dealers was, and continues to be, associated with an underclass and criminals (BBC, 2011a; Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Norris, 2010; North Yorkshire County Council, 2009; Strasser, 1999). This has been recently demonstrated in media reporting of used clothing trade practices in the UK which document the tension between charitable giving and sale, discussed further below (see Andrews, 2011; Boffery, 2011; Churcher, 2007).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, used clothing also passed down the social gradient as charitable donations, such as those of 'the ladies of the New-York Clothing Society for the Relief of the Industrious Poor' which 'gave out 1,742 garments...in 1837' (Strasser, 1999: 49). This type of act was often mediated through charities or church groups which formalized the process and provided the urban middle class with a virtuous outlet for unwanted clothing, whilst avoiding direct contact with the undesirable underclass and criminal elements associated with the rag trade. In early twentieth century Europe and North America, this served as a system of provision of clothing for the urban poor and later charity and thrift shops retailed low-value clothing to impoverished people on the margins of modern society (Ginsburg, 1980; Gregson and Beale, 2004).

Modern and post-modern clothing production and disposal

The advent of Fordist production and the 'golden age' of capitalism in Europe and North America filled marketplaces with new consumer goods and disposed to the mass populace wages sufficient for consuming new clothing (Glyn *et al.,* 1990: 39). This socio-economic system depended on people's ability to maintain a cycle of consumption. In the modern world the moment of the *bricoleur* was over, as conveyed in Aldous Huxley's dystopian modernist novel: 'I do love having new clothes... But old clothes are beastly... we always throw away old clothes. Ending is better than mending' (1994: 49). Retaining clothes and wearing them out did not drive modern capitalist development. There was an underlying need for capitalism to reinvent and constantly bring new products, often with simulated demands, to the marketplace in the post-war era (Harvey, 2006a). As B. Earl Puckett, a leading clothing retailer, said in the United States: 'Basic utility cannot be the foundation of a prosperous apparel industry…We must accelerate obsolescence' (quoted in *Time Magazine*, 1950).

Contemporary capitalist society has since gone beyond the modernist phase of people being persuaded to consume new fashions (i.e. through advertising). As Lodziak (2000: 113) has argued, heavy manipulation is no longer necessary: 'the consumer, faced with so much variety, is forced into making consumer choices'. Lodziak continues to identify that, following the cultural turn, 'the emphasis on consumption as a symbolic activity ignores the continuing relevance of need and the material use value of goods in determining what we consume... most personal and domestic consumption is an adaptive response to present day living conditions, and is best seen as *obligatory* (original emphasis) (2000, 116)'. Lodziak's analysis is nuanced and reflective of political economy and he believes that post-modern cultural studies (for examples see Appadurai, 1986; Emberley, 1987; Nuttall, 2004) have overemphasised the importance of *symbolic* purchases and 'self narration' through consumption.

Whether consumption is *symbolic* or *obligatory*, contemporary capitalist society is dependent on the continual sale of new commodities (Harvey, 2010a). In the new apparel sector the rhythm of purchases far exceeds the tempo of the dilapidation of clothes, as firms can only find the opportunity for growth in the speed at which stimulated tastes and fashions change. New clothes are designed that are positional and will shortly become obsolete. Excess consumption has grown, driven by the falling real price of goods (Bair and Gereffi, 2001; Gorz, 1999; Schiermer, 2010 Schor, 2005;

Siegle, 2011). Garments are priced far too low to reflect their true economic and ecological expense as capital mobility and excess global labour supply enables clothing firms to depress wages and avoid paying environmental costs (Brooks, 2010; Chan and Ross, 2003; Hale, 2000; Hale and Shaw, 2001; Klein, 2002). Clothing conceals whether it: 'has been produced under conditions of monopoly, creating relative surplus value through the use of advanced machinery, or whether it has its origins in the backstreet sweatshop dependent upon absolute surplus value' (Fine, 2002: 73). Consumers have responded to clothing availability and an environment of competitive consumption, by purchasing increasing numbers of artificially cheap goods in a rapid cycle of acquisition and discard (McDougall; 2007; 2008; Norris, 2010).

With industrial modernity the relationship with waste was also fundamentally transformed. The making of rubbish became integral to the economic system, helping to drive consumption (Hawkins, 2003). The growth of markets for new commodities in part, came to depend on the disposal of things, purchasing and discarding objects became forms of freedom and systems of wealth which override saving and repair. Gregson *et al.* (2007a: 188) argue that the process of 'divestment' (getting rid of things) is a practice in itself connected to the 'meta practice' of consumption. One of the particularities of the commodity form is that it implies that every party involved in an exchange has the ability to consume something in particular; there is differentiation in consumption (Fine, 2002). The purchasing of *pre-consumed* used-clothing, such as at charity shops and car boot sales, was perceived negatively as undesirable, acceptable only for the impoverished and counter-culture groups in Western society (Crewe *et al.,* 2003; Gregson *et al.,* 1997; Jenβ, 2005; Lane, *et al.*, 2009; Palmer, 2005; Wiseman, 1979). Despite the current popular rise in household recycling, those who take an active role in the disposal and consumption of 'waste' are still viewed as outside the mainstream, as were the rag and bone men, *bricoleurs*, and 'disease ridden' rag-sorters found in previous eras (Ginsburg, 1980; Marx, 1995; Strasser, 1995).

In contrast, the fashion system is positively coded. As Baudrillard (1981) and Bourdieu (1984) have illustrated the control of fashion is effective in restricting social mobility and places consumers in a never-ending contest of purchases which contribute to expressing their social mark (Dwyer and Jackson, 2000; Schiermer, 2010). Such a pattern is not restricted to those who follow high end fashion; everyone has some adherence to culturally constructed norms of dress, which evolve over time. Garments also get ripped, stained and out grown – all process which diminish value. Clothing is

virtually by norm considered symbolically obsolete before its functional use value is extinguished, as the fashion system dictates the qualitative obsolescence of clothing commodities which still retain use value (Fine, 2002; Siegle, 2011).

Transient clothing ownership in the contemporary economic moment produces a mass of waste used clothing which is diverted from the rubbish system into a second cycle of consumption (Gregson and Beale, 2004). New clothing purchase is inter-connected to disposal; for example, imports of new apparel, by volume, are a significant predictor of the export of used clothing from the United States to the rest of the world (unpublished research Schor and Heim [no date] cited by Schor, 2005). Mass consumption in affluent consumer societies must, Schor (2005) argues, be understood as the greatest source of transforming the world from both socio-economic and environmental perspectives. By disposing of clothes through donations, people in the global North set in motion a series of connections; a process which can re-start as more new garments are purchased.

Contemporary consumption of second-hand clothes

Second-hand clothing is sold as a commodity in market-based transactions and bought by the underprivileged in both the global North and South (with the exception of niche counter-culture purchase and humanitarian relief, which lay outside the scope of this thesis (see Islamic Relief, 2010)). Consumption is served primarily by capital and capitalism where buying 'things' has been conditioned to conceal the position and activities of those involved in production (Hartwick, 1998). Fine discusses this in reference to Marx's theory of commodity fetishism: 'money provides a common measure across commodities ... [it] seemingly sets aside the underlying social relations, structures and processes by which use values are made available for consumption. The fashionable trainer does not display the child labour upon which it depends' (2002: 26). And neither does the clothing donation bank display the economic pathways that donated clothing follows. The labour activities associated with the separation of people from their 'things', the generation of rubbish and processes of recycling, and the complex interactions between waste-making, donations and environmental acts are hidden in contemporary society (Hawkins, 2003; Tarasuk and Eakin, 2003). In the global North and South the linkages between used-clothing origins and markets are therefore often unknown by those who discard, purchase and wear used clothes, as patterns of capitalist exchange obscure and confuse the connections between

production, consumption, disposal and re-use. There is little substantive work on the incorporation of the West's used clothing practices in to the Third World or the tensions which surround its charitable guise. Hansen (2000) believes that the financial side of charity and private textile recycling has escaped scrutiny, which is explored further below.

Palmer and Clark (2005: 3) argue that: '[r]eusing previously worn fashion is predicated on excess production of cloth and garments in societies that manufacture more than they need.' Their statement is inaccurate and illustrates how the roles of people in systems of production and consumption are concealed. The labourers who produce 'excess' cloth and garments are predominantly working in the global South[11] and the processes of new clothing (over)consumption in the global North are predicated on the exploitation of labour in places such as Bangladesh, China and Vietnam (Kynge, 2006; Redclift, 2000; Schor, 2005), although the profitable design, marketing and retailing activities for new clothing sold to affluent consumers is mainly carried out in the global North (Gereffi, 1999; Hale, 2000). Therefore, it is the *consumers* in the advanced economies who get more than they *need*, not the societies which manufacture them, but Palmer and Clark's principle that there is production for a privileged few which exceeds their needs holds true. Thereafter, once clothing is disposed of in the global North it may be traded and worn again in the global South, at the same locations which manufacture new clothes for export to Europe and North America, such as Kenya (Phelps *et al.,* 2009), Tanzania (Rivoli, 2009), the Philippines (Milgram, 2005), Pakistan (interview with Woodridge) and Zambia (Brooks, 2010; personal observations). Used clothing is also consumed in locations in the global economy such as Mozambique, which have limited domestic clothing industries. The relation between imports of used clothing and the decline of clothing industries and the lack of opportunities to develop local clothing industries are explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

The second-hand clothing trade depends on the input of used clothing that was originally produced in the global South and for there to still be *use value* retained in these (re)produced second-hand commodities, which is in demand amongst the underprivileged (Hansen, 1995). The used clothing unwanted by people in the global North, has a different exchange value in the global South. "What is seen as valuable in

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[11] Reading 'global South' as including clothing manufacturing in China and notwithstanding First World sweatshops.

one socio-spatial context may not be so in another. The origins of these differences lie in different modes of socio-economic organization and are expressed in different ways of conceptualizing and theorizing 'the economy'" (Hudson, 2008: 424). But that is not to say that: 'a good at a certain location and the same good at another location are *different* economic objects, and the specification of the location at which it will be available is essential.' (Debreu 1959: 29-30, cited by Mann 2008: 126). As Mann argues, such a framing of space as by Debreu, a neoclassical economist, is the logic of a Hegelian bourgeois capitalist world. Debreu's primacy of location foregrounds space, but it is not just differential transport or trading costs that are the embodied *difference* in the defining of an economic object at a given location, rather it is the socio-economic positionality of those involved in a transaction which will also construct its exchange value as an economic object. The used clothing commodity is (re)produced and sold through embedded systems of provision. The politics of economic space can be conceptualised by the way in which people interact through seemingly mundane acts such as producing, buying and donating clothing. The effects of these processes are actually physically transmitted through space and are experienced through the differential use values and exchange values attached to second-hand clothing in the UK and Mozambique.

Many people in today's globalised economy experience a great scarcity of clothing, a reality of material deprivation (Redclift, 2000). Hansen's text (2000) presents contemporary Zambians as re-using clothing in the manner of a *bricoleurs*, without directly referencing Lévi-Strauss (1966). The global South of today is not the pre-industrial world though, the possibility for consumption is readily projected through the imagery of advertising and media in Third World cities; the *absence* of clothing is apparent. Following research in southern Africa, Ferguson (1999; 2007) argues that people have felt a sense of loss of membership of the world society, as their pathway to modernity has petered out and rather than interconnection they begin to experience disconnection, as they are unable to attain or aspire to a 'cosmopolitan' lifestyle and dress (1999: 92). Hart (2002) discusses how people in South Africa can navigate through space between the emancipatory promises and glamour of mass consumption, and the harsh reality of their material deprivation. In Mozambique the picture is perhaps more stark, the view towards an unreachable horizon of mass consumption more distant, although equivalent localized 'enclaved spaces' of affluence can be found in the Baixa of Maputo (see Figure 3.2; Sidaway, 2007b; Paasche and Sidaway, 2010). In

postcolonial and post-socialist Mozambique, adverts display consumer images which are disconnected from the material deprivation of most of the city's inhabitants (Sidaway and Power, 1995: 1463), and the contemporary used clothing markets such as Xipamanine explored in Chapters 8 and 9, share more with the pre-industrial scenes documented by Frick (2005), Lemire (2005) and Strasser (1999) than the consumer landscape of UK High Streets (Crewe, 2000).

Reproducing used clothing commodities in the United Kingdom

The (re)production of used clothing commodities in the UK is part of a modern industrial process. These activities are part of a landscape of 'ecological modernization... of new approaches to the reconciliation of the economic and environmental objectives of both government and private organizations' (Roberts, 2004: 124). In 2003, 303,000 tonnes of used clothing items were collected in Britain by the secondary textile industry (Morley *et al.,* 2006: 7). The second-hand clothing trade is positioned, primarily by the government, as a form of environmental recycling compensating for 'the West consuming too much fashion' (Norris, 2010: 13; Rochford District Council, 2009). Then secondly, it represents an income generating activity for charities in the UK and thirdly, if at all, as a trade issue which impacts upon the global South (Clark, interview 13/03/09; Fletcher, 2008; House of Lords, 2008; Lincoln, interview 10/03/09).

Despite the governmental framing of the disposing of clothing for reuse as an environmental act, Shea and Brennan's (2008), research demonstrates that many donors still feel that they are gift giving to the poor (see also Andrews, 2011; Churcher, 2007). The sector has a longer history as being driven by charitable donation for the relief of poverty (see Strasser, 1999) and these aid and environmental narratives are conflated in publicity materials. Oxfam (2008: 17) connects development and environmentalism in publicity materials: 'Having a clear out? Reduce landfill and raise funds to fight poverty by bringing your unwanted items to Oxfam'.

An emergent trend is that some charities have entered into partnerships with new clothing retailers to stimulate the donation of unwanted clothing and the simultaneous consumption of new clothing. 'JJB Sports has launched a new in-store trainer-recycling scheme to raise funds for Whizz-Kidz' with each donor receiving a £5 JJB voucher in

exchange for every pair of trainers they donate (Whizz-Kidz, 2011). The used shoes are sold by JJB and 'All profits that JJB makes from the sale of the unwanted shoes for re-use or recycling will support many more young disabled people' via Whizz-Kidz a children's disability charity. A similar scheme has been operated between Oxfam and Marks and Spencer since 2008: 'Oxfam and M&S [Marks and Spencer] have teamed up to help shoppers support the world's poorest people. Just bring your old M&S clothes or soft furnishings to an Oxfam shop and we'll exchange them for a £5 voucher to use at M&S' (Oxfam, 2011a). These examples explicitly link the discarding of unwanted clothes to a new cycle of consumption, demonstrating a direct connection between the new and used clothing systems of provision. Today's clothing collection organizations seek to provide a 'virtuous' outlet for unwanted clothing in the global North, which include celebrity endorsements. For example, former Olympian Matthew Pinsent launched the JJB/Whizz-kidz scheme (Goodman, 2010; Whizz-Kidz, 2011). Recycling features prominently in the JJB/Whizz-kidz scheme, and Bryant and Goodman (2004) have noted that environmentalism may have ascendancy over other ethical narratives. Despite these narratives for charitable and commercial operators, clothing collection is 'driven by the value in textiles reused as clothing' rather than by environmental concerns (Morley *et al.*, 2006: 8).

Different ethical narratives are used in door-step collection materials to stimulate clothing donations. Figure 4.1 is an example of a sticky label intended to be attached to a bag of donated clothing. It uses an image of a child who appears to be somewhere in the global South in the aftermath of a disaster. Although the photo has no caption, it is of an earthquake in Sichuan, China on 12/05/08 as illustrated in Figure 4.2. However, although the text states that '[a]ll clothes are shipped to under-developed countries to improve their lives and welfare' it gives no mention as to how this will be achieved or the names of any charities or organisations linked to the Chinese earthquake. The only identifications as to the collecting organisation are a company registration number and a mobile phone number, but which was inactive when called. Figure 4.3 is a further example, which gives the casual observer the impression that donations will benefit an air ambulance service charity. Careful inspection of the small print reveals that this collection company has no direct connection to air ambulance services.[12] These and

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[12] The web address on this leaflet http://www.airambulanceservice.org.uk is inactive, a very similar address http://www.airambulanceservice.co.uk/ is for Areo Medical Ambulance Service (2011) which has the notice: 'We are in no way linked with Charity Bag collections'.

some other commercial operators mimic charities' marketing strategies. Such organisations employ imagery which is suggestive that the donations are charitable (Lomotey and Fisher, 2006). In all four of my interviews with NGOs, the interviewees expressed anger at the actions of such operations. In their focus group research with the general public, Shea and Brennan (2008: 29) also found that:

> Respondents expressed serious concerns about collection materials that take advantage of legitimate charities' brand recognition. *'I think that [the use of the pink ribbon] is ... deliberately done to make you think you are donating to breast cancer.'* ['Do Not Delay (The Lithuanian Breast Cancer Charity)' Collection Sack].

Figure 4.1 Clothing collection label
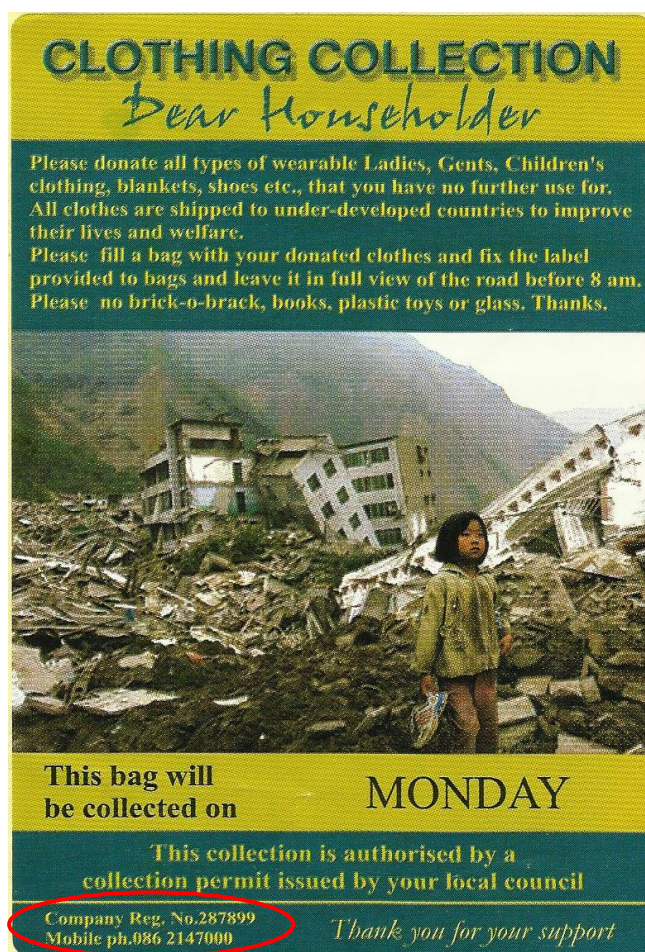
Note the company registration and phone numbers, I have highlighted in red, are the only identification information. The image was input in the Tineye (2011) reverse photo search engine which returned 14 uses of a very similar image (Figure 4.2) including from an Italian newspaper *Ill Capoluogo d'Abruzzo* (2011).

Figure 4.2 Earthquake in Sichuan, China

The girl carrying shoes may have been superimposed in front of the scene.

Figure 4.3 Leaflet for E&N Textiles clothing collection company

Figures 4.1 and 4.3 are in isolation anecdotal as evidence of the deceitful practices in the used clothing trade but there are many other examples (Charity Bags, 2011). The Office of Fair Trading (2004) has stopped clothing collections by Kosta Ltd, which claimed to be supporting the H.K.L. Charity in Lithuania, because the leaflets were misleading and H.K.L. is not recognised as a charity in Lithuania. In 2009, North

Yorkshire Trading Standards service prosecuted a business run by Lithuanians which falsely claimed to be a licensed charity clothing collector (North Yorkshire County Council, 2009).

The imagery and a narrative of helping less-fortunate people is important as a means to stimulate the donation of clothing, and is also widely used in genuine charity clothing collections (see Figure 4.4, below). In the UK, sustaining this narrative is an integral part of the system of provision and the 'material culture' which surrounds the donation, (re)production and consumption of used clothing (Fine, 2002).

The action of donating clothing is not an exchange relationship which can be accounted for in mainstream economics (Gregson and Crewe, 2003). Household donation involves people voluntarily giving their labour to sort clothes which are intended to be worn again elsewhere. Giving used clothes to a charitable or commercial collector can be illustrated as not fitting within rigid 'modern' definitions of materiality such as 'commodity', 'gift' and 'rubbish' (Gregson *et al.*, 2007a). It is neither personalised gift-giving between friends or family nor is it waste making (Gregson and Beale, 2004; Hawkins, 2003; O'Kelly, 2005). Through considering the socio-economic history of the used-clothing trade in the previous section of this chapter, the normalisation of used-clothing donations can be understood. Charities in the UK have become relatively effective in monopolising the collection node (i) for the specific historic-cultural reasons which normalised the gifting of used clothing from the affluent to the impoverished. The moral obligation to donate unwanted clothing is understood as a norm of behaviour when contextualized by the history of charitable donation and gifting of clothing (see Ginsburg, 1980; Lemire, 2005; O'Kelly, 2005; Strasser, 1999).

The downstream actions of clothing processing charities and companies can be understood within capitalist social relations. The clothing collecting organization's aim is to realise the latent value in used clothing, even if this is not achieved through using the donated clothing in the exact manner intended by the donor (Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08; Hetherington, 2004). As Adam Smith (1776, 1: 27) discussed, the attitude of economically rational recipients towards used-clothing donations is to use them according to their needs, which may be to barter or sell clothes: 'The old cloaths [clothes] which another bestows upon him he exchanges for other old cloaths which suit him better, or for lodging, or for food, or for money, with which he can buy either food, cloaths, or lodging, as he has occasion.' This argument of Smith's, was echoed in an

interview with Ozanne (21/11/08) of the Salvation Army, who believed that people are quite comfortable about giving clothing to the Salvation Army knowing that only a small proportion will directly be worn again by people in need (e.g. the homeless in the UK) and 'makes no bones about' the fact that that the majority is sold to generate surplus value. However, Shea and Brennan's (2008) research contradicts Ozanne's opinion and argues that donors have anxieties over the onward sale of clothing. People are unhappy when gifts are turned into commodities and sold in the free market. This is also documented in popular media reports, including recent controversy over the role of the Salvation Army Trading Company (see Andrews, 2011; Churcher, 2007; Jester, 2002; Mathiason, 2004).

The controversial role of commercial collectors in the United Kingdom

The normalised role of charities in used-clothing networks has been subverted by the involvement of private firms and the changing social context of the system of provision. The gradient of inequality along which used clothing is traded has shifted from the rich to the poor within national economies (e.g. via sales in high street charity and thrift shops), to international trade between the global North and South (see Table 4.1). This is in part a reaction to the dynamics of global capitalism and the rising affluence of societies in the global North and the increased affordability of new clothing, following long term clothing price deflation (Schor, 2005; Siegle, 2011). Transnational trading merchants with diasporic connections between the UK and countries including Lithuania, Nigeria, Pakistan and Poland link used clothing supply and demand. These groups and individuals possess the skills and crucial assets which UK-based charities, especially small and medium NGOs (e.g. local hospices and the YMCA) lack and are able to amalgamate and split supplies of used clothing to achieve critical economies of scale (Ihezie, interviews 19/03/09; Abimbola forthcoming, discussed further in Chapter 5). In contrast, other charitable organisations are corporatizing and adopting organisational modes associated with commercial new clothing retail, such as Oxfam and The Salvation Army to increase profits (Gregson *et al.,* 2002; discussed below).

Some commercial operators have also integrated themselves at the collection node by paying a royalty fee to use the name of a charity and then accepting the donations directly from the public with no actual involvement by the charity. Licensing the charitable branding of the collection node has allowed these companies to expand their

involvement in the system of provision and increase their profitability. Such an arrangement has existed between charities and commercial operators including small charities such as the Rainbows Hospice in the East Midlands and Ragtex UK (see Figure 4.4, the role of Ragtex UK is discussed further in Chapter 5.). This has enabled charities to extract surplus from the used-clothing trade without investing capital in infrastructure and commercial operates benefit from the use of charities images to stimulate donations. Help the Aged operates two different models of collection; in total they distribute 30 million collection bags per year, 13 million from an internal business run by Help the Aged staff and volunteers to stock the Help the Aged shops and 17 million bags are distributed by Precycle, which uses the Help the Aged name as a licensed operator, and pays 50% of profits to Help the Aged. Both of these models create large volumes of second-hand clothing which is eventually retailed overseas (Wooldridge, interview 03/12/11).

Figure 4.4 Front and rear view of rainbows charity collection bags.

Note the authorised collector is Ragtex UK Ltd, highlighted in red.

There is further controversy around the activities of companies which operate entirely for-profit collection schemes, or who make a 'token' donation to charities (Ozanne, Salvation interview 03/12/08). Rainbow Hospice receives a minimum of £40 for every

tonne of used clothing collected (Figure 4.4), but the market value of collected used clothing was reported by Wooldridge (interview, 03/12/08) to have been £600-900 per tonne between 2002 and 2006. The 50% of profits received by Help the Aged from their commercial operator, is a far greater level of rent extraction than Rainbow obtained. The British Heart Foundation (2011) has estimated that 'in some cases as little as 5% is paid to a charity who is working with a commercial company'. An increase in the commercialisation of the clothing collection is also occurring as councils including Northumberland and Hertfordshire have started charging ground rent for clothing recycling banks on local authority land. The British Heart Foundation and Scope have argued that private companies are able to out-bid charities leading to a further corporatisation of the used-clothing trade (Boffery, 2011).

Second-hand clothing thefts

Concern was also expressed in the four NGO interviews over the outright theft of used clothing left by donors for charity collection (see also BBC, 2011a). Lomotey and Fisher (2006: 3), writing for Great Ormond Street Hospital, link these criminal activities to companies which make door to door collections: 'What is of concern is not the increased sector competition but overwhelming evidence that a large number of these companies regularly steal donations.' Lincoln (interview, 10/03/09) claimed that the YMCA had had 'problems from other charities' stealing their collections and that 'Great Ormond Street Hospital just blanket an area' with collection bags and take everything but continued to add 'I'm not saying that ours don't do that.'[13] Wooldridge of Help the Aged said that when the price for used clothing is high, at around £900 per ton, there is a problem with the stealing of donation bags. Their drivers have been threatened, asked for maps of their routes, and followed by unmarked vans which steal deposited clothing. The police and trading standards have been alerted. Help the Aged suggested those acting illegally are frequently Eastern Europeans who have links with traders in their home countries and Lomotey and Fisher (2006) suggest that one destination for stolen second-hand clothing is Lithuania.

As the historical review earlier in this chapter demonstrated, the used clothing trade has long been associated with criminals and an underclass. The problem of theft of second-

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[13] When Great Ormond Street Hospital were contacted for an interview on 06/11/08 they responded that they 'currently do not have a clothing collection scheme up and running'.

hand clothes is not new and in 1939 in the United States the Salvation Army complained that bags from door to door collections were being 'kidnapped' and 'hijacked', illustrating the long association of criminal elements with a trade which has operated on the fringes of society (Strasser, 1999: 225). The interviews also illustrated that the industry is marked by distrust and price fluctuations. Charities were cautious in their dealings with commercial actors, asking for payment before delivery of second-hand clothing. This was discussed in the interview with Clark (13/03/09); Oxfam require 'payment in advance' and 'used to have people walk through the office with £20,000 in cash in an envelope.'

Producing exchange value out of used clothing in the United Kingdom

In Chapter 2 the theoretical analysis of the role of labour in the (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities was introduced. Morley *et al.* describe how this system predominantly operates (2006: 16):

> In the UK, the collection of used textiles is largely carried out by charity organisations through a combination of door-to-door collections, textile banks, and receipts at the high street charity shops themselves. Items that are saleable in the shops are retained and the surplus is sold to the textile merchants for sorting and onward sale, either as re-useable clothing to export markets, or as recycling grades.

In the UK, 16% of clothing enters a second cycle of consumption through such process (Morley *et al.*, 2006: 8). The income from these commercial activities is used as a core funding source for charitable activities, although high street shops often have a secondary purpose of raising organisations' profiles (Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08). A process of changing donated clothing into commodities may begin inside charity shops, following the sorting, unpacking, pricing and marketing labour processes undertaken by the waged or voluntary charity shop worker (observed at YMCA shop; Gregson *et al.* 2002). At this moment the donated item is transformed, although the commodity form is only realised when it is sold and 'the labour spent on the production of a useful article becomes expressed as one of the objective qualities of that article' (Marx 1995: 33).

The interviews with the YMCA (Lincoln, 10/03/09) and Help the Aged (Wooldridge, 03/12/09) showed how their shops follow the model Morley *et al.* (2006) describe. These NGOs have little involvement with the used-clothing once it is sold to

commercial textile merchants. They are part of non-integrated supply chains, which are discussed further in Chapter 5. Help the Aged's un-retailed clothes are sold to Eastern European customers by weight and YMCA sells clothing to Choice Textiles, a commercial operator which deals with all their unsold shop waste (including bric-a-brac, electronic items and furniture). The unsold outputs from UK charity retailing were defined by these charities as only a marginal by-product with little realisable exchange value. Lincoln revealed that there are significant price fluctuations and in 2001 the 'market almost collapsed' and went 'down to 10p a bag' but in 2009 rag merchants' purchases were a 'very important revenue'. Wooldridge said Help the Aged cannot 'depend' on the trade in unsold clothing and it is a 'supplementary' income source. The opinions of these two charities and their 'valuing' of non-retailable clothes stem from their inability to realise the potential in this external output produced by their retail operations, as these NGOs lack the critical assets to reproduced used clothing commodities for export (discussed further in Chapter 5).

A far greater volume of clothing is donated to charities, via clothing banks, door-step collections and deposits at charity shops than is actually retailed in UK charity stores (Clark, interview 13/03/08; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08). Oxfam's Wastesaver plant receives 130 tonnes of unsold goods form Oxfam shops in an average week (Oxfam, 2008: 17). Obtaining exact national figures is not possible as different organisations retail varying proportions of stock in the UK and there is no central recording of data, but Gerald Cemmell of Ragtex estimates only 'about 10-20% of the clothes collected in charity shops are sold in Britain' (quoted in Durham, 2004) and the British Heart Foundation (2011) estimates around 30% is retailed in the UK. Despite being only a relatively small part of the total used clothing market, the high street retail process is foregrounded in the public sphere in the UK. This is a symbolically important part of the imagery and material culture of the used clothing system of provision, whereas the much larger industrial production of bales of used clothing for export is obscured.

The Salvation Army and Oxfam have coordinated modes of operation which differ to that described by Morley *et al.* (2006). Oxfam collects approximately 3% of the used clothes donated in Britain, and retails clothes through 700 charity shops, but where they differ from most charities is that rather than selling excess used-clothing to a merchant they have *Wastesaver*; their own processing plant for unsold clothing (Clark, interview

13/03/09).[14] Wastesaver sorts and grades clothing for export (60%), recycling (25-28%) and niche product lines for retail in the UK (8-10%) and is located in Huddersfield, a central UK location to minimise transport costs, physically separate from Oxfam's Oxford base. It is 'Oxfam's rag merchant in crude terms' (Clark, interview 13/03/09). The Salvation Army is the largest collector of used clothing in the UK and accounts for approximately 15% of the total volume of used-clothing collections (Ozanne, interview 21/11/08). Their operation is run by The Salvation Army Trading Company Limited, which gives all profits to the Salvation Army. The majority of the clothing they collect is for export or sale as recyclable material, with a small proportion being sold in approximately 50 UK shops or utilised to support their programme work in the UK e.g. provided free of cost to homeless people. Both Oxfam and the Salvation Army sort, grade and categorise (e.g. men's T-shirts, ladies blouses, silks) the clothing in the UK and package it in bales for export. That process is dependent on waged labour, which collects unsold clothing from charity shops and clothing banks and sorts and categorises clothing in processing plants. Through these productive labour activities, the latent use value embodied in the unwanted clothing can be realised, and second-hand clothes are channelled to markets in the global South where they will be valued as commodities (see Figure 4.5).

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[14] The Wastesaver plant was badly damaged in a fire on the 30/04/11, but Oxfam continues to process used clothing donations at that site (BBC, 2011b; McCullough, 2011).

Figure 4.5 Reproduction of second-hand clothing commodities in the UK

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ UK-based processes                                                        │
│                                                                           │
│   ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐            │
│   │          Donation or discard of unwanted clothing        │            │
│   │                                                          │            │
│   │  (Clothing takes the form of a gift, recyclable material │            │
│   │                     or waste)                            │            │
│   └─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘            │
│         │               │                  │                              │
│         ▼               ▼                  ▼                 ┌──────────┐  │
│   ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────────┐          │  Local   │  │
│   │ Clothing │    │ Doorstep │    │ Charity or   │·········▶ │  retail  │  │
│   │   bank   │    │collection│    │ thrift shop  │          │ of used  │  │
│   └──────────┘    └──────────┘    └──────────────┘          │  clothes │  │
│         │               │                  │                └──────────┘  │
│         ▼               ▼                  ▼                              │
│   ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐            │
│   │ Collection, sorting and grading of used-clothing. Labour │            │
│   │ activities undertaken by charitable or commercial        │            │
│   │ organisations                                            │            │
│   │ Reproduces used-clothing as commodities for export sale  │            │
│   └─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      Clothing bales exported to
                            global South
                                  ▼
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Similar processes are undertaken by the commercial textile merchants who purchase unsold clothing from other charity retailers. Choice Textiles is a commercial client of YMCA and also sources clothes from: 'Barnardo's, Cancer Research UK, Age Concern, a few independents like local hostels' (Ihezie, interview 19/03/09). Choice Textiles buys from these organizations, amalgamating supplies and selling them on to other UK-based companies which process the clothing into specific categories and package them in bales for export. In the United States used clothes are collected by small often, family-owned firms. Rivoli (2009: 219) estimates there are nearly 3000 businesses, in what is a very competitive industry.

The production of bales of specifically categorised used-clothing goods is an industrial manufacturing process, which produces commodities for export. At Oxfam's Wastesaver plant, there are conveyor belts dictating the tempo of work, time cards regulating employees' working days, and gantries and offices for managers overseeing the labour-process, all of which are features of modern factory architecture utilized by

capitalists to enforce discipline and enhance systematic production (see Braverman, 1978; Brooks, 2010; Hart, 2002). The main labour activities of sorting and packaging are complex and sophisticated. Clothing waste is separated into a multitude of specific categories and weighed, labelled and bound into tightly packed bales (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7). These bales are new units produced from a circuit of labour process that utilises material value still embodied in the waste clothing objects. Wages are paid and these new labour processes are contained within the final cost for consumers in developing countries. As was explored in the theoretical overview in Chapter 2, the price of retailing used clothing in the global South (at node (iii)), includes profits which have already been realised at upstream nodes in the global North (at nodes (i) and (ii)).

Figure 4.6 Factory workers sorting used clothing at Oxfam Wastesaver

Figure 4.7 (Re)producing second-hand clothing bales for export at Oxfam Wastesaver

The used clothing export process

Once clothing has been collected by either charitable or commercial collection agencies, it can take varied and complex routes to final markets such as Mozambique. Wooldridge (2006) documents one of the routes clothing takes from Help the Aged doorstep collections to the Precycle depot in Reading, then by road to grading and sorting plants in Poland where they are categorised: A Grade items are sold in Polish shops, B Grade are exported to Africa, C Grade are exported to Iran, Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Pakistan and G Grade are recycled for industrial use. The B Grade items may eventually reach

markets, such as those in Mozambique, but as Wooldridge's report and interview (03/12/08) demonstrated, tracing the transactions is difficult since the donations go through processes of amalgamation and separation from other discarded clothing streams. When interviewed (10/03/09), Lincoln of YMCA reported being unsure of where clothing finally goes but said 'most of it ends up in the third world.' Ihezie (interview 19/03/09), disclosed that the final market for British used clothing exports was primarily West Africa: 'mainly Ghana, Benin, Togo' rather than East Africa because 'the West African market has been in the trade for years since, the 1950s and 1960s. The East African market was a late comer [the trade is less established there]...The Nigerian market is the largest even though its "contraband" (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6).

Oxfam have two different models of clothing export; the majority of their exports are channelled through normal market exchanges, comparable to other commercial operators. Clothing is sold by the 40ft shipping container, holding approximately 300 55kg bales. Customers in the global South purchase a container with a mix of different bales as part of a package including both desirable and undesirable items. For example: '35 bales of men's T-shirts, 2 bales of bras and so on...' (Clark, interview 13/03/09). They sell to African companies, which are relatively small 'what you would call an entrepreneur' and each importer takes 4 to 20 containers a year. They ship mainly to West Africa: 'markets are more stable and governments are more stable... [in] Ghana, Togo, Benin, Gabon, Senegal'. There were more problems with exporting to East Africa: '150 [containers] were on the water and then went dead' when market restrictions were imposed in Kenya. Oxfam also exports a 'second pick for Eastern Europe' and this comprises secondary items not suitable for the African market rather than secondary in terms of quality. To the 'Middle East goes third lower quality' which is exported on to countries including Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. The use of 40 or 20 foot shipping containers and 45 or 55kg bales of specific sorted clothing is the standard method for commercial imports of second-hand clothing to the African market (Hansen, 2000; Rivoli, 2009; Wooldridge, 2006).

Clark commented that 'It was quite an eye opener for me speaking to colleagues.' i.e. other people within Oxfam who are campaigning against US cotton subsidies and promoting fairtrade clothing (Scot, 2007). 'Oxfam was reluctant to talk about clothing ending up in countries they worked in... which could affect local industry' (Clark, interview 13/03/09). In an effort to address some of the ethical issues which surround

the trade, Oxfam has started exporting sorted larger 450kg bales of 'tropical mix' to their own sorting plant in Dakar, Senegal. This 'commercial social enterprise' aims to support Oxfam's in-country programme and sorts and grades used-clothes and sells them locally to traders. It 'employees 25, 26 people' and Oxfam is 'trying to link the operation' and acknowledge their local work on livelihoods. There are difficulties in Senegal, though:

> We can't shift everything from a commercial basis to an ethical basis 'cause the risk is too great...It's not easy... [we] invested £300,000 you've got to have that level of investment... [we are] paying full duty, putting us at a commercial disadvantage in-country.

The disadvantage is in comparison to unethical commercial operators who may pay bribes to avoid duties: 'African markets [have] got a [reputation] of bending the rules', as discussed in Chapter 5. Oxfam was proud of their Dakar operation: 'That's our unique selling point.' It was argued that it was: 'sustainable' and 'as ethical as you can get these days. We're leading edge.' However, this coordinated trade pattern which links the global North and South (discussed further in Chapter 5) is a small part of their business, accounting for only 10% of exports. Clark (interview 13/03/09) also added: 'There is the international division which spend the money and others which support it' each is 'specialist' and 'They get on with what they need to do and I get on with what I need to do.'

The Salvation Army do not export used clothing to Africa. They have a limited number of large buyers in Eastern Europe, including Bulgaria and Estonia. Multiple reasons were given for not trading with African merchants. There is an issue around use value; 'Overcoats and puffa jackets [are] unsuitable for climate', a problem which had been accommodated by Oxfam by having a different product line for Eastern Europe. There are also interrelated moral, practical and ethical reasons. It was argued that if not handled correctly, imports could damage local manufacturing, which is discussed further in Chapter 6. However, used clothes can also be assumed to be a cheaper substitute for locally produced garments in countries such as Bulgaria and Estonia, meaning the same point could be made to argue for restraining from exporting to Eastern Europe. Africa was also believed by Ozanne to suffer from 'political unrest' and there were ethical considerations with providing 'financial incentives for senior officials' which 'is an issue for an organisation with Christian values' (Corruption is discussed in Chapter 5). The Salvation Army had made an exception and exported to Africa when they responded to a need identified in Malawi for bras. They campaigned

to collect additional bras in the UK, but there was a conflict between the Salvation Army's Christian values and the cultural context in Malawi. Malawian women were utilising the bras, not as undergarments for their use value, but ostentatiously to display female sexuality. The Salvation Army was unhappy with this and halted the export.

With these examples we see how moral and ethical issues 'are articulated across a variety of geographical scales and through a range of temporalities' (Jackson *et al.* 2009: 12). The UK-based NGOs, Help the Aged and YMCA, were concerned with raising funds for their charitable work and their local reputations. Their programme work in Britain is not primarily concerned with trade and international development. As Clark (interview 13/03/09) observed 'The difference between YMCA is the rag trade isn't going to impact their work'. Ihezie, the director of Choice Textiles, was of Nigerian decent and able to draw on his own life experience to give a more critical appraisal of the trade than UK based NGOs: 'There are two schools of thought. One is that it is killing the local economy' by destroying clothing industries and the other is that it has benefits of local job creation. Oxfam had prioritised fundraising, but were begining to engage with the ethical impacts of the trade, especially as it potentially contradicted their recent core programme work including campaigns on trade justice (Scott, 2007; Oxfam, 2007). As a large international development NGO, they occupy a broader geographical space than many other UK domestic charities and so are responsive to a different scale of accountability. The Salvation Army also took a broader scale approach to morality, but as the example from Malawi illustrates, their actions were ultimately responding to 'Christian values', rather than the immediate needs and desires of people in the global South.

The profits accumulated at the processing node by both charities and commercial operators can be viewed negatively as they violate the 'spirit' of the gift (British Heart Foundation, 2011; Mathiason, 2004; Shea and Brennan, 2008). Bigsten and Wicks raise concerns: "about the perceived dishonesty of selling, for profit clothes which were originally donated to benefit the poor... it distorts the donors' and volunteers' intentions" (1996: 381). Shea and Brennan (2008: 13) carried out focus group research with UK households and found that:

> The majority of householders we spoke to were not aware of partnerships between charities and commercial collectors... Many [were] unaware that all goods collected door-to-door do not necessarily go straight to charity shops... When made aware of commercial partnerships with charities and charity shops, many respondents' initial reaction was negative/unhappy with the idea.

What is apparent from interviews in the UK and the literature review is the *hidden* professionalism to the used-clothing trade, as Henderson (2004) found in the food banks system in the United States. UK-based second-hand clothing organisations such as Choice Textiles, Oxfam Wastesaver, Precycle, and the Salvation Army Trading Company are highly organised along corporate models, which donors are frequently unaware of (Gregson *et al.,* 2002; Packer, 2002; Shea and Brennan, 2008).

The used-clothing trade is affected by other global socio-economic processes. The interviews and Morley *et al.* (2006) divulge how the industry is concerned by the declining quality of collected clothing, the impact of the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) and the current recession. In the UK the ending of MFA has contributed to the fall in new clothing prices. Low quality fast-fashion items are imported principally from China and are 'eagerly consumed before being thrown out as low-value waste (a.k.a. the "Primark factor" or "Wal-Mart factor")' (Norris, 2010: 15; Harvey, 2010b; Siegle, 2011). This has increased the volume, and decreased the quality, of clothing collected by charities. This has multiple impacts; charity shops in the UK are stocking lower quality items, competing for sales with low-end high street stores and increases in donations suppress retail prices. With low quality fast-fashion items the material use value of second-hand clothes declines, but there are likely to be complex outcomes for fashion/symbolic values as clothing circuits more rapidly to second-hand markets in both the UK and the global South (Clark, interview 13/03/09; Ozanne, 21/11/08; Wooldridge, 03/12/08).

Discussion: What links the (re)production of used clothing to consumption?

The field research in the UK and the review of contemporary and historical sources demonstrate the socio-economic networks through which used clothing are produced as commodities. Contemporary global society can also be viewed as being dominated by a first world market place marked by producers manipulating demand for unnecessary goods (Lodziak, 2000; Schor, 2005). The interviews in the UK demonstrated that it is the stimulated donation of clothing in these networks which determine supply, in contrast to Palmer and Clark (2005), who believe that consumers drive the linked process of used-clothing (re)production and consumption. Charities and commercial operators encourage the donation of unwanted clothes through environmental and charitable narratives and not through identifying what clothing items are in demand in

the global South (although the specific case of stimulated shoe donations is further discussed in Chapter 9). There is some specialisation amongst exporters as to the destination of different types of used-clothing bales and they respond to demands in given climatic realms. For instance, Wooldridge of Help the Aged explained how cold weather clothes are more likely to be shipped from Western to Eastern Europe than to Africa. In the following chapter these supply systems will be contrasted to more co-ordinated trade networks which more effectively link the re-production of used clothing commodities in the global North to their consumption in Africa.

Socially constructed styles are also important in determining the destination for collected clothing. Help the Aged's commercial partner sends a large volume of white office shirts to Pakistan where there is great demand for this 'style' amongst lawyers, as this code of dress is determined by the norms of behaviour in their profession. Help the Aged does not promote the donation of white shirts in response to Pakistani fashion preferences, rather their commercial partner responds to the exogenous supply and directs these garments to the most profitable market. The designation of destinations is not driven by consumer marketplace demand alone and this is explored in greater detail in the following chapter.

Second-hand clothing consumers do not determine demand unilaterally. Demand is stimulated through advertising and the distant aspirational images described by Ferguson (1999) and Hart (2002), but also the production monopolies and obligatory patterns of consumption (Fine, 2002; Lodziak, 2000). The large-scale import of second-hand clothing commodities, originally produced specifically to meet the manipulated demands and wants of a different consumer in the global North (Schiermer, 2010), determines what second-hand commodities are available for sale in the global South. The creation of markets for these commodities was affected by the economic liberalisation of economies in the global South, which is explored in Chapter 6.

Used-clothing imports in low and middle income countries increasingly compete with cheap new clothing imports and this has led to a decrease in the price paid for second-hand clothing. Within Africa, new imports, particularly from China, are impacting upon the sales of second-hand clothes. The effects are likely to be multifaceted:

> I think China has flooded the whole African market with cheap low quality goods. At first the trade in the UK was affected for two or three years... When the Chinese first went in there was a slow down...but the stuff from the UK, you still get the quality...When the Chinese

[manufacture] for Marks and Spencer they make to a strict specification...so quality wise China has failed. (Ihezie, interview 19/03/09)

Ihezie argues that when African consumers experienced the low quality of new Chinese manufactured clothing produced for the African market, they reverted to purchasing second-hand garments. The competition and the difference between the material quality of imported new and second-hand clothes in Africa are explored in Chapters 6 and 9.

The new clothing design, branding, retail and marketing activities concentrated in the global North are the elements of the new fashion system which are able to dictate the manufacture of higher quality items for local markets despite production being concentrated in the global South (Crang *et al.,* 2003; Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Gereffi, 2001a; Hale, 2000). Britain acts as a conduit for the export of used-clothing produced to relatively high quality standards and commercial and charity actors gain a surplus from the second cycle of clothing consumption. As Henderson (2004) argued in reference to food banks, the past labour embodied in the first cycle production also becomes relative to present labour in commodities reformed through donations. This is a surplus from both the processing activities undertaken in the UK and the production process of the new fashion system (Fine, 2002).

Concluding remarks

This chapter has documented the history and international geography of the used-clothing trade. This has highlighted how the unequal relationships in the trade in second-hand clothing have been reproduced over a greater geographical scale, which has traced the evolution of the global capitalist economy and has at various moments become fixed as a system of clothing provision between the affluent and poor. The process of (re)production of used clothing in the UK and elsewhere in the global North determines the provision of second-hand clothing commodities to the global South, rather than the impoverished consumers having agency in the supply of desired and differentiated post-modern commodities. The donation of unwanted clothing to charities is framed as an ethical act; by getting rid of things which no longer have use value a distant other in the global South can be helped: 'Save lives. De-clutter yours' (Oxfam, 2011b). As a system of provision, the used clothing trade is atypical and depends upon exchange relationships which are not 'normal' in either modern or post-modern forms of capitalist social relations.

The consumption of second-hand clothes has been conditioned to conceal the position and activities of those individuals involved in its production. Marx first showed how market exchange hides the condition of production and this is the norm for capitalist practices. The lack of awareness of where a commodity comes from, and where it goes to, is standard in transnational market exchanges (Hartwick, 2000). However the socio-relations in the second-hand clothing trade are distinctive and have previously been misinterpreted, for example by Palmer and Clarke (2005). This discussion has further illuminated how the trade in waste clothing has and continues to be, associated with criminals and an underclass, and that the role of charities in the networks are morally ambiguous (British Heart Foundation, 2011). In Chapters 6 and 7 this ambiguity will be further explored as the impact of used clothing imports on societies in the global South is investigated. The next chapter investigates how there are different coordinated and non-integrated patterns of second-hand clothing trade import in Africa, where traders have greater or lesser connections to the (re)production of used-clothing commodities in the global North.

Chapter 5. Patterns of Used Clothing Import to Africa

Introduction

Documenting all the different trade patterns in the import of used clothing to Africa is unrealistic as the chains of activity are varied, widespread and often concealed (see Haggblade, 1990; Hansen, 2000; Thomas, 1993). Examples from original fieldwork and published sources are analysed in this chapter to depict moments in the links between the (re)production of clothing in the global North and the provision and retail in Africa. This chapter follows on from Chapter 4, but does not continue to trace the particular activities which were investigated in the UK. There are commonalities and patterns in the trade processes that bring used clothes to African markets. The differences between coordinated and un-linked systems, where trade between geographical nodes, firms and individuals are more or less integrated are explored and related to literature on international trade, reviewed in Chapter 2. The particular trade activities observed in fieldwork in Britain were not coordinated with the retail of used-clothing in downstream marketplaces in Africa, whereas other imports to Africa are more closely connected to the (re)production of used-clothing commodities in the global North. Empirical case studies of used-clothing imports to Africa including Abimbola, (forthcoming), Durham (2004), Field (2000), Hansen, (2000), and Rivoli (2009) are discussed. The analysis is also related to my study of the used-car trade in Mozambique, where appropriate (Brooks, 2011).[15] Through reviewing such case studies, it is possible to identify the dominant import processes in Africa and the broader socio-economic factors which influence them. Mozambican market vendors' entanglement in the international used-clothing trade can then be discussed in-depth in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Used clothing is a relatively low-value commodity, purchased primarily by the most impoverished people in global society. Sub-Saharan Africa is the largest destination for used-clothing exports from the global North (Hansen, 2000). Buying second-hand clothes is one of the limited ways in which people who as consumers are generally disconnected from global society, *are* entangled in the post-modern contemporary. Poor people in Africa are inter-linked as the customers for a globalised product that transits

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[15] Requested revisions are being made to an abridged version of the analysis presented in this chapter for publication in the *Geoforum* journal.

through extensive transnational supply chains (Ferguson, 1996; 2007; Pitcher, 2002; Simone, 2004; 2005). The contemporary economic geography of the used-clothing trade is determined by the imbalances between the surplus supply of used clothing commodities in affluent societies and the demand in impoverished locations in the global South. However, as introduced in previous chapters, these *demands* and *supplies* are produced through economic and cultural systems of provision (Fine, 2002; Lodziak, 2000) and are not the 'natural' market effects which neo-classical economists such as Frazer (2008) or Rivoli (2009) would imply, as is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Through researching the used clothing trade, I identified organising principles in the used-clothing system of provision by drawing on both original fieldwork and published and unpublished sources. However, the caveat discussed in the methodology (Chapter 2), that it was not possible to attain first-hand empirical data about all the different types of activities in the used clothing trade, remains. There is a lack of clarity as to what happens between (re)production and consumption (Kitchin and Fuller, 2003). Linking a structural understanding of the global economy to the social and cultural process, which can often only be observed at the micro-scale through in-depth repeat observation, allows a nuanced analysis of general trade patterns to be presented. This is framed using Fine's (2002) systems of provision approach; although empirical analysis from the commodity studies approaches are also incorporated where appropriate. The next chapter considers the impact of used clothing imports on African economies and societies.

Trading used clothes from the global North to Africa

The chains of activity which link the (re)production of used clothing commodities in the global North to their consumption in marketplaces in the global South involve varied economic actors who accumulate profits before clothing is retailed. In some used clothing trade systems, commodities are sold on to different firms after new labour has (re)produced exchange value in used clothes (explored in Chapter 4). Surplus value is then appropriated from the owners of processing plants, as merchants purchase commodities at below market values. Used-clothing trading firms, like any bulk purchasers which buy from manufacturing industry, also have some material costs of production, such as financing labourers, offices and warehouses, contained in the cost of final commodity sale (Fine, 1975). As an abstract chain of activity – linked firms

acquiring profits at different stages between production and consumption – this pattern is observable in documented studies of new clothing commodity chains (Gereffi, 1999; Hassler, 2003).

The final retail price of second-hand clothes paid by impoverished consumers also contains, as Wooldridge (interview 03/12/08) discussed, proportionally 'high transportation costs'. There is a large volume of waste and low-value, poor grade, recyclable rags (clothing which cannot be worn again) collected through the clothing bins, charity shops and door step collections in the global North. Charities and firms aim to minimise expenditure on bulk transport of low grade used clothing. For example, in the UK Oxfam Wastesaver is centrally located at Huddersfield, close to major motorways to act as a national hub and minimise expenditure on road freight (Clark, interview 13/03/09).

Expenditure on used clothes provides revenue for the transport companies that link different economic nodes. Export destinations can be determined by the cheapest shipping route to available markets and depend on existing trade geographies. Used clothing is exported around the world (see Table 4.1), including as return cargo, as part of triangular trade patterns and as mark-up cargo (additional cargo added to fill excess capacity and charged at a lower cost). Containers of used clothing destined for Africa can transit via global hubs such as Dubai, other transport nodes in 'the Gulf', or export processing zones in India, which conceal their final destination to exporters, as well as their origin to downstream purchasers (Canam International, 2005; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08; Field, 2000).

In Africa the origin of second-hand clothes may not be understood by those who sell them. Used-clothing vendors in Soweto Market, Lusaka, Zambia were interviewed (27/05/08) and were confused as to where used clothes came from. They believed the garments came from Germany when the clothes were recognisably – through the names of brands and logos – items first sold as new commodities in Britain (this confusion may be because used clothes have transited via Germany). In Maputo several vendors interviewed at the Xipamanine Market thought used clothing came directly from China, because of 'made in China' labelling (including Mauricio, interview 13/10/09). Market traders knew the clothes had been previously worn, but they were not aware that the garments they were retailing had had a previous history as a commodity in North America. There were unsure of the origin althoughI recognised that the used-clothes on

their *bancas* had first been consumed as new commodities in the in Canada or the United States.

The origins and destinations of commodities shipped between the global North and South are often concealed through global transport nodes, including Dubai and Singapore (O'Connor, 2009). Trade geographies comparable to those in the used-clothing trade have been observed in the international used-car trade, where cars imported to Africa transit via Dubai.[16] Trade patterns are difficult to trace and may be unknown by individuals and firms at both ends of the network (Beuving, 2006; Brooks, 2011; Dobler, 2008). Ethnographic research of the trade in used ships has also demonstrated that informal networks which circumvent official political and economic institutions predominate (Gregson *et al.,* 2010). Some used commodity trade flows are uncoordinated and fragmented. Therefore they are less rooted in a modernist conception of production and consumption (Latour, 1993). This contrasts to higher value commodities, including new clothes and cars, which can determine, rather than being dependent on, transport infrastructure (Hall and Robbins, 2006; Morris and Barnes, 2009).

Transport geographies within Africa are influential in forming trade patterns, but trade is also determined by economic and political factors (Söderbaum and Taylor 2008a). The recent history of Africa has seen costly trade liberalisation, stagnant economies, persistent 'sub-imperialist' extraction, authoritarianism and shifting legislation of economic activity (Bond, 2006: 9; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005; Toye, 1993). Against this background, charities and companies in the used-clothing trade 'need to be constantly changing and adapting' as access to markets is 'volatile' (Ozanne, interview 21/11/08), as Hansen has also noted:

> The emergence and disappearance of specific countries, among them Rwanda and Zaire from the top ten importers indicate how quickly African used-clothing markets change. African markets are very volatile, not only because of civil strife and war as in the case of Rwanda and Zaire, but also in terms of legislation guiding the entry or prohibition of secondhand clothing import. (2000: 116)

Multiple factors influence the markets for used clothing. The previous chapter demonstrated how Oxfam had shifted from exporting used clothing to East and West Africa, to just West Africa. The processes of trading used clothing are heavily

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[16] Japanese used cars in Maputo are sometimes referred to as *dubaizinhos* (little-ones-from-Dubai), because they transit through Dubai.

influenced by transport costs, local socio-political contexts, trade liberalisation and the removal of import bans on used clothing. All these externalities can lead to rapid shifts in the destinations of used-clothing exports (Rivoli, 2009; Wegulo, 2004; discussed further in Chapter 6). Fluctuating geographies are difficult to map, especially when official trade statistics have many missing records or inaccuracies (discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). The used-clothing system of provision should, therefore, be analysed as a shifting *process,* rather than a *structure*. Firms and charities respond to changing conditions, trade legislation and utilise the existing global trade infrastructure including shipping routes, container hubs, motorway networks and import regulations. Markets shift more than the production nodes, as the place-bound activities are tied to the supply of unwanted clothing, for which used-clothing collectors compete. In contrast, demand often exceeds supply in African marketplaces (interviews in the UK and Mozambique). As the British exporter Intercontinental Clothing explains: 'it is certainly not competitive as far as selling is concerned because you always have (if you are any good) more customers than you can supply' (quoted by Field, 2000: 161). The spatial and temporal scales are important to consider here though. For example, the Xipamanine market can be considered a *de facto* permanent node in the international used-clothing trade as people have been selling clothing there continually since 1992, but short-term and temporary shortages of used-clothing stock were a common complaint amongst market traders (discussed further in Chapters 7 and 8).

Field (2000) examined the second-hand clothing trade in Zimbabwe and charts the unprecedented rise in export of imports to sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s. She investigates the global transfer of used clothing from the UK to Zimbabwe and describes the export process:

> Orders received from wholesale importers from developing countries may either be fixed standard orders or flexible regular orders as required. Payment is required in European or US currencies and, as a result, difficulties and delays are common. Following orders from commercial importers in developing countries the bales are shipped (through agents) in containers by the ton (2000: 161).

The universal (as far as has been observed through fieldwork and secondary sources) contemporary process of used-clothing import to Africa is 20 or 40ft shipping containers full of sealed 45, 55 or 450kg processed used-clothing bales. The consignments are kept unopened and many traders in the intermediary stages, between bale (re)production and retail, may never see the contents of specific bales (Abimbola, forthcoming).

The cost of transport and access to markets with poor consumers – who can afford only low-value used clothing and not higher-value new clothing – dictate the overall pattern of the used-clothing trade. However, other factors are also at work beyond the macroeconomic geography, including the transnational diasporic networks which link supplies and markets. Nigerians and East Europeans in the UK link the (re)production of used clothing commodities to foreign markets and there is partial specialisation as to the destination of different types of used-clothing bales, e.g. cold weather clothing to Eastern Europe (Field, 2000; Abimbola, personal communication 22/04/09; Office of Fair Trading, 2004; Wooldridge, 2006). What determines the characteristics of patterns of used-clothing trade are now opened-up and explored.

Coordinated and non-integrated second-hand clothing trade processes

Through reviewing the literature and analysis of original empirical fieldwork in the UK and southern Africa, I have identified that there are two different types of used-clothing trading relationships, differentiated by the degree of coordination between the production and consumption activities. These are categorised as 'coordinated' and 'non-integrated' models. These two groupings are abstractions and simplifications of a more complex reality and organisations can be involved in both models or flip between them. They are not binary definitions, but a continuum; between a hypothetical single firm (or charity) undertaking all the activities, in the model of producer-driven commodity chain (Gereffi, 1999; 2001b) to a fragmented chain of unrelated small independent firms (and/or charities), linked only by short-term, uncoordinated, fluctuating transactions connected by price signals.

The most integrated observed model is from the UK domestic trade. All the different process from clothing donation, to commodity (re)production and retail may be undertaken by the same charitable organisation such as Oxfam. These processes can even occur in a single shop (see Gregson *et al.,* 2007a). Highly integrated international trade patterns may also involve predominantly diaspora populations. For example, the Lithuanian organisations discussed in the previous chapter. A set of linked activities has not been traced through fieldwork, but evidence from the interview data and secondary sources demonstrate the likely chain of activity (Office of Fair Trading, 2004; Shea and Breman, 2008; Woodridge, interview 03/12/08). Recent Eastern European immigrants in the UK undertake leaflet and bag drops, collect clothing, process used clothes and

organise onward shipment for retail by colleagues in their 'home' countries. These integrated activities may also include a 'charitable' donation to a connected organisation to provide the ethical narrative to stimulate donations (discussed in Chapter 5). Further coordinated diaspora examples of the used clothing trade from outside Africa include between the US and Ireland in the mid-twentieth century and Tongan immigrants in the US sending clothing shipments to their 'homes' in Tonga (Besnier, 2004; O'Kelly, 2004). Examples of coordinated imports to Africa are discussed below.

The linked and coordinated used-clothing networks can be contrasted to the non-integrated system. This type of process is more complicated to trace, although various nodes have been identified. At the upstream end small and medium UK charities, such as the YMCA and local hospices (e.g. Rainbow, Figure 4.4) play uncoordinated roles in the networks. The final market is not known by these NGOs and in the YMCA case was an undifferentiated 'third world' market (Lincoln, interview 10/03/09). The role of some of these charities, such as Rainbow, is only to provide the ethical narrative and thus inform the material culture around donation and they have no physical role in co-ordinating the trade of used-clothing.

By examining the route of the single blouse, Durham (2004) 'followed' from Leicester to Zambia, an example of a non-structured trade system of provision can be mapped. This example is anecdotal, but illustrative of the complex pathways used clothes follow to final markets. The blouse Durham followed was first donated at a Scope (the organisation for people with cerebral palsy) clothing bank in a supermarket car park in Ashby-de-la-Zouch. The bank was one of 140 owned by licensed companies using the Scope name (Scope also has approximately 760 banks it owns and operates), which is similar to one of the business models used by Help the Aged. The textile bank was owned by Ragtex UK, a British rag merchant,[17] which collects about 95 tonnes of clothes a week from around 200 recycling banks in the Leicester area, some of which are licensed charity banks and others are purely commercial (Ragtex UK, 2011). Ragtex donates £100 a year per licensed bank to Scope for use of their name. The blouse was collected and delivered to Ragtex's textile recycling plant in Leicester and processed and packed into a 45kg bale containing similar blouses (as was observed at Oxfam Wastesaver) and then loaded on to a Maersk shipping container and exported aboard the

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[17] Ragtex has over 30 years experience in the used clothing trade (Ragtex UK, 2011).

SL Michigan to Beira, Mozambique (clothing is also exported by Ragtex to elsewhere in southern Africa and Pakistan (Ragtex UK, 2011)).

In Beira port (see Figure 3.1), the container spent a week in customs before being loaded on to a truck of J&J Transport and taken by road to Chipata in Zambia. The bale was then the property of Khalid, an ethnic Muslim Indian clothing wholesaler, who is one of around 100 merchants in Chipata, all of whom come from the same part of Gujarat (Durham, 2004). Durham was not able to trace all the transactions through which the blouse was traded and the degree of coordination between Ragtex and Khalid is not known 'a slight veil is thrown over the old-clothes business' and 'to protect his business, we have been asked not to use his full name by Gerald Cemmell back at Ragtex in Leicester. Khalid buys 20 container loads of clothing from Leicestershire a year and sells the bales off to small traders.'

The bale containing the blouse was finally purchased by Mary, a Zambian market vendor and sold in the open-air Kapata market in Chipata. Mary is not structurally integrated into the upstream trade processes. This series of activities contrasts to the highly coordinated 'global value chains' for new commodities such as wine and car components (Barnes and Kaplinsky, 2000; Kleine, 2008).

The series of processes which occurred in Durham's case study in Mozambique and Zambia are comparable to those which were observed in Maputo, where ethnic Indian merchants also sell bales to small traders, discussed in Chapter 7. This example differs from the UK-Eastern European coordinated networks because of the range of different organisations involved. This included a charity and firms and individuals with different cultural heritages, critical assets, and capitalisation: Scope (a UK disability charity), Ragtex (a long established British rag merchant), Kahlid (an Indian expatriate wholesaler), Mary (a Zambian market trader) and the transport operators which linked them (including Maersk, the SL Michigan and J&J Transport). The web of connections is difficult to trace and auditing the social and economic impact of the donation of clothing items is incredibly challenging. This donated blouse was mixed with both other charitable collections (which may have included Rainbow Hospice) but also non-charitable inputs (which were not facilitated by the licensing of a charities name). The blouse could even have been mixed in with illegally acquired clothing as Ragtex has been prosecuted by North West Leicestershire District Council after carrying out house to house collections without a licence (North West Leicestershire District Council,

2011). A clothing item donated at a Scope owned bank (which to the donor would have looked comparable to the Ragtex bank), rather than a licensed one would likely have followed a completely different route to final market and equally there would have been a different downstream chain of activity if the blouse had been exported by Ragtex to Pakistan rather than Mozambique. A multitude of different counterfactual social and economic pathways can be imagined in a non-coordinated chain of activity. The general and defining characteristics of how more coordinated and less integrated patterns differ will now be discussed.

Coordinated trade patterns

Highly coordinated chains of activities have been recorded in some commodity studies, especially those which bring complex multi-component goods to affluent market places (Hartwick, 1998; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005). The coordinated trade of used clothing effectively and purposefully links (re)production to consumption, such patterns of activity facilitate the (re)production of profitable commodities and the circumventing of import controls (Forest, 1994). In some upstream nodes, the selection of particular clothing items by labour during the (re)productive process is coordinated; workers in processing plants pick and choose specific items suited to a designated market (Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000). Private companies in the UK and Africa (and elsewhere in the global North and South) coordinate activity to increase profitability.

Coordinated systems depend on social histories of close North-South relations, which have enabled links to be established to connect clothing (re)production to consumption. This form of productive activity is best explained by Fine's (2002) thesis that considers the co-construction of value in the links between production and consumption as a circuit, rather than a linear chain of activity driven either by consumer rational choice (demand) or production for passive consumers. Diaspora populations and cultural connections between the global North and South reinforce the viability of second-hand clothing (re)production. Other indirect processes which connect the global North to Africa also facilitate the used-clothing trade; neoliberal policies reinforce the creation of market societies after undermining local clothing production and ancillary industries (analysed in Chapter 6). Clothing trends are also forged and reinforced through fashion styles which are disseminated through cultural media and returning migrants (Sassen, 1998; Wiegratz, 2010). Fine warns, though, that such connections are 'dominant, not

universal nor determining characteristics' (2002: 115). The discussion in Chapter 9 highlights how fashion trends in Maputo are connected to new and second-hand clothing.

The coordinated trade patterns co-exist with less integrated patterns of trade. Abimbola argues that in the used clothing trade, in general, there is 'information asymmetry' in the relationships between exporters and final retailers. Between the UK and West Africa this asymmetry is partially alleviated by coordination. Igbo apprentices who serve Cotonou-based importers work in many British second-hand clothing firms to help assist the sorting of second-hand clothing and they '"create" standardized goods':

> Large-scale importers of second-hand clothing send an apprentice to the British exporting company, where the apprentice would act as a quality assurance person. He makes sure that what is sent to the West African market is what the people would buy. At the same time, he also helps his boss overcome the information asymmetry problem that is stacked against him by inspecting what is actually exported to him (forthcoming: 11-12).

This arrangement is mutually beneficial as the exporter utilise the free expert labour of a worker who is aware of the styles and preferences in the Nigerian market place. The importers have some influence over the grading process and the apprentices have the experience of living in the UK and acquire skills and capital which enables some of them to start their own businesses later in Cotonou, as they receive payment including a lump sum from the masters when they return to West Africa.

The role of Igbo apprentices illustrates how some used-clothing trade networks are highly coordinated, (re)production is undertaken for a specific retail market and downstream client. Networks of coordinated trade processes and the careful management of information also facilitate the by-passing of customs controls and the illegal import of clothing to Nigeria, which is discussed further in Chapter 6. However, the pattern of trade which Abimbola has traced cannot be generalized. Abimbola argues that the development of this trade pattern is connected to a deeper Igbo culture of apprenticeships. Consumer demand alone does not shape this system of provision (e.g. in Maputo there is an unmet demand for bright, tight fitting sleeve-less ladies tops) as the styles from which the apprentice in Britain selects are exogenously supplied through the uncoordinated donation of unwanted clothing (discussed in Chapter 4). West Africans' influence over production and their ability to co-construct or (re)produce clothing commodities is dependent on the upstream donations, where the fashions of clothes are undirected, when they come from unseen British donors. In their selection of

garments in the UK, these apprentices are also reacting to the *stimulated* demands for certain fashions which are created in Africa (discussed further in Chapters 6 and 9).

Used-clothing trading patterns are not all as structurally coordinated as Abimbola's example, but there are further examples of explicit linking of used-clothing trading activities. Hansen traces the movement of used clothing from the United States to Southern Africa. Many wholesale exporters in the global North are long-established trading firms and part of complex transnational networks some are 'recent immigrants who know the potential of the secondhand clothing trade from their former homes in Third World countries.' This includes people of:

> Jewish and Middle Eastern background with long-term involvement with the textile and clothing trade, and more recently established firms with backgrounds in south Asia, particularly India and Pakistan, some of whom are recent immigrants to Europe and North America from Africa (2000: 110).

One dealer with a Middle Eastern background whom Hansen interviewed grew up in Zaire and left to establish an export firm in Toronto, and an Italian exporter 'had lived in pre-war Rwanda, where he became familiar with the popularity of this trade' (2000: 110). The firms Hansen documents may not coordinate all the activities from donations in the global North to final retail in Africa, but her examples demonstrate how some exporters and importers of clothing are structurally integrated.

In the used-clothing trade in South Africa, Velia *et al.* also found that 'nearly half of those involved in used-clothing trading were foreigners' including Senegalese, Rwandan, Burundians, Congolese and Nigerians (2006: 21). Velia *et al.*'s case study does not give further specific details as to how these different African traders operating in South Africa may (or may not) be coordinating activities with upstream suppliers of second-hand clothing, but because the import of used clothing is restricted in South Africa the transnational links of these diaspora populations are likely to enable them to source used-clothing imports.

Firms require critical assets to establish themselves in the used-clothing trade. One of the largest private companies in Tanzania, Mohammed Enterprises Tanzania Limited (METL), became involved in the used-clothing trade in 1985 (Rivoli, 2009). Following trade liberalization, METL, which was already established as a manufacturing company producing textiles, clothing, soap and bicycles met with American used-clothing exporters and over 10 years grew to import 4,000 tons (4,064 tonnes) of used clothing per month via Dar-es-Salaam. METL was one of the early businesses in the trade in

Tanzania, because it had sufficient capital and well developed trade assets, such as warehouse and distribution networks. There were few barriers to entry for Tanzanians at that time, especially as many had diasporic connections in the United States and Europe who could link METL to supplies of used-clothing bales. Trust was very important: 'relationships were needed to keep unhappy surprises [low-quality clothing] in the bales to a minimum and happy surprises frequent enough to engender continued loyalty' (Rivoli, 2009: 238).

Entrenched and coordinated trade patterns

The importance of diasporic links and long-established networks of trust in many used-clothing trading processes demonstrates how such patterns cannot be explained by a strictly neoclassical model of market equilibrium.[18] There is not perfect cost minimization when firms and individuals invest in building relationships and may depend on family or kinship ties. Neither can there be perfect supply and demand correspondence, as the production of specific used-clothing commodities is dependent on the exogenous input of unwanted clothing (albeit stimulated, e.g. by leaflet drops and the positioning of clothing banks). Trading relationships built on shared cultural heritage and linkages between the global North and South, such as British-Nigerian colonial history, Igbo traditions of apprenticeship, networks of Tanzanians in America and longstanding Indian trading families in Southern Africa are vital to coordinating some profitable used-clothing trade networks (Abimbola, *forthcoming*, field research in Mozambique, Ihezie, interview 19/03/09; Hansen, 2000; Rivoli, 2009). The importance of history, institutions – especially the role of charities in the second-hand clothing trade (Strasser, 1999) – and social structures must be recognized in trade geographies (Lawson, 2005). The Mozambicans working as market vendors in Maputo lack diasporic links to the major suppliers in Australia, Europe and North America, or the other enabling social factors and sources of capital which have allowed other firms and charities to become embedded in coordinated trade processes and this is discussed further in Chapter 7.

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[18] Social capital (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005; Van Duk, 2011), could be used to investigate these connections, but as these nodes were not directly researched the relations between different importer and exporter groups are not analysed.

Established and embedded networks can be difficult to compete with for even well-capitalised second-hand clothing importers. The new model of used-clothing trade which Oxfam is introducing in Senegal, documented in the previous Chapter, is a distinctive structurally integrated model. The Oxfam UK-Senegal exports differ from the other coordinated examples in this section, but equally cannot be explained by a neoclassical economic model. Oxfam has, partially, recognized the multi-faceted roles the organisation plays in the global new and used clothing systems of provision; Oxfam is a campaigning organisation, a UK used and new clothing retail, recycler and used-clothing exporter (Baden and Barber, 2005; Oxfam, 2007; Scott, 2007). The development NGO invested £300,000 and attempted to introduce a linked set of activities which locate the more profitable labour processes in the global South. However, the profitability of their business model is marginalized as the organisation is not embedded in Senegal in the same way that African and diaspora importers are. By adhering to local laws Oxfam, is constrained, whilst other commercial organizations are able to circumvent restrictions and taxes (Clark, interview 13/03/09). As I have similarly found in Mozambique, the integration of importers in local power structures is key to profitability discussed in Chapter 7.

New-clothing traders and used-car importers in South Africa and Mozambique are able to work with corrupt customs officers to arrange the profitable import of goods by paying reduced import taxes; with accompanying bribes (Brooks, 2011; Mosse, 2007; Pitcher, 2002; Vidal, 2010). The ability to integrate activities between export and import nodes is a key asset for facilitating the import of used clothing and other goods which bypass state tariffs in Africa (*Business Weekly*, 2011; Thomas, 1994). To understand how customs officials and allied trading businesses are able to have the power to extract rent from the import process, the socio-political context of patrimonial states in Africa has to be engaged with. In Mozambique, the continuing process of state capture by a narrow elite through the governing Frelimo party perpetuates corruption (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2008b; Sumich, 2010). Used clothes are imported primarily by Indian traders with transnational links to the global North (predominately Australia, Europe and North America), who are connected to Frelimo politicians: 'many African consumers as well as industrialists view Indians as parasites who undermine productive activities and charge high prices. Some argue that the government protects Indians because of their electoral support for Frelimo' (Pitcher, 2002: 173). A small proportion of the population continues to gain from GDP growth, through involvement in

economic activities such as the import of used cars, second-hand clothes and via Mozambique's function as a conduit for the drug trade (Brooks, 2011; Hanlon, 2004; Hanlon and Mosse, 2010).

Such examples of corruption in trade networks are not unique to Mozambique and are commonplace in the global South (Brown and Cloke, 2004). Economic liberalisation and structural adjustment throughout Africa has tended to accelerate both pilfering of existing state resources and the diversification of the state bureaucracy into "private" activity, as formally "grey" areas of economic life have become legitimate (Bangura and Gibbon, 1992: 30). There are external costs for others outside such privileged networks. The majority of the African population experiences the detrimental impact of circumvented import costs and forgone government revenues, which reduces social expenditure (Bond, 2006). Economic liberalisation has not provided opportunities for individual impoverished Africans to become entrepreneurs and rise out of poverty and his instead served the interests of a narrow elite to accumulate capital (Harrison, 2010; Hanlon and Smart 2009).

Non-integrated trade

Links between different nodes in trade networks can, as the above examples demonstrate, bring advantages to the organisations and individuals involved. There are also used-clothing networks of less co-ordinated activities, such as Durham's case study, and chains of integrated activities which may not extend to encompass all the different organisations and individuals in the supply chain. The non-integrated model is arguably more difficult to research because the most powerful individuals in these networks are aware of the exploitative relationships that exist between different nodes. Separating activities provides a profitable business opportunity for the powerful actors involved in the trade, which differs fundamentally from the coordinated processes documented above.

To contrast the coordinated and non-integrated patterns of used-clothing trading the role of different charities firms and individuals in *governing* the trade needs to be understood. It is useful to consider how Gibbon and Ponte examine the governance of networks of economic activity through their explanation of the structure of GVCs. They argue that governance is a 'functional division of labour along the chain − resulting in specific allocations of resources and distributions of gains' (2005: 163). This thesis is

not framed as GVC research, but Gibbon and Ponte's analysis is a useful tool for describing the different processes which 'govern' used-clothing imports to Africa. The degree to which a used-clothing trading pattern is coordinated and the membership and incorporation of different firms govern the network and influence their opportunities for accumulating profit.

Clark (interview 13/03/09) said that African clients 'have to' accept a mixed packing list of clothing bales within the shipments of used-clothing exported by Oxfam. African importers are not permitted to select the items they would prefer, and are forced to accept mixed shipments. This would include desirable warm weather items such as T-shirts and shorts, as well as less popular heavy coats and suits. Undesirable used curtains, overcoats and nightgowns have been observed for sale at low prices in Xipamanine and other Mozambican, Kenyan, Malawian and Zambian markets places. The social formation, where demand normally exceeds supply, is utilised by Oxfam and enables them to profit from less desirable bulky cold weather and unfashionable items and accumulate a greater total income. The governance of the packing list is an important activity that suppliers such as Oxfam and Ragtex are able to control. Exerting power here maximises their profitability and demonstrates how exporters in the global North have ascendancy over their customers in the global South through non-integrated trade. Abimbola (forthcoming) describes how this affects African importers:

> [T]he problem for those who do not have representatives in the sorting factory is that they never know exactly how many units of a certain item are in a consignment until they get the list that is sent to them with the bill of loading (forthcoming:17).

The social formation, where demand normally exceeds supply (both of which are formed through socio-economic systems), is utilised by the exporters who are more powerfully embedded in the trade network through possession of strategic assets in the global North, including collection and processing facilities. This enables them to profit from combining shipments of the most demanded used clothing commodities with compulsory purchases of less desirable bulky cold weather and unfashionable items. Therefore they accumulate a greater total income from the overall volume of used-clothing items they collect and (re)produce as commodities. Suppliers who are not structurally linked to clients in the global South, such as Oxfam and The Salvation Army, are able to control what is exported through their embedded roles in the network and their locational advantages in affluent societies.

Field also documents how exerting power at the export node enables charities and firms to maximise their profitability:

> Because of the high returns from quality clothing and the limited availability of high quality donations in the UK (i.e. the cream percentage), it is common for textile merchants to include a small proportion of low-grade clothing into a higher-grade category in order to maximise profit (2000: 159).

Furthermore, Intercontinental Clothing (quoted by Field, 2000: 160) stated that: '[i]f you do the grading properly (like we do) then there is not vast profits. Whereas if you put things in that people will just about accept without complaint then there is more money to be made and obviously you get a lot more for it'.[19] These examples illustrate strategies implemented by firms in the global North to increase the profitability of used-clothing export (re)production, which reduce the opportunities for African companies to accumulate capital from the import and sale of second-hand clothing commodities.

Once clothing is imported to Africa, some downstream nodes may be actively *non-integrated* and marginalised in subordinate roles as in Mozambique where retail is not coordinated with upstream activities (which may themselves be coordinated or non-coordinated chains of activity), which is discussed in Chapter 7. Influential firms are able to ensure risks to profit levels are passed down from (re)production in the global North to the African retail node.

The separation of retail activity from production contrast with previous commodity studies of transnational trade. Dolan and Humphrey's (2000) analysis of food supply chains that link Britain and Africa showed how production is coordinated by UK supermarkets and risks to achieve valorisation are thereby concentrated amongst African *producers*, rather than UK based *retailers*. This is also observable in the new clothing industry through contracts and decentralised production networks (Kaplinsky and Morris, 2002; Morris and Barnes, 2009). By considering the export of second-hand clothing, (re)*production* and *retail* are reversed, although the power relationship between global North and Africa is consistent with Dolan and Humphrey (2000), Kaplinsky and Morris (2002), and Morris and Barnes (2009). However, an approach rooted in structuralist development economics such as the commodity studies (as detailed is Chapter 2), does not account for the arrangements of charities, firms and individuals in the used clothing trade. The geography is not a simple North/South

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[19] Some firms, for example Row Clothing in the United States, advertise their sorting process on *YouTube* videos to demonstrate the quality of exports (Row Clothing, 2011).

division as diasporic communities and transnational firms bridge and command profitable activities in different spaces in coordinated used-clothing trade processes (Hansen, 2000).

Conclusion

In this chapter the import of used clothing to Africa has been explored and analysed through categorising different used-clothing trade activities as being either more coordinated or less integrated. Commodity studies research has highlighted how participating in 'global value chains' can lead people to be disadvantaged, through processes which reproduce and embed inequality (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005). The disintegration (or absence) of coordination among firms or individuals at the same horizontal level diminishes their bargaining power (Kaplinsky, 2000). My analysis has extended to consider how social and economic conditions have influenced the evolution of the used-clothing system of provision. The discussion in Chapter 7 will examine in depth how Mozambican market vendors are marginalised in the overall network of activity. In the used-clothing trade, barriers to bargaining power include a lack of unity between charities, firms and individuals operating at the same nodes (for example small UK charities, African importers, Mozambican market retailers); the weak regulation of trade by structurally adjusted African countries; and the individual circumventing of customs controls (with the acquiescence of corrupt government officials). These processes are part of a broader neoliberal re-organisation of the international economy. This impacts upon the new and used-clothing sectors in multifaceted ways, which are explored further in Chapters 6 and 7. The range of used-clothing trade networks through which second-hand garments are imported to African countries are varied and understudied. As in earlier Chapters, original fieldwork has been combined with literature reviewing to describe these processes (Abimbola, forthcoming; Dougherty, 2004; Field, 2000; Hansen, 2000).

To go beyond describing the used-clothing trade and to understand the overall 'governance' and how charities, firms and individuals become embedded in certain nodes, the overarching import process is best viewed as a system of provision (Fine, 2002). Used-clothing trading is a shifting *process,* rather than being a *structure* and therefore the discussion has to encompass the social and political factors, rather than narrowly analysing the trade pattern through, for instance, neoclassical economic

approaches. The analysis of the co-construction of value and the integration of used-clothing circuits of (re)production and consumption in the global is further explored in the following chapters.

This chapter has introduced how important diasporic connections and embedded power relations are in the used clothing trade and how different groups are both integrated or have subordinate roles (e.g. through not being enabled to coordinate activity) in used clothing networks. Intricate supply chains, which to outsiders are perplexing, are features of second-hand clothing trading in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in the global South. There is ignorance of both the final destination of used-clothing donations amongst those who dispose of them, and the origin of used-clothing commodities amongst the impoverished consumers (Durham, 2004; Fletcher, 2008; Hansen, 2000; Jester, 2002; Mathiason, 2004). The processes of used clothing import to Mozambique are discussed specifically in Chapter 7, prior to that the macro-scale impacts of the large scale import of used clothes to African countries are explored in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6. The Culture and Political Economy of Second-hand Clothing Imports in Africa

Introduction

The import of second-hand clothing has economic and cultural impacts upon African societies. Low-value used clothing is available more cheaply than other types of garments. Africans make clothing choices and consumer preferences are shaped by international and local cultural norms, but opportunities for consumption are frequently curtailed by poverty (Cachalia *et al.,* 2004; Durham 1995; Manwa *et al.,* 2010; Perani and Wolff, 1999; Wegulo, 2004). Second-hand clothing out-competes more expensive locally produced and imported new apparel (Kinyanjui *et al.,* 2004; Mbwambo, 2004). The style – fashion, fit and appearance – of used clothes is constrained by the available inputs of unwanted clothing from the global North. Within Africa there are cultures of used-clothing consumption to explore and extensive economic impacts to investigate (Frazer, 2008; Hansen 1995; 1999; 2000).

Investigating the material culture which surround clothing consumption in Africa is an integral part of a systems of provision analysis of the second-hand clothing trade. The cultures of second-hand clothing retail and consumption in African societies are first discussed in this chapter through analysis of the Mozambican fieldwork and by reviewing existing literature. How clothing is identified and (re)valued is then explored with special reference to examples from southern Africa, which contextualises the analysis in the following chapters on Mozambique. This thesis is not, though, a post-modern cultural analysis of clothing consumption in the global South as has previously been undertaken (e.g. Durham, 1995; Hansen, 1994; Perani and Wolff, 1999; Nuttall, 2004), instead through utilising both a cultural analysis and a political economy approach the social context which surrounds used-clothing consumption is discussed. The livelihood opportunities which are connected to the import of second-hand clothing imports are then also explored.

In the second half of this chapter the economic effect of used-clothing imports on local new clothing industries is discussed. The second-hand clothing trade must be understood in reference to the inter-linkages between the *new* and *used* clothing systems of provision, as has been discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. This contextualise why imports

of second-hand clothing have become so prevalent and explores their broader economic effects, rather than just describing the current pattern of trade between the global North and South, as in some commodity studies and follow the thing approaches (Goss, 2004; Starosta, 2010) .

This chapter presents a new analysis of the connections between increases in used-clothing imports and the decline of clothing industries in Africa.[20] These trends are part of a broader landscape of economic marginalisation of sub-Saharan Africa (Bond, 2006; Bigsten and Durevall, 2004; Lundahl and Pienaar, 2004; Webster, 2004). The global morphology of the new clothing system of provision creates in the global North – through the excess supply of used-clothing commodities – the preconditions for the subsequent downstream patterns in the trade of used clothing. There are relations between distinct trade patterns, as the form of one can provide the preconditions for another exchange relationship, in what Hartwick (1998) describes as 'intersecting commodity chains'. As well as forging new opportunities for production and consumption, the development of new trade patterns, as with advances in technology, can erode other systems of provision.

Imported second-hand clothing competes with both locally-produced and foreign-manufactured garments in African marketplaces. The connections between local clothing production for both domestic and international markets and the import of used clothes are explored in this chapter. It has been argued that second-hand clothing imports undermine local new clothing production (see Frazer, 2008; Koyi, 2006; Patel, 2004; Webster, 2003). When African consumers choose between new and used clothes, they often prefer imported second-hand clothes to more expensive new items of perceived low quality (Jameh, 2008; Kinyanjui *et al.,* 2004; Wegulo, 2004; see discussion in Chapter 9). There are also arguments that used-clothing trading creates jobs for wholesalers and market traders (Field, 2005; Morley *et al.,* 2006; Rivoli, 2009). These relationships, though, are complex and there can be unforeseen and seemingly paradoxical impacts (Mangieri, 2006; Velia *et al.,* 2006). These trends may benefit and disadvantage different groups of people and in macro-economic terms it is the overall net effect on employment and livelihoods that should be evaluated.

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[20] This section also forms part of the analysis in an article I have written for *Development and Change* (with David Simon), for which requested revisions are being made.

Considering different groups of Africans in isolation such as second-hand clothing traders, clothing industry workers and impoverished clothing consumers, is to succumb to what Breman (2009) recognises as a false fragmentation of the working classes. The compartmentalisation of the different interests of various groups of the poor can serve to embed the logic of inequality as somehow natural. Therefore this analysis of the second-hand trade is linked to a discussion of clothing cultures in southern Africa and the relationship between used-clothing imports and clothing industry decline. These human geographies are explored at length with reference to both the fieldwork in Mozambique and neighbouring countries, but also published sources of other African countries, which are economically important in the new and used clothing industries such as Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria and Zambia (including my own research of the decline of Zambia-China Mulungushi Textiles; Brooks, 2010).

Studies of second-hand clothing trading in Africa

In Africa there is a rich and diverse history of clothing culture and a continual flourishing of contemporary trends (Durham, 1995; Perani and Wolff, 1999; Nuttall, 2004). People have desires for locally fashionable new clothing, which may include indigenous as well as imported styles, but new garments are costly and most Africans are impoverished. Used clothing provides the major source of garments in many sub-Saharan African nations, for example, accounting for 81% of clothing purchases in Uganda (Uganda Manufacturers' Association, quoted in Dougherty, 2004), although it is not so prevalent throughout the continent and in some countries constitutes a far smaller proportion of the market, such as in South Africa (Velia *et al.* 2006). The trade in second-hand clothes in sub-Saharan Africa has been extensively investigated by Karen Hansen through ethnographic research in Zambia (1994, 1995, 1999, 2000, 2005). The scale and importance of used-clothing imports and their social and economic impacts have also been documented in Kenya (Field, 2008; Mangieri, 2006; Wegulo, 2004), Nigeria (Abimbola, forthcoming; Slotterback, 2007), Rwanda (Haggblade, 1990), Senegal (Baden and Barber, 2005), Tanzania (Rivoli, 2009) and Zimbabwe (Field 2000).

The edited collection *'Old Clothes, New Looks: Second Hand Fashion'* (editors Palmer and Clark*, 2005*) offers perspectives on how used fashion and dress are connected to material culture and consumption. *Old Clothes, New Looks* illuminates how unwanted

clothing has been transformed and reused through various social, economic and cultural means in both contemporary and historical contexts in the global North and South. The essays drawn upon throughout this thesis (including Clark, 2005; Clark and Palmer, 2005; Hansen, 2005; Jenβ, 2005; Milgram 2005, Norris, 2005; O'Kelly, 2005; Rovine, 2005) set out how used clothing is distinctive as a commodity. Cultural processes allow the (re)consumption of second-hand clothing, although, like all marketed goods it is defined both culturally and economically. The collection, as with the work of Hansen and Field cited above, does not explore the underlying economic context which determines why second-hand clothing is particularly prevalent in African market places, beyond documenting the disparity in affluence and poverty between the global North and South. This gap in the literature is intended to be resolved through the original contribution of this thesis.

Identifying second-hand clothing in Africa

The markets in Maputo, such as, Compone, Nwa Nha-Kawi and Xipamanine, have many stalls selling imported used clothing (see Table 8.1). Both the vendors and the customers understand little about the origin of these clothes; there is confusion as to where they come from and how they are (re)produced as commodities. There is great variance in the quality of clothing and used clothing may occasionally be concealed amongst, or confused with, new clothing products and vice-versa. Throughout Africa used clothes are given different labels in various languages which pertain to their ambiguous identity. The ambiguity arises because the origin of these *things* is not understood. In Zambia used-clothing is given a new name *salaula* which conceals its heritage and is a Bemba word meaning 'selecting from a bale in the manner of rummaging' (Hansen, 2005: 103 and personal observations). In Lagos, Nigeria, second-hand clothing is named *kafa ulaya* 'the clothes of the dead whites' and *okirika* 'bend down boutique' (Chigbo, 2008); it is *sola* 'to choose' in Congo-Brazzaville (Hansen 2000: 118), *mupedzanhamo* 'where all problems end' in Zimbabwe (Field, 2000: 3) and *Mitumba,* a Swahili term meaning 'bundles', is widely used in Kenya and Tanzania (Mbwambo, 2004: 607; Rivoli, 2009: 239 and personal observations). These names conceal the true heritage of the clothes which have been previously sold, worn, donated and (re)produced as commodities and the trade processes which bring them to market places in Africa.

Hansen (2000) gives two contrasting examples where the origin of *salaula* is actively obscured. In Lusaka fashionable and high quality clothes are specially selected by entrepreneurs and vended around offices to the Zambian middles classes. This practice *hides* their used-clothing status. Conversely, the lowest quality garments end up in isolated rural areas when the final consumers have little or no knowledge of the origin of the clothing. Used clothing is often exchanged in a non-monetary transaction, hawked and bartered for other commodities and people are sometimes paid to work the land in second-hand clothes (Ferguson, 1999; for examples from outside Africa also see Norris, 2005 and Strasser, 1999). In Maputo the vending of high quality items on streets is equivalent to the hawking of specially selected items in Lusaka. High-quality used shoes suitable for clerical workers are sold at Jardim dos Madjersumai close to many offices, used handbags are sold on Avenída 25 de Setembro outside boutique shops in the Baixa (see Figure 3.2 and Table 3.3), and second-hand school bags are hawked at the gates of schools in Maputo such as Escola Josina Machel. Sometimes comparable new items are sold in a similar manner by hawkers and pavement traders alongside used items and these marketing processes conceal and confuse the origins of goods.

In Mozambique, second-hand clothes are called *roupas da calamidade* 'clothing of the calamity' (*calamidade* is the common colloquialism). This name reflects the recent history of Mozambique and comes from the time when used clothing was freely distributed as humanitarian relief following war and natural disaster in the 1970s through to the early 1990s. During this period the shelves of many stores were empty (interviews and personal communication with James Sidaway 28/07/09; Hanlon, 1984). During the 1980s, used clothing was also distributed free in Zimbabwe to the urban and rural poor as part of a poverty alleviation programme (Field, 2000). Such a mode of charitable giving follows after the historic examples of gifting documented in Chapter 4 (Strasser, 1999). This image resonates with public pre-conceptions of the second-hand clothing trade in the global North and is the narrative which is sustained through leaflet drops and charity and commercial recyclers' websites (see Figure 4.1; Ragtex UK, 2011; Variety Club, 2011).

Clothing is not now freely donated on a large scale in contemporary southern Africa, the limited exception being the ADPP/Humana model, discussed in Box 1 in Chapter 7. There may also be exceptions during natural disasters (see Islamic Relief, 2011). One other example which is not connected to charities in the global North is the distribution of very low quality shoes, which in Maputo have low monetary value. Poor-quality

shoes are piled away from the prime stock at market stalls and sold for a few Meticais (several pence). Vendors at the Mercado Compone would sometimes gift the low-quality shoes to the most impoverished people in Maputo rather than asking for payment and unpaired shoes were given to amputees (a cruel legacy of war in Mozambique). These 'charitable' acts by used shoe traders reflect their position as poor, but not the most impoverished, people in Maputo and provides them with a 'virtuous' way to get rid of low-quality stock.

Fashion and used clothing: Examples from southern Africa

Second-hand clothes are a cultural resource which in their abundance and variety, can allow consumers to express their individuality and satisfy a basic need for clothing. But the agency of people in southern African is constrained; market traders in Mozambique were frequently unhappy with the quality of clothing while shortages of used clothes were commonplace, as is discussed further in the next chapter. Furthermore, as a cultural resource, second-hand clothes do not allow people to construct their own identity in the image of popular current trends as readily as new clothes do (discussed further in Chapter 9). There is a disconnection between aspirations and the reality of opportunities; as Ferguson (1999) found when examining urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt, contemporary material desires are frequently unmet.

When analysing how second-hand clothing is valued in Tanzania, Rivoli (2009: 224) makes a bold claim that: '[t]he Africans are every bit as fashion-conscious as the Americans, and know whether lapels are wide or pants have cuffs this year, and make their demands accordingly'. This statement is a subjective opinion presented as fact without substantiation and I would argue is wrong. In the first instance it is a massive generalization from research conducted in only a single field site to a continental scale (Hoggart *et al.,* 2002). Furthermore, I do not think Rivoli appreciates the different ways people 'read' clothing or their opportunities to respond to changing fashion trends. In a literal sense many people in Mozambique (and other African countries) cannot read the predominantly English labelling of clothing, which influences their interpretation of logos and slogans. The cultural stimuli which forge desires for styles in Africa are not met by the provision of clothing commodities. Being able to use second-hand clothing to adhere to the same fashions as those in the global North is inhibited by the time-lag between the emergence of international fashion trends and the arrival of clothes which

match such fashion styles in African markets. Clothing is purchased in the global North, worn, discarded and passes through international supply chains before it can be (re)consumed in Africa.

Impoverished Africans, like any people, have diverse tastes (Durham 1995), but to claim that they are able to be involved in a fashion system (as defined by Fine, 2002) to the same extent as affluent Americans and respond to the subtly different manipulations of ever-migrating fashion trends, is false (see Bair and Gereffi, 2001; Baudrillard, 1981; Bourdieu, 1984). What was repeatedly documented in Maputo and reinforced through observations in Pokot, rural Kenya in March 2011, was that clothing customers cared most about price and the physical quality of clothing, 'style' was a distant secondary consideration (see Figure 6.1). African consumption preferences are not comparable to the consumer cultures that predominate in the global North, where clothing commodities are desired and positional goods, designed marketed and manufactured through coordinated transnational chains of activity (Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Gereffi 1999; Schor, 2005).

There are also observable differences in dress within countries; rural areas of Mozambique, Malawi and Kenya have more 'conservative' attitudes towards dress compared to their more 'fashion-conscious' urban counterparts. Rural females are less likely to wear trousers and skirts are long, worn below the knee (personal observations). However, such generalizations about 'conservative' or 'traditional' styles are problematic since they are loaded terms formed in contemporary Western discourse in opposition to constructed conditions of modernity and post-modernity and should be inferred cautiously (Hobsbawm 1983; Ferguson, 1999). As Durham (1995: 188) found when discussing Herero dress in Botswana:

> In an inversion of expectations, it is the long dress, the traditional style, that represents to the Herero in Mahalapye international interactions and dynamism, and the shorter modern dress that seems particularly local or, more exactly, regional.

'[T]he contrast between the long and short dresses' and the 'tradition' and 'modernity' they represent is key to how the Herero understand their situation in southern Africa, but this style is itself historically situated and specific, being a gradual indigenization of late 19th century German style in the southwest African region (David Simon personal communication, 14/06/11). They are not dressing in a preconceived conservative style or following current 'Western' fashion.

In Africa I would argue that although the evidence suggests 'fashion-conscious' purchases to be the exception rather than the norm, this is a (crude) generalization and there are differentiated patterns of consumption as Nuttall (2004) found in South Africa and Manwa *et al.* (2010) have observed in Zimbabwe (discussed below). In Maputo, there is a narrow class of better-off people who can afford to consume clothes primarily for their fashion value, but this is a relatively privileged minority. Some of these people cultivate sophisticated and cosmopolitan looks as they buy the *best* second-hand clothes, browsing the markets or purchasing goods which have been selected by street traders to sell at a premium in the rich *barrios* (districts) of Maputo.

In Maputo, the elite shop for new clothing at boutiques such as those on the Avenída 25 de Setembro or in the Polana Shopping Centre in the Baixa of Maputo (see Figure 3.2). One minor criticism of Hansen's work is that it tends to highlight and focus on the importance such people in Zambia attribute to dress and over-privileges for discussion the perspectives of highly 'fashionable' Zambians, above the more mundane practices of 'ordinary' consumers (see also Thomas, 2003). As Lodziak (2000: 122) asks, 'we can say that what we consume has some kind of symbolic value. But how import [or not] is this in the lives of the majority?' Market traders repeatedly discussed how for the majority of Mozambicans, the material quality of used clothing and low price − rather than responding to the most recent 'fashion', be those local or international − were overwhelmingly the determining factors in clothing purchase in Maputo. However, it is nevertheless important not to neglect that local cultural norms also influence styles of dress.

It should not always be assumed that second-hand clothing is consistently the less desirable type of good amongst the majority of African consumers who are not part of the elite which enjoy shopping in enclaved spaces (Sidaway 2007b; Paasche and Sidaway, 2010). In Mozambique and Zambia, traders conceal new Chinese-manufactured shoes within displays of used shoes imported from the global North, buffing and tarnishing the brand new goods in an attempt to conceal their origin, because used-shoes command a higher price (personal observation). These observations and repeat interviews with new and second-hand clothing traders in Maputo (see Chapters 8 and 9) suggest that imports from the global North are of a higher quality (see Ihezie, 19/03/09, cited in Chapter 4). Robust shoes manufactured for consumers in the global North are in particular demand amongst impoverished people as locally available

new items tend to be low quality footwear made to narrow cost margins to be cheaply retailed.

Re-valuing second-hand clothing in Africa

Local material and cultural activities are undertaken in Africa to *re-value* used clothing. Hansen argues that in Zambia these redefine used clothing into 'new' garments. A physical transformation or a change in the meaning or symbolic value facilitates, in her opinion, a second 'life'. Here Hansen follows in the 'biographic' tradition of Appadurai (1986), Kopytoff (1986) and Marcus (1995) and documents the material changes that happens to clothing 'things' such as tailoring, repair and washing. In Zimbabwe, Field (2000) noted few material changes to imported second-hand clothing, however, both agree that it is mainly a process of second order symbolic transformation rather than physical alteration which allows the re-valuing of clothing in impoverished societies.

Fine (2002: 89) states that 'there is a relationship between the commodity's physical properties and how it is perceived'. Perception is elastic and second-hand clothing commodities can be altered to imbue them with a greater perceived use or aesthetic value. This can be related to Fine's general discussion of the creation of use values in commodities. 'Thus, elasticity in the meaning of commodities derives both from the changing interpretation of given physical use values and from unchanging interpretation of potentially changing use values (2002: 89)'. Tailoring activities which were observed in Maputo were limited but they included processes which increased clothing's use value; an un-ambiguous example would be the repair of a bra-strap that enhances the usefulness of the garment (interview with underwear trader, 22/07/09). An example of changing the physical use value to meet perceived local styles, would be the shortening of the sleeves of ladies' tops undertaken by Eduardo (which is discussed in Chapter 8). The tailors working in Africa to modify used clothes before they are sold are performing a similar productive activity to the diasporic labourers who pick out items on the *coordinated* supply chains in the global North (Abimbola, forthcoming; see Chapter 5). They are influencing the provision of certain types of commodity, but their influence in the 'circuit' is restricted. They are not materially *creating* new commodities for a specific market but re-acting to available clothing items and performing labour activities to add use value. As Karatani (2005) has argued the point of production is not some self-sufficient realm. In the transnational second-hand clothing trade, (re)production

processes can be thought of as continuing until the moment of final sale, but are predicated on the past labour spent to initially produce new clothing goods for consumption in the global North.

Little evidence of the tailoring of clothing before retail, to meet local tastes and preferences or to suit international fashions, was found in Mozambique although exceptions are discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. When clothing was altered by tailors in the Xipamanine market, it was normally done after a customer had bought an item and it was not a *(re)production* process. They were paying to modify their new possession, rather than buying a commodity which had been altered to imbue it with greater use value through a labour activity. Some used-clothing items are *re-fashioned* in Africa, but the mass (re)production of used-clothing commodities does not, for the African consumers, generate opportunities for freedom or choice in consumption. What is consumed is an adaptive response, as Lodziak (2000: 116) states: 'the emphasis on consumption as a symbolic activity ignores the continuing relevance of need and the material use value of goods in determining what we consume.'

Although not directly researching the second-hand trade, Manwa *et al.* (2010) found that conservative attitudes towards dress amongst middle-aged Zimbabwean women meant that foreign clothing cultures are not wholly accepted. Clothing alien to local dress codes was not being consumed as individual conservative attitudes towards gendered dress codes determined consumption choices. But, they did not have 'ascendancy' over the provision of clothing as Quartaret (2000, quoted in Chapter 4) would suggest. At the macro-level there was group consumption, among a broader social spectrum of Zimbabwean women, of a greater range of the clothing types locally available for purchase, including more 'liberal' patterns of dress (Manwa *et al.,* 2010).

Abrahamsson (1988) also found that imported used clothes did not meet the cultural values and use values Mozambicans expected.In the 1980s *'capulanas'* (cotton textiles worn as a skirt) were in great demand. 'Due to a lack of availability, women cut up dresses and skirts and turn them into capulanas' and men cut trousers into shorts (quoted by Wicks and Bigsten, 1996: 32). Long trousers are now sometimes tailored into shorts in Mozambique, but the processes of altering dresses and skirts were not observed in Maputo in 2009 and 2010. Abrahamsson was writing at a time when few commodities were available for purchase in Mozambique, especially in isolated rural areas (Hanlon, 1984). "As one *regulo* [Portuguese appointed chief] reported in Netia,

'Under Samora Machel, even before the war, there was nothing in the shops, we had to wear sacks, there were no clothes, nothing"' (Pitcher, 1998: 126). New *capulanas* are now widely available. There is an established system of provision and they are one of the main new clothing commodities sold in Maputo. In contrast to what Hansen (2000) and Milgram (2005) found in Zambia and the Philippines respectively (2005), I would argue that Abrahamsson's evidence and current observations demonstrate that second-hand clothing is not fulfilling local clothing desires in Mozambique. Today it is new capulanas imported at an affordable price and widely sold in markets and shops that have become one popular form of dress rather than re-tailored second-hand dresses and skirts. One of the major suppliers of African print fabrics is METL, which imports cotton and polyester khangas and kitenge (*capulanas*) to Mozambique from neighbouring Tanzania (METL, 2011a; 2011b). METL is the same company which Rivoli (2009) documents as being a major player in the import of second-hand clothing to Tanzania and also has an involvement in new clothing manufacture in Mozambique (see further discussion in Chapter 7). In 1980s Mozambique, women were purchasing dresses and skirts primarily for their use value; their subordinate position in the global economy did not allow them to participate in new clothing consumption and purchase capulanas – the items they desired. The limited reductions in poverty, which have occurred in Mozambique since the 1980s and the re-integration of Mozambique into the international market economy, have allowed people to consume some low-value commodities such as *capulanas* (Hanlon and Smart, 2008). These same macro-economic changes of liberalisation and GDP growth have afforded business opportunities for METL. This example demonstrates the complex inter-relationships between the used and new clothing sectors.

There is other evidence of moments when used clothing has been transformed in Africa. Clark (interview, 13/03/09) said that exports of ladies' denim jeans to sub-Saharan Africa are frequently re-tailored to fit the male physique, as African women do not tend to wear jeans. Although such generalisations are problematic; this may be reported information Oxfam receives from their West African clients, where body shapes and cultural values are different to southern Africa. In Maputo, there were examples of men purchasing and wearing ladies' trousers, but tight-fitting jeans and trousers were also very popular among women, especially amongst younger age groups. Second-hand ladies' jeans and trousers were regularly observed for sale (see Table 8.2). Clark also reported that the trend for women's hipster low-rise jeans in the UK produced a supply of second-hand garments that could not be re-made as a commodity for the African

market place. Their subjective cultural value made them unacceptable for African women and their physical size and shape meant they did not have a use value for male African bodies. Oxfam, using the packing lists which determine shipment contents, then directed a greater proportion of ladies' jeans to Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe there is a greater demand for this style, for both its material and its use values, amongst the female population. These examples from Oxfam demonstrate the difficulties in homogenising and extrapolating cultural trends form single or limited sources and the need for nuanced analysis.

In both southern Africa and Eastern Europe, the import and availability of ladies' jeans is not just a trade process which occurs in a socio-cultural vacuum. In parallel to the import process, which may itself be stimulating the demand, there is the social construction of the meaning(s) of ladies' jeans through cultural diffusion; the media (film, fashion magazines), aspirational imagery (advertising, local fashion icons e.g. *Dama da Bling* 'lady of the bling – flashy and ostentious' a popular singer in Mozambique), return migration and diaspora connections (Wiegratz, 2010). Fine's (2002: 97) analysis of the fashion system of provision 'denote[s] the articulation of economic and social factors that give rise both to the level and composition of consumption (quantitative aspect) and the meanings with which it is endowed (qualitative aspect).' Clothes are endowed with social meaning; a qualitative aspect. This is a process which permeates through society and is not the outcome of a single cultural or economic factor. As Hudson (2008: 422) argues there are three registers in which to consider economic activity and the circuits and flows which link different places:

> The first of these is political economic, encompassing labour processes as well as processes of value creation, exchange and realization, in addition to the consumption of commodities. The second is semiotic, relating to flows of knowledge and information and to the culturally endowed meanings that things come to acquire. The third is material, conceptualizing the economy in terms of materials transformations - biological, chemical and physical – as well as flows of energy, matter and materials...

When considering the social meaning of clothing, it is the second 'semiotic register' which is endowing second-hand ladies jeans with use value.

The influence of neoclassical economics on consumption studies is to falsely give primacy to individuals in and around market exchange, ignoring broader social and structural factors (Fine and Milonakis, 2009). The provision of clothing is plagued by 'leakiness' in trends which spread through society and such trends are not individually

spontaneously imagined. Fashion tastes in the global South are influenced by the Northern-dominated new fashion system which affects the symbolic value of second-hand clothing (Perani and Wolff, 1999). However, as discussed above, impoverished Africans cannot aspire to enjoy the same rapid consumption of 'fast-fashion' of clothing that 'is redundant when it is no longer stylish rather than when it is no longer usable' (Norris, 2010: 13). The first priority of the poor is to meet basic needs. Away from the First World high streets, Africans respond to local manipulated desires shaped by advertisers and media imagery, although postcolonial desires are aspirational, distant and overwhelming unachievable when measured against a Western model of (over)consumption (Crewe, 2000; Ferguson, 2007; Thomas, 2003). Notwithstanding that there is a rich and diverse African history of clothing culture and a continual development and flourishing of contemporary trends and differentiated identities reinforced through dress (Durham, 1995; Nuttall, 2004; Sumberg, 1995), global society and the provision of new clothing commodities is dominated by a first world marketplace shaped by producers manipulating demand for (unnecessary) goods (Gereffi, 1999; Schor, 2005).

African livelihoods and the used-clothing trade

The position of poor Africans within the used clothing system of provision is not just as consumers of (re)produced commodities. They are also people who make a living retailing clothes or are workers employed in the inter-connected new clothing trade. This chapter now examines the effects of second-hand clothing imports on different livelihoods in Africa.[21] The impacts vary between countries and there are different economic geographies to explore.

Haggblade (1990: 505) emphasizes the positive nature of the trade in Rwanda: 'imported used clothing offers a modest but rare policy lever for directly increasing national income as well as incomes of the rural poor.' However, these positive national effects were specific to Rwanda. There were three major sources of clothing in Rwanda during this period: clothing tailored from imported cloth, imported new clothing and used clothing. 'Compared to $504 in tailoring and $640 for imported garment, used

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[21] Note, as discussed in Chapter 2, a DFID (1999) livelihoods analysis or similar approach is not directly applied.

clothing generates $702 in value added per $1,000 of final sales (1990: 515)'. Haggblade states that used clothing trading: 'unambiguously increases national income as well as income of the poor' (1990: 516). However, he also observes that such a beneficial pattern cannot be generalized from Rwanda to neighbouring, especially more populous, African countries with domestic textile industries. Rwanda is also atypical as it played a major role in the 1980s and 1990s in the transhipment of used clothing and unofficial exports provided national economic benefits which are not found in most African countries (Hansen, 2000)

Mozambique has a very small clothing industry (discussed in Chapter 7) and is also an entry port and a re-exporter of second-hand clothing to South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe and may, like Rwanda, be an exceptional case, experiencing national economic benefits (personal observations, *Business Weekly*, 2011; Field, 2000; Velia *et al.,* 2006). This can include increases in national income and greater circulation of capital, which are not typical of sub-Saharan Africa, as in most countries the import of used clothing results in money leaving the national circuit of commodity circulation. The individuals who benefit from these re-exporting processes will be those who are powerfully embedded in transnational networks such as the Indian merchants in southern Africa (see Chapter 5 and discussion in Chapter 7). Market traders in Maputo sell used clothes to South African and Swazi customers, increasing their client base. But, they also reported that merchants from Swaziland and Zimbabwe bulk purchase used-clothing bales from the Indian merchants, providing increased competition for stock and thereby inflating prices.

Field (2000) examined the livelihood impacts of used-clothing imports to Zimbabwe and her view was that it provided very valuable self-employment opportunities for informal traders, as well as benefits for consumers and the economy as a whole. This will be contrasted and commented upon as the fieldwork with traders in Maputo is presented in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. As with her Zimbabwean research, throughout Field's documentation of the second-hand clothing trade in Kenya (2005; 2008), she asserts the local economic benefits of the trade, describing the advantages for importers, wholesalers, market traders, consumers, the state and the spin-off employment opportunities it generates. Field (2005: 4) states that in Kenya the second-hand clothing 'trade directly or indirectly affects 5 million people through employment and income generation' a claim repeated by the Textile Recycling Association (2005) as evidence of the 'crucial contributions this industry makes to the world economy'. Five million

seems a very high figure for a country with a total population of approximately 37 million people and Field does not discuss how she produced the figure. There is, however, another source to consider: a national survey by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Kenya (1999) recorded that second-hand retailing accounted for 8% of the total number of small and medium enterprises and employed 103,961 workers (data quoted in Wegulo, 2004: 580). Even if each employee supported 5 dependents or indirect beneficiaries that would give a total of only approximately 500,000 people, 10% of Field's Figure, and implies that her estimate is excessively high.

A similar very large, yet unsubstantiated, claim is made for the employment contribution of second-hand clothing trade to the economy of Ghana on the Salvation Army website: (2009) 'in Ghana it has been estimated that up to 20% of the working population is employed in the used clothing chain' although the source for this claim is not further referenced. This figure can be contrasted to the 8% of small and medium enterprises (not total working population) in Kenya. Challenging these figures cited by Field and the Salvation Army is difficult, given the weakness of employment statistics in African states. But Velia *et al*. (2006: 22) also found in South Africa that '[d]irect job creation in the sector is limited' and traders in Durban had few employees, a maximum of two.

Total employment figures for the second-hand clothing trade in Mozambique were not available or collected, but observations suggest a similar low level of employment and job creation as Velia *et al.* (2006) report. This would be proportionally far below the estimates of Field (2005) and the Salvation Army (2009) and comparable to the percentage quantified by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Kenya. The livelihoods opportunities of second-hand clothing in Maputo are extensively documented in the next two chapters.

Opening markets and closing factories: The economic impacts of the used clothing trade

When Ihezie (interview 19/03/09) was asked what impacts he felt the used-clothing trade was having in Africa and how this was perceived in the UK, he said he believed that Oxfam was 'promoting' the opinion that the used-clothing trade was locally beneficial, citing Baden and Berber (2005) who are broadly positive of the used-

clothing trade. The creation of employment in Africa is one of their economic arguments in favour of the used-clothing trade, but there is a counter argument that used-clothing imports are resulting in job losses in African clothing industries. The economic effects have not been extensively investigated in academic studies, but imports have been criticised by international NGOs, African governments, clothing manufacturers, trade unions, Western governments and by some academics (see Dougherty, 2004; Jester, 2002; Mbwambo, 2004; Patel, 2004; Slotterback, 2007). Several authors have discussed how they believe that used-clothing imports directly undermine local new-clothing production. The supply of second-hand garments impacts upon clothing markets in Africa as used clothes are retailed at relatively low prices vis-à-vis locally produced or imported new clothing (Bigsten and Wicks, 1996; Kinyanjui *et al.,* 2004; Patel, 2004). For example, in Tanzania Mbwambo and Kuzilwa (2004: 413-414) found that the wholesale price of second-hand shoes is $1 to $1.50 per kg (roughly three pairs) compared to $4 to $12 per kg for new locally-manufactured shoes. However, such differences in the prices of new and used commodities are not uniform and vary in different market places. (The retail price differences in Maputo of new and used items are discussed in Chapter 9).

Frazer (2008), Koyi (2006), and Webster (2003) have argued that used-clothing imports have forced the clothing sector to contract and caused a significant loss of employment, which has also eliminated opportunities for new manufacturers to enter the market and precluded the possibility for industrial upgrade along a Rostowian (1960) modernist model. This would inhibit a 'starter' sector in an import substitution (ISI) model of industrialisation (McCormick and Rogerson, 2004: 1). Following the economic theories of industrial upgrading, new clothing manufacturing is seen as an early rung on the ladder of development whereby, once capital has become abundant, nations will develop comparative advantage and move into other economic spheres (Gereffi, 1999; Frazer, 2008).

Mass retrenchments in African clothing industries have been attributed to used-clothing imports. In Zambia, management at the Mulungushi textile factory argued that second-hand clothing goods undermined the local clothing industry and (Koyi, 2006; Webster, 2003) although the history of that specific factory is more complex and inefficiencies and labour disputes also contributed to that plant closing (see Brooks, 2010). The United States Department of Commerce (1995) reported that in Senegal; 'The rise of used clothing imports and fraud have introduced competitive pressures that no textile

mill could withstand, thus undermining the foundation of the industry' (quoted by Wicks and Bigsten 1996: 219). Trade liberalization enabled the import of second-hand clothing in Malawi and the subsequent influx was initially welcomed, but used clothing undercut locally manufactured garments. The Ministry of Agriculture blamed used-clothing imports for severely affecting the already deteriorating textile and clothing sector (Kandiero, 2005). The closure of UMT Textiles in Nigeria was blamed on illegal imports of used clothing (*Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2007). The examples of declining clothing manufacture from Senegal, Malawi, Zambia and Nigeria are part of a long-term trend of deindustrialization in Africa. Following the implementation of economic liberalisation since the early 1980s and continuing in to the 1990s, the predominant trend has been decline in the African clothing industry (Gibbon, 1996; Onimode, 1988). Textile and clothing employment fell by 80% in Ghana from 1975 to 2000; from some 200,000 workers to near extinction in Nigeria and in Zambia from 25,000 in the 1980s to below 10,000 in 2002 (Traub-Merz, 2006: 17).

Trade liberalisation generally opened African marketplaces to used-clothing imports (Majtenyi, 2010; Wegulo, 2004). In Cameroon under an IMF/World Bank supported structural adjustment programme, civil-service salaries were reduced and workers were retrenched. The CFA franc was devalued by 50% in 1994 and 'the secondhand clothing trade boomed' (Hansen, 2000:117). Declining incomes led African consumers to purchase used clothing rather than locally produced or imported items (Chigbo, 2008; Velia *et al.,* 2006). People in Maputo often prefer used clothing from the global North to more expensive new items.[22] There is an intuitive argument; cheap imported used clothing is under-cutting locally produced garments, depressing domestic clothing production through increasing competition and reducing clothing market prices. This diminishes established firms' profits and opportunities for new companies to establish themselves (Dougherty, 2004; Jester, 2002; Majtenyi, 2010; Slotterback, 2007).[23] But this is a complex issue that requires problematization and is central to assessing the relative importance and impact of the used clothing trade. Discussing this relationship stretches the descriptive power of this thesis and extends its impact beyond the immediate case study centred on Maputo.

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[22] The links between new and used clothing retail and purchases in Mozambique are explored in Chapter 9.

[23] This relationship is not exclusive to Africa, in the Philippines used-clothing imports undermined sales of locally produced garments as retailers swapped from selling new local to used foreign clothes (Milgram, 2005).

A problematic relationship to analyse

There are methodological difficulties in analysing the relationship between imports of used clothing and the decline of clothing manufacture. Macro-economic impacts of used-clothing imports have been explored by Bigsten and Wicks (1996), Frazer (2008), Wicks and Bigsten (1996). The models and representations in these studies are limited and they are overly reliant on official statistics. All three interventions present confident macro-scale economic conclusions, without discussing critically the data from which they model. This reflects the rise in the application of formal techniques in economics and the distancing of econometric modelling from other critical techniques applied in the social sciences (Milonakis and Fine, 2009). Attempting to model a relationship between the two trends is difficult as there are many missing records in the available United Nations Statistical Division datasets and these statistics do not account for all used-clothing trade practices that take place. This thesis demonstrates how much of the crucial detail of the used-clothing trade remains undocumented and is therefore unrecorded in international trade statistics. This includes the theft of donations of used clothing in the global North and the illegal import of second-hand clothes to markets that are officially closed (Abimbola, forthcoming; Forrest, 1994; Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Office of Fair Trading, 2004 also see Chapter 7 for examples from Mozambique).

There may not be a relationship of cause and effect between the two correlating trends, as both the decline of clothing manufacture and the increase in used-clothing imports could be independent symptoms of economic liberalization policies which opened African nations to increased free market completion in the 1980s and 1990s. A broader range of economic and political factors needs to be considered rather than depending on fragmented official data sets in isolation. More rigorous approaches which consider the multiple geographies of culture, politics and trade networks are required to investigate the neglected African used-clothing trade. It is argued here that studies which depend on economic statistics alone without an appreciation of local societies are of limited utility. This theme has figured strongly in Fine and Milonakis' (2009) critique of the 'economic imperialism' and recent interventions by geographers that have been critical of 'new economic geography' (Unwin, 2007; Rigg *et al.,* 2009).

Exploring the contradictions in Kenya

The clothing manufacturing sector in Mozambique has always been relatively small compared to other African countries such as Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria and Tanzania. This is a legacy of Portuguese colonialism and failed post-independence industrialisation projects, which are explored at length in Chapter 8 (Hanlon, 1984; Sheldon, 2002). Therefore Kenya, which has a very different industrial history, is used as an illustrative example to discuss the relationship between second-hand clothing imports and clothing industries. Industrialisation had began during the colonial period:

> At Independence, the Kenyan government inherited a well-established clothing and textile industrial sector, which went on to expand dramatically. The expansion took place under the import substitution strategy whereby the government imposed high duties on imported clothing and fabric (Kinyanjui *et al.,* 2004: 201).

Since the early independence period the clothing sector has contracted significantly. In the 1990s small and medium clothing manufacturers faced low overall demand for clothing in the important Nairobi market (McCormick *et al.,* 1997). This was due to declining urban incomes, linked to the structural adjustment programmes that formed part of the economic liberalization process. The low demand was combined with increased competition from imports of used clothing (Field, 2008). Similar patterns have been observed elsewhere in Africa since the early 1980s including in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia and the general pattern is of a declining manufacturing sector (Koyi, 2006; Mbwambo, 2004; Van der Loop, 2004).

The long term trend of decline has not been uniform across Africa and in recent years there has even been some growth in African clothing manufacture (Traub-Merz, 2006). In Kenya the effects were not a universal decline: custom tailors, who mostly served middle-income urban consumers with falling incomes, fared worse than small manufacturing firms which sold their goods to people in rural areas, less affected by declining formal sector incomes. The larger firms in Kenya moved out of producing for local markets in favour of exports, especially to the US retail market due to international preferential trade agreements, such as AGOA (US African Growth and Opportunities Act 2000-2015) discussed below (McCormick *et al.,* 1997; Phelps *et al.,* 2009). A similar process of increased production for export has been observed in other successful clothing manufacturing countries, including Lesotho (Gibbon, 2003c), where clothing exports to the US and EU increased dramatically from US$ 24.5 million in 1990 to a high of US$ 455.9 million in 2004, although they subsequently declined to US$ 383.5

million by 2007 (Morris and Barnes, 2009). The growth of clothing production in the early 2000s in Kenya, Lesotho and elsewhere in Africa was independent of the African market for both new and used clothing (although there may have been backward linkages to suppliers shared between larger export producers and manufacturers selling in to domestic markets and smaller firms may have benefited as larger companies left the domestic market (McCormick *et al.,* 1997; Phelps *et al.,* 2009)).

As Kenyan manufacture and export of apparel increased in the early 2000s, used-clothing imports grew simultaneously (Mangieri, 2006). This is precisely the opposite relationship to the long term correlation between industrial decline and increasing second-hand clothing imports. Kenyan clothing factories have been producing for affluent export markets rather than impoverished local markets. Therefore Kenyan garment industries are not competing locally with used clothing imports and as such, it can be demonstrated that the single factor of used clothing imports does not account for the economic performance of all clothing manufacture across the entire continent. Large manufacturers in Kenya, Lesotho, Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa, which are frequently owned by Asian capital, have developed because preferential trade agreements allow them to export to markets in the global North. This has had a positive influence on clothing production and employment in Africa, although labour conditions within clothing factories should also be considered (see Brooks, 2010; Gibbon, 2003b; 2003c; Gibbs, 2005; Hart, 2002).

African clothing products are frequently not competitive either domestically or internationally, because their labour and production costs are higher than Asian competitors (Phelps *et al.,* 2009). Labour costs in South Africa and Zambia are relatively high in comparison to East Asia, although real wages are lower due to high local cost of living and working conditions are often poor (Brooks, 2010; Hart, 2002). Increases in output and job creation have been stimulated by trade agreements entirely independent of the used-clothing trade, especially AGOA, which provided duty-free and quota-free access to the US market for apparel items made in sub-Saharan Africa. AGOA spurred increased clothing manufacture, at least prior to the ending of the Multi-Fibre Agreement in 2005 (African Coalition for Trade, 2007; International Labor Office, 2005). This example demonstrates how the recent relative success of Kenyan and other African clothing manufacturing has been determined primarily by preferential access to export markets and not directly affected by used-clothing imports. Likewise the earlier decline in clothing manufacturing was linked to a decrease in local market

demand as urban incomes fell under structural adjustment programmes as well as the opening of markets to used-clothing imports (figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Rural used-clothing market in Kenya

Local clothing markets in Africa

In contemporary African marketplaces, which have been observed in Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, South Africa and Zambia, it is often new clothing imports from Asia, rather than locally-produced clothing, with which imported used clothing competes. In such cases any negative impact of used-clothing imports to Africa will not principally be affecting African producers that manufacture only (or predominately) for export, but rather affecting Asian clothing manufacturers that export to Africa (Baden and Barber, 2005). However, the presence of both used clothing and foreign new imports precludes the opportunity for existing local manufacturers with higher cost bases to supply unprotected local markets or for new producers to emerge, as is the case in Mozambique (see Chapter 7). This is, though, a generalisation and abstraction of

reality and markets do not consistently function in what would seem intuitively to the distant economic analyst to be a logical manner.

Local-level commerce in African marketplaces is socially and fiscally complex as my research in Mozambique demonstrated. Cost is not the only concern for impoverished African consumers and the purchase prices of used commodities is not always lower than of new counterparts, as the example of the concealing of second-hand shoes demonstrated. There is also small-scale African tailoring and manufacturing catering to specific local niches, such as school uniforms and ceremonial dress, which were observed in markets throughout Maputo and elsewhere in Mozambique (see Chapter 9). It is argued then that the intuitive suppositions about the impact of the used-clothing trade (see Koyi, 2006; Patel, 2004; Webster, 2003) may provide poor approximations to complex realities. Proving this empirically, though, is difficult because of the weakness of official economic data sets.

Discussing economic modelling of the effect of used-clothing imports

The main outcome from Wicks and Bigsten's (1996) work is a theoretical model attempting to assess the economic impacts of used-clothing imports. They show that in a competitive equilibrium economy with an external balance, a domestic clothing industry and duty free imports of new and used clothing, there were no market distortions created by used clothing and the availability of second-hand clothing was welfare-maximising. However, Wicks and Bigsten are aware that such a model is readily disrupted by realistic conditions e.g. the need for starter clothing industries to be protected (Bigsten and Wicks, 1996; Kinyanjui *et al.,* 2004). Within countries, Bigsten and Wicks (1996) believe that the second-hand clothing trade will have a beneficial impact. They speculate that for the poor, 'there might be positive distributional and growth effects, due both to the availability of cheap used clothes and resulting higher real incomes for the poor, and to increase opportunities for their productive employment' (1996: 383), which are positive effects similar to those proposed by Field (2000; 2005; 2008). In summary Wicks and Bigsten (1996: 60-61) state somewhat enigmatically:

> Thus we believe – and evidence supports – that re-using second-hand clothes is in general a good thing, and probably has economic benefits. Nevertheless, theoretical analysis – somewhat

supported by empirical evidence – shows that in the real world situations encountered in most LDCs, used-clothes imports may cause economic damage.

A less ambiguous conclusion comes from Frazer (2008: 1766), who draws a parallel between the used-clothing trade and food aid, arguing that although used-clothing exports are not formal government donor support they:

> ...share key characteristics with aid. Just as the reduced food prices from food aid can hurt the agricultural sector of these countries, the reduced clothing price from used-clothing imports have the potential to hurt the apparel sectors of poor countries.

Andræ and Beckman's (1985) study of the negative impacts of subsidised European and North American grain imports on Nigerian food producers showed how food aid can harm African farmers, whilst seemingly providing a benefit for consumers. Relating the second-hand clothing trade to food aid is useful but there are key differences which Frazer's fleeting narrative fails to capture. Used clothing is not merely 'dumped' in Africa, as popular newspaper reports have suggested (see Jester, 2002) and Frazer's article implies. Frazer is wrong to assume that used clothing enters the African consumer market place at a price which 'only reflects the cost of transportation from industrialized countries to Africa, and not the cost of production.' (2008: 1769). The (re)production of used clothing commodities and the central role of labour in the global North in this system of provision was discussed at length in Chapters 2 and 4.

A further illustrative example of the value-adding that occurs in the (re)production processes in the global North is given by Clark (interview 13/03/09). The price of a 40-foot shipping container of second-hand clothing sold at portside in West Africa is around £25,000, whereas the shipping costs are typically only about £2,000. Even when accounting for transport and collection costs within the UK, this represents a massive increase in the exchange value of used clothes through the labour activities undertaken in the global North. Furthermore, there is a substantial price differential between sorted and unsorted clothing.

Frazer's (2008) attempts to analyze the macro-economic impact of the export of used clothing from OECD countries. He argues there is a causal link and 'Used-clothing imports are found to have a negative impact on apparel production in Africa, explaining roughly 40% of the decline in African apparel production and 50% of the decline in employment over the period 1981-2000.' (2008: 1764). Used-clothing imports may have been a substantial factor in the demise of the African clothing industries, but as argued, both these trends are outcomes of broader patterns of economic liberalization in Africa (Onimode, 1988; Webster, 2004; Wegulo, 2004). Frazer's instrumental variable

model attempts to prove a causal relationship across the entirety of sub-Saharan Africa by relying on two international trade data sets; UNCOMTRADE and UNIDO Industrial Statistics uncritically and in near isolation from other sources. The 40% production and 50% employment declines are only accurate in the context of the statistics from which they are modelled. The specific boldness and authority with which Frazer makes his claims does not reflect the known weaknesses in datasets produced for the United Nations Statistical Division. This includes variations in definitions, timescales, coverage and remits between countries (Barham, 2008; Satterthwaite, 2003).

For poor countries in Africa, missing or inaccurate records are common and there are fundamental problems with the robustness of research conclusions modelled from such data sets. The weaknesses of the data for Mozambique are discussed at length in Chapter 7. Hansen (2000: 114) has examined the UNCOMTRADE in reference to Zambia and found that between 1978 and 2000 there was no reported import data and that there were problems with export data as some 'statistics list volume while others list U.S. dollar value, which introduces problems not only of consistency and comparability but also of changes in exchange rates.' Furthermore, Hansen argues that there is a 'widespread tendency to underestimate used-clothing export consignments in terms of both volume and value' (2000: 114). This, in part, can be explained by the widespread smuggling of used clothing (discussed below). Frazer's appendix (2008: 1781-1783) even demonstrates how fragmented the historical record is. South Africa is the only African state to have a complete UNIDO dataset for all 20 years of his sample period (1981-2000); only 10 other countries have datasets covering at least half the years; 19 have data for fewer than 10 years, while 21 countries are omitted altogether due to a lack of apparel production or employment data. More data are missing than complete; therefore it is difficult to infer robust conclusions. That alone does not invalidate Frazer's exercise, but his main text is notably lacking in caveats (although this shortcoming is mentioned in the end/footnotes), whereas his conclusions are bold.

The main problem with such bold and seemingly authoritative conclusions is the assumption that the available datasets are accurate and representative of the overall population. Investigating the UNIDO data further reveals that certain key economies, such as Lesotho, have substantial gaps in the record. Lesotho has only two years of UNIDO data between 1981 and 2000. Such an absence would probably bias the results of Frazer's instrument as Lesotho was one of the largest clothing producers in Africa during Frazer's study period in a time which 'only a handful of sub-Saharan countries'

manufactured significant quantities of clothing (Gibbon, 2003b: 1813-4). Gibbon demonstrates that Lesotho was the largest African exporter to the EU and US between 1990 and 2000, after Madagascar and Mauritius, and Lesotho continued to be one of the largest clothing producers after 2000 under AGOA (Gibbon, 2003b: 1813-14; International Labor Organization, 2005). The example of Lesotho demonstrates that it is incorrect to assume that omitted records are typical of the overall population of data. As an exercise in economic modelling based on two (fragmented) datasets, Frazer's approach produces neat outcomes that may be valid in their own right, but the utility of such an abstract economic investigation is questionable and should not be used as a basis for policy-making (see Milonakis and Fine, 2009).

There is also an important general point to make here, namely that academics and practitioners alike frequently omit to reflect critically on the data produced by both impoverished and economically developed states. This again speaks to Fine and Milonakis' (2009) critique of 'economics imperialism'. A further critique that can be made of the scope of the Frazer study is that it examines only the officially recorded exports of used clothing from OECD countries. Limiting the parameters of the study does not consider imports from non-OECD states or the trade between African countries. Neither does it accommodate the widespread illegal transhipments of used clothing, which are now discussed.

The illegal and undocumented trades in used clothing

Used clothes are not exclusively traded from a 'first' to a 'third' world; the real economic geography is, as Bigsten and Wicks (1996: 382) found, multi-layered: '127 countries or trading territories exported used clothes, including many, if not most, developing countries.' This includes the export of used clothing between affluent countries such as from Japan to Hong Kong (Clark, 2005) and the vintage American jeans and leather jackets for sale as expensive fashions in Covent Garden and Camden markets in London (personal observation, 28/10/09). There are even instances of used clothing being traded from the global South to the North, such as high end artisanal fashion crafted from recycled clothing and exported from West Africa to Europe and Ethiopia to the United States (Rice, 2010; Rovine, 2005). These are examples of second-hand clothing retail as the type of differentiated post-modern consumption for affluent individuals which lay outside the scope of this project (see Gregson and Crewe,

2003; Palmer and Clark, 2005). What is more relevant and important to consider are the prevalent re-export and transhipments of used clothing via countries in the global North, middle income states, or economies in the global South. These occur through complex legal and illegal pathways, as discussed in Chapter 5. These geographies are difficult to map and inhibit the modelling of the total impact of the used-clothing trade on clothing manufacturing in Africa. The analysis of the evidence strongly suggests that there are not complete (or at least representative) accurate data sets that cover all the different trade geographies.

What can be evidenced through the literature is that some African countries import a disproportionately high volume of used clothing relative to the size of their population 'Ghana, Benin, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda each absorbed between 2% and 4% of world [used-clothing] exports and combined, 62% of SSA's [sub-Saharan Africa's] imports of used clothing between 1999 and 2003' (Velia *et al.,* 2006: 4). 'Small countries like Benin, Togo, and Rwanda' are amongst the largest importers 'due to a great extent to their role in transhipment' (Haggblade, 1990; Hansen, 2000: 118). Chapter 7 will detail how used clothing imported to Mozambique is both overtly and covertly re-exported to South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. As discussed in Chapter 5 (e.g. Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Office of Fair Trading, 2004; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08), thefts of used clothing in the UK are commonplace and the onward destination of stolen used clothes may not be traced in official statistics and thus not accounted for in the models based upon them including Bigsten and Wicks (1996) and Frazer (2008). These omissions cannot be excused as authors from disciplines other than economics readily document illegal used-clothing shipments (e.g. Field, 2000; Forrest, 1994; Ginsburg, 1980; Hansen, 2000; Velia *et al.,* 2006).

Illegal imports of used clothing to populous African states

The illegal import of used clothing to countries with large populations, which are closed to imports, including Nigeria and South Africa, is substantial. This is partially accounted for in official statistics, as South Africa ranks 11th and Nigeria 15th out of 50 African nations in terms of reported used-clothing exports from OECD countries in UNCOMTRADE statistics (1981 to 2000), despite these markets being officially 'closed' to used-clothing imports. The actual imports are far greater, especially in Nigeria (Forrest, 1994; Ihezie, interview 19/03/09), because the large differences in the

rates of protection between neighbouring countries provides an impetus for smuggling in Africa (Goulb and Mbaye, 2008). Such under-documented imports need to be explored and the signal case of Nigeria is now discussed.

Nigeria has attempted to restrict the import of used-clothes to protect the domestic clothing industry. In 1989, for example, nearly 96% of tariff lines for textiles and clothing were subject to import prohibition regimes (Oyejide *et al.,* 2005: 440). These quantitative import restrictions were part of a broader scheme to protect domestic manufacturing along an ISI model, but were not effectively implemented (International Labor Organization, 2005). As Ihezie (interview, 19/03/09), said used-clothing has been 'contraband for the last forty years', but Nigerian borders are 'porous' and he estimated that '75 to 80%' of the used clothing imported to West Africa is finally retailed in Nigeria. Between 1981 and 2000, the levels of imports to Nigeria were officially very low in comparison to Togo and Benin, two much smaller neighbouring markets, which are amongst the largest used-clothing importers in Africa (Hansen, 2000; Velia *et al.,* 2006 illustrated in Graph 6.1). Cotonou (Benin) and Lomé (Togo) are trade conduits which have no restrictions on used-clothing imports and smuggling of second-hand clothing, amongst other goods, formally banned or heavily taxed across the land borders to Nigeria is rife (Chigbo, 2008). Benin Republic is the principal entry point for used-clothing into Nigeria (Forest, 1994). The internationally convertible CFA Franc used in Benin alleviates the problems of holding foreign exchange which can inhibit trade for Africans (Abimbola, forthcoming; see later discussion in Mozambique). The Beninois economy is heavily dependent on Cotonou acting as an entrepôt for banned and restricted goods entering the Nigerian economy (Beuving, 2006). Trans-border trading communities of Igbo and Abiriban merchants operate such trading routes for used clothes and other commodities and their activities oscillate with the strength, and degree of restrictions, in the Nigerian market (Forrest, 1994).

Graph 6.1 Reported exports in US Dollars of used clothing from all OECD countries to three selected West African countries (1981-2000)
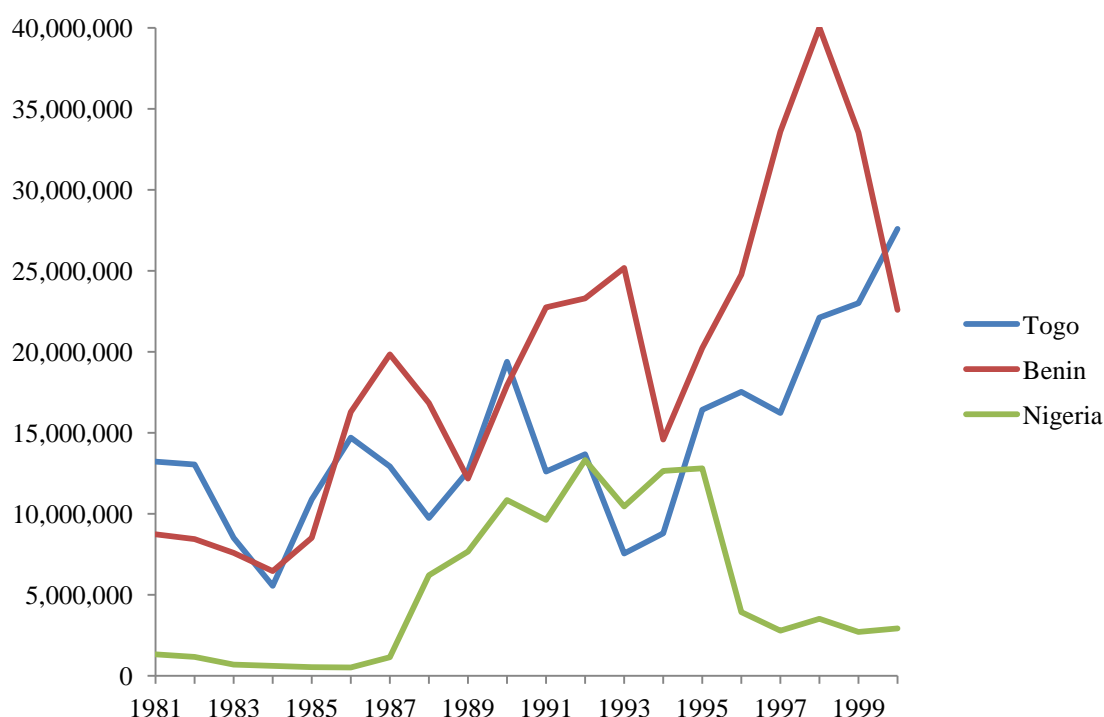
The Nigerian example shows how an attempt to implement ISI was undermined by widespread illegal trade practices. The restrictions on used clothing imports were not supported by robust customs controls. Olusegun Obasanjo, the former Nigerian president, even accused the customs service of 'making nonsense of government's import prohibition policy' (*The Guardian*, January 2004 cited by Oyejide *et al.,* 2005). During the 1980s and 1990s, the Nigerian clothing and textile industry declined (Andræ and Beckman, 1998). This is despite the official imports of used clothing from OECD countries, as reported in UNCOMTRADE statistics, being relatively low when compared to less populous Togo and Benin (see Graph 6.1). Nigerian textile firms continue to fail (*Economist Intelligence Unit*, 2007). The relative poverty of Nigerians, with their low incomes and weak purchasing power, means the consumer clothing market in Nigeria is partially serviced by illegally imported second-hand clothing transiting through neighbouring countries. For the relatively poor Nigerians, used clothes represent a cheaper alternative to the expensive domestically-produced garments. This occurs even with all the inflated transaction costs, such as rent-seeking

associated with smuggling and the by-passing of import tariffs (see Brown and Cloke, 2004; Brooks, 2011).

The Nigerian example is not unique: through fieldwork, used-clothing markets were also observed in Nelspruit, South Africa (see Figure 3.2). Market traders in Maputo discussed how used clothes are exported to South Africa, despite the trade being severely restricted by South African government legislation (see also Velia *et al.*, 2006). In Zimbabwe, punitive tariffs imposed in 1995 restricted second-hand clothing imports after local textile and clothing manufactures had lobbied the government, however widespread illegal informal sourcing processes continued (including from Mozambique via Chomoio personal observations; *Business Weekly*, 2011; Field, 2000). In Kenya: 'New imported clothing comes in disguised as mitumba [used clothing] and it gets into the market, and of course without paying taxes, which makes it a big challenge for domestic textile producers to be able to find a market' (Moses Ikiara, quoted by Majtenyi, 2010). This evidence further implies that the accuracy of official data needs to be questioned and demonstrates how the used-clothing trade is associated with the subversive deviation of economic activity from modern free-market patterns of capitalist transactions. Accurate economic modelling the effect of the undocumented trade is thus very problematic.

Conclusion

The political economy of the second-hand clothing system of provision in Africa is multi-faceted and should be analysed in parallel with a consideration of African new clothing production and consumption. The act of consuming second-hand clothing is very important for many impoverished people because they can simply not afford other types of clothing. Consumption in the global South does not drive the system of used-clothing supply when it is a Western 'producer' who disposes of an item of clothing and this designates the physical form of the commodity available for sale in Mozambican and other African markets. Potential customers may have desires for locally fashionable clothing, but the supply is limited in many contexts, as local African clothing manufacturing is in decline and imported clothes produced for local markets are low quality or unaffordable (Gibbon, 2003b; McCormick *et al.,* 1997; Phelps *et al.,* 2009). In Maputo second-hand clothes were found to be 37.7% of the price of comparable new imported clothes (see Tables 9.2 and 9.3, discussed in Chapter 9). Poor consumers in

Maputo and elsewhere in Africa respond to the available and affordable commodities, rather than determining either the 'things' or their system of provision. Used clothing traders mediate between these two worlds connecting the available clothing items to impoverished people. For consumers who purchase used clothing, by choice or necessity, it is poverty and the form of the second-hand garment tailored originally for the global North, which are more likely to shape their pattern of consumption, than their cultural aspirations. The interconnections between new and used clothing supply have been explored through the field research in Maputo and are discussed further in Chapter 9.

For African consumers, used clothing offers a cheaper type of garment to locally produced new clothing, which can have an upside as '[u]sed clothing provides some relief from inflation and the general erosion of purchasing power that effects the local population. For the price of one meter of the simplest locally produced cloth, a man can outfit himself completely' (Wicks and Bergsten citing a US Government report 1996; 219). As Velia *et al.* argue, 'a drop in price would disproportionately increase the consumption from the poorest South African' (2006: 8). However, as has been discussed at length in this chapter, imported clothes do not match local desires for clothing. The used-clothing system of provision is not just a chain of trade activities which extend from the global North to the global South, it is also a process which was dependent upon and inter-linked with the liberalisation of African economies. The structural adjustment policies and the opening of African marketplaces eroded local clothing industries and provided opportunities for individual capital accumulation for used clothing importers. As African economies become more open in the era of globalisation different cultures, such as international clothing fashions, influenced styles of dress. This includes, for example, the consumption of jeans amongst young African women. Such patterns of dress are sustained and reproduced by the material culture which surrounds the used clothing system of provision, but despite this it is still new clothes rather than the discarded trends from the global North to which people aspire. Impoverished consumers of second-hand clothing trade are not materially connected to a modern life. Rather, buying discarded second-hand clothes from the global North is a disabling representation of their material deprivation and apartness from the emancipatory promises and glamour of mass consumption.

The human impacts of used-clothing imports reverberate through African society. Impoverished clothing consumers and marginalised clothing workers (see Hart, 2002;

Gibbs, 2005; Brooks, 2010) in Africa should not be considered different groups, as this is to fragment society and create differentiated class interests between the poor. Analyzing the local economic impact in Africa of the used-clothing trade is difficult because of the complex and dynamic geographies involved. Casual observers have linked the decline of clothing industries in Africa to the import of used clothing (see Koyi, 2006; Majtenyi, 2010; Patel, 2004; Webster, 2003). This issue needs to be explored critically and empirically, especially in relation to the recent history of economic liberalization in Africa and trade agreements, such as AGOA (Gibbon, 1996; Hansen, 2000; Morris and Barnes, 2009; Onimode, 1988). Rigorous statistical enquiry that considers such issues as well as linking the analysis to a consideration of the cultural factors, as examined in the first half of this chapter, could provide a vital tool for the study of the decline in African clothing production. In contrast, examining this pattern exclusively through published economic statistics fails to reflect what is actually occurring in Africa. Complex realities cannot be explained by running regressions without attention to the quality of data sets or the relevance of the models and instrumentation (Milonakis and Fine 2009). Consulting sophisticated existing literatures from outside of economics (Gibbon, 2003b; 2003c; Hansen, 2000; Hart, 2002; Traub-Merz, 2006; Wegulo, 2004) has illuminated that the parallel long-range trends of declining African clothing manufacturing and increasing used-clothing imports should be investigated thoroughly through an approach that uses both economic data and fieldwork based empirical insights.

The studies by Bigsten and Wicks (1996), Frazer (2008), and Wicks and Bigsten (1996) follow an implicit belief in a manufacturing sophistication ladder. Clothing production is a 'starter' industry in such models and forms an initial step on a modernist pathway of structural change. This conception has been influential in development economics, tracing its origin at least as far back to Perroux (1950) and Rostow (1960). Modernization, though, has lost 'credibility' as such theories do not fit the needs of African citizens or the reality of the world's neoliberal economy (Ferguson, 1999: 249, 2007; Simon, 2006). National governments may continue to favour used-clothing imports, especially if they generate substantial foreign exchange import tariffs (although such revenue generation is increasingly marginalised in liberalised Africa). Elites have found pathways for capital individual accumulation in patrimonial states which do not depend on local industrial activity (Sumich, 2010). This includes accumulation through importing consumer goods such as used-clothing, which can extend to the bypassing of

import tariffs as in Mozambique (Brooks, 2011; Pitcher, 2002) The unbridled free market is not, when examined through the lens of second-hand clothing trade, bringing benefits to the African majority, in contrast to the livelihood and consumption opportunities Rivoli (2009) and Field (2000; 2005) believe it has afforded.

Evidence from the clothing industry shows that preferential trade agreements, rather than free market capitalism, can stimulate increase industrial output in Africa. AGOA is an example of a policy intervention which has benefitted some larger clothing manufacturers. Preferential exports to the US and EU led to sectoral growth in the 2000s parallel to increased imports of used clothing (Gibbon, 2003b; Majtenyi, 2010). The closure of African clothing factories in the 1980s and 1990s was an outcome of policies of economic liberalization, but these same macro-economic interventions opened African markets to used-clothing imports and new cheap Asian imports (Onimode, 1988; Traub-Merz, 2006). These correlations are indicative of Africa's subservient role in the global economy and reflect the asymmetric power structures that can dictate trade policy. Proving definitively whether the relationship is causal has not been possible, but what is conclusive is that both of these trends are symptoms of the malaise that has embraced Africa following economic reforms (Bangura and Gibbon, 1993; Bond, 2006; Webster, 2004).

Chapter 7. The Second-hand Clothing Trade in Mozambique

Introduction

Second-hand clothes are sold at markets and by street traders throughout Mozambique. The national geographies of import, internal trade and re-export of second-hand clothes are introduced and discussed in this chapter. The contemporary macro-economic impacts of second-hand clothing imports are first considered with reference to the history of the fragile new clothing manufacturing sector in Mozambique. Clothing production was marginalised in the colonial era and has since faced repeated structural difficulties, which are independent of the import of the used-clothing trade. The origins of the used clothes retailed in Mozambique are reported, drawing on original fieldwork and published import statistics, which are analysed and discussed critically. The remainder of the analysis explores the pattern of urban second-hand clothing trade in Maputo. The micro-scale social geographies of Mozambican market traders' relations with other economic actors and their positioning as impoverished, non-integrated actors in the used-clothing system of provision are explored. This chapter articulates how Mozambican market traders are exposed to risks through their interactions with Indian used-clothing importers and thus the second-hand clothing trade is documented in a specific socio-economic context, which has commonalities with and differences from other African locations (Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000; Hansen, 2000; Wegulo, 2004). In Mozambique, inequality is embedded through the relative economic power of different firms and individuals in transactions. The focus is especially on the 'lottery' of buying used-clothing bales which contain mixtures of high and low quality goods.

The case study is centred on Maputo, reflecting the economic and social primacy of the Mozambican capital (Concelho Municipal de Maputo, 2009; Nhambi and Grest, 2008; Roodt, 2008). In Maputo chains of commerce extend from Indian-owned warehouses clustered in Alto Maé; via the crowded retail markets such as the Mercado da Estrela or Mercado de Xiquelene; to the hawking of high-quality clothes on the Baixa boulevards (see Figure 3.2). These different types of nodes and the social and economic processes which occur at them are all discussed. What is distinctive about this chapter in comparison to Field (2000) and Hansen (2000) is the Marxist discussion of the second-hand clothing circulation and the expression of the commodity form at different moments. The 'entrepreneurial' roles of various people are also investigated,

demonstrating how Indian merchants and different types of Mozambican traders act to secure advantage over one another by developing capacities or restricting access to critical assets in the links between supply chain nodes (Hall and Robbins, 2006).

Clothing manufacturing in Mozambique

Industrial clothing production in Mozambique has a limited history; the extent of garment manufacture was – like most industrialisation in Lusophone Africa – curtailed by Portuguese colonial policy (Freund, 1998; Mondlane, 1969). Mozambique supplied raw materials to the Portuguese economy during the 1940s and 1950s, which made up for deficits in Portugal's balance of payments with other economies (Hargreaves, 1996). Portugal drew on African colonies to promote its own modernization rather than local economic development:

> Textiles are usually one of the first areas of industrialization for an underdeveloped country, and the Portuguese 'new state' was no exception. Portugal's new textile industry depended on having a monopoly market in the colonies and a secure supply of cheap cotton. The Fascist state tackled this problem in the obvious way: peasants were forced to grow cotton and sell it to the state at well below world market prices (Hanlon, 1984: 20).

There were very few examples of clothing manufacture in Mozambique before independence in 1975, which contrasts to the emergent sector in post-independence Kenya, discussed in the previous chapter. One of the few factories was the *Belita* garment factory in Beira, which employed about one hundred workers by 1968, and 320 in the early 1980s, but such factories were the exception and industrial development was limited (Sheldon, 2002: 158).

Destabilisation by Rhodesia and South Africa and civil war in post-independence Mozambique further inhibited industrial development (Davidson, 1994; Fauvet and Mosse, 2000; Hanlon, 1984). In the 1980s, at the peak of the conflict, Abrahamsson (1988) estimates Mozambican clothing production supported only 10% of need, but this declined further in subsequent decades (World Bank, 2006). Mozambique was severely indebted and in 1987 a World Band/IMF-inspired structural adjustment programme (PRE - Economic Rehabilitation Programme) was implemented (Hermele, 1992). Hermele argued that PRE reinforced the impacts of war and destabilisation and that most major productive economic activity ceased.

In the 1990s, economic liberalisation further curtailed opportunities for clothing industry growth and existing state-owned clothing firms were privatised. Privatization was catastrophic for some textile and garment factories. New owners lacked capital, management capacity and competence and the unscrupulous stripped factory assets to enrich themselves:

> These individuals use the last resources the enterprises have to buy BMWs, Mercedes and to construct and furnish their houses. And, after using up the money that the companies have, they transform them into warehouses for selling "roupa de calamidades" [second-hand clothing] (SINTICIM, quoted in Pitcher, 2002: 195).

The pattern of de-industrialisation was repeated in other economic sectors, including cashew processing, flour mills and furniture manufacturing (Hanlon and Smart, 2008). 'In Nampula some former factories now store and sell second-hand clothes. Ironically, one of these establishments is on the same road as a dormant, but well-equipped, textile factory' (Pitcher, 2002: 195). Cramer (2001: 93) also found that the used-clothing trade has been a facilitator in maximising profit through the de-industrialisation process: 'A number of privatised enterprises were transformed from manufacturing concerns into import-export warehouses or second-hand clothing shops'.

The clothing sector contracted from what was already a small base and faced myriad problems because of the wider socio-economic impacts of PRE in Mozambique. Urban incomes declined and the second-hand clothing trade flourished, both factors further eroded the opportunity for clothing manufacturing. Declining basic services also affected businesses and in 1993 Texmoque, a privately owned textile factory, was forced to close due to a lack of materials and electrical power (Sheldon, 2002). However, the experiences were not universally negative and Sabrina, a clothing company located in Maputo, which manufactured high-quality shirts for export to South Africa, was moderately successful in the late 1990s, employing approximately 400 workers (Pitcher, 2002). Challenges for the garment industry continued in the early 2000s, when Coughlin *et al.* (2004: 20) found that clothing factories were left idle and 'mothballed'.

The long-term history of clothing manufacturing is a tiny and weak industrial sector, unable to meet more than a very small percentage of local need.[24] Locally produced

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[24]The trend is difficult to measure conclusively. The weaknesses and lack of public access to statistics in Mozambique have been documented by Ossemane *et al.* (2009). There are no data posted for Mozambique on the UNIDO website on employment or wages (UNIDO, 2011). This absence means that Mozambique is not included in the instrumental variable model of Frazer (2008) analysed in the previous

clothing has usually been specialist uniforms for government employees or schoolchildren as local consumer markets was constrained by widespread poverty (Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Tvedten *et al.,* 2009, the tailoring of school uniforms is discussed in Chapter 9). The failure of the clothing sector provides an opportunity for cheap imports of new and used clothing. In many instances, used clothing provides the only form of available garments for the impoverished population and is widespread even in remote rural areas (personal observation). Used-clothing imports have increased in Mozambique since the introduction of PRE, although that does not prove a causal link (repeat interviews with market traders, see Graph 7.1). The absence of protection of domestic markets further restricts the opportunity for the emergence of new factories producing for local markets:

> Substantial imports of used clothing underscored the limited means of most Mozambican consumers. Thus, local demand for new clothing and the productivity and size of the apparel industry could not sustain the capital investments that a competitive spinning, weaving, and finishing industry required simply to survive. Saddled with debt, rising labor costs attributable to new regulations and laws, and a centralized industrial strategy that put wealthy consumers in export markets beyond their reach, Mozambique's textiles and apparel industries dwindled to a few small suppliers of local niche markets. (Minor, 2005: 2)

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chapter. Other published sources have been cited where available, but the weakness and absences of long-term data on the clothing sector in Mozambique makes quantifying the trends difficult.

Graph 7.1 Recorded Mozambican used-clothing imports in US Dollars 1994-2010

(No Data available for 1998 and 1999 or prior to 1994)
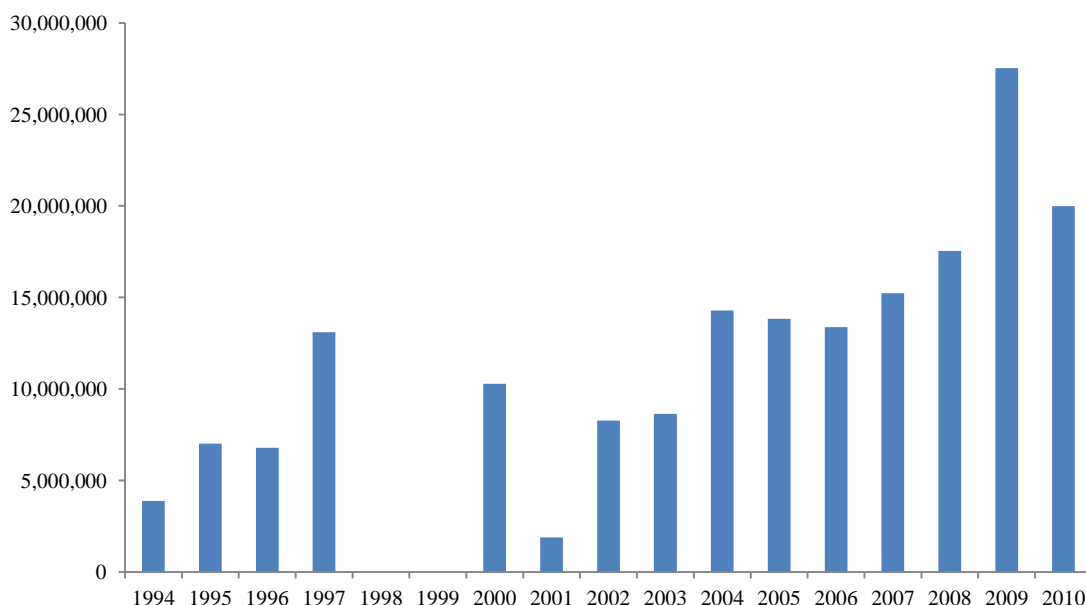
Source: UNCOMTRADE (2011)[25]

On a very modest scale, Mozambique has experienced growth in the clothing sector since the mid-2000s. This has been facilitated by preferential trade agreements: 'Apparel operations in Mozambique are more limited than they were thirty years ago, but have begun to expand since the passage of AGOA in 2000... [w]ith a 10.9 percent growth in the sector in 2004 (World Bank, 2006: 9)'. The World Bank identified manufacturing operations in Maputo and Beira employing approximately 2000 workers and producing predominately for export to the global North (2006; 2008: 1). There have been some successes for clothing factories. The Texmoque factory, which had closed in 1993, reopened in 2008. This factory in Nampula, northern Mozambique, (see Figure 3.1) resumed production following investment from METL, the large Tanzanian company which has profited from involvement in the second-hand clothing trade, as well as being the largest textile manufacturer in sub-Saharan Africa (see Chapter 5; *Maccauhub*, 2006; 2008; METL, 2011a; Rivoli, 2009). The MOZTEX factory in

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[25] All UNCOMTRADE statistics quoted in this thesis are SITC code 26701 (Rev. 1) and 26901 (Rev. 2 and 3) as used by Frazer (2008). This coding does not include textile rags (26702 in Rev. 1 and 26902 in Rev. 2 and 3) and 'All commodity values are converted from national currency into US dollars using exchange rates supplied by the reporter countries, or derived from monthly market rates and volume of trade' (UNCOMTRADE, 2011). Therefore they do not illustrate purchasing power parity which would provide more comparative data.

Matola opened in 2009, employing 614 workers, with 2.5 million dollars of assistance from the Aga Khan Development Network and has expanded from producing garments for South Africa to also exporting to the United States in 2011 (*AllAfrica*, 2010; *Maccauhub*, 2011). This clothing industry growth, from a very low level, has come when Mozambican factories have produced for export markets, as was demonstrated in the case studies from Kenya and Lesotho in the previous chapter. Business is still difficult as, even with preferential trade agreements, the international market is highly competitive and local bureaucracy restricts development. Clothing manufacturers aiming to produce for export markets face constraints on work permits for foreign workers which is an 'extremely important' barrier to the utilisation of factory capacity (Coughlin *et al.,* 2004: 38). Anti-immigration rhetoric was prevalent during the 2009 election and more regressive constraints on the allocation of working visas were imposed in 2010 (personal observations).

When discussing the relative recent growth of clothing manufacture for export, the small size of the Mozambican clothing sector must also be put in context:

> A country of 20.2 million population, Mozambique exported less than USD 400,000 worth of apparels in 2005. This is very low compared to Lesotho with 2.2 million population which exported USD 494 million worth of apparels. Even Swaziland which has only 1.1 million population exported USD 190 million worth of apparels. The apparel exports from South Africa were about USD 252 million. (World Bank, 2008: 1).

A further trend has seen manufacturers relocating from South Africa to southern Mozambique because of the lower wage levels, especially firms from nearby Durban (Rogerson, 2004). In South Africa, 'unrealistically progressive' labour market policies are a barrier to employment growth as promoting high productivity per worker is difficult in a labour surplus economy (Skinner and Valodia, 2002: 56). This is having the impact of displacing low-skilled, poorly-paid jobs to Mozambique, in what can be read as a failed attempt, on the part of the left in South Africa, to bargain for increased labour standards in the face of the neoliberal adjustment of the South African economy (Hart, 2002). Gibbon (2003b: 320) has posed the question: 'Does it make sense to demand wage levels whose implementation, given local capabilities and distance to market, would probably lead to a shift of orders to lower-cost locations?' In relation to the experience of Zambian clothing factory workers, I have argued that the positionality of Gibbon's question accepts the inequalities in the global economy. Instead, one should acknowledge that the interest of any one set of factory workers, such as South Africans,

should not be privileged over those in Mozambique or elsewhere 'in a temporary stalling of a capitalist race to the bottom for labour standards. Rather one should ask how to challenge and disable the current social and economic drivers of the neo-liberal project' (Brooks, 2010: 132).

Investigating labour conditions in Mozambican clothing factories lay outside of the scope of this thesis (see Sheldon, 2002 for a historic study), but the brief history of the new clothing manufacturing outlined above, contextualises the socio-economic impacts of used-clothing imports. This is especially important in stretching the analytical relevance of this thesis by considering the case of Mozambique alongside the discussion in the previous chapter of the social and economic impacts of the import of second-hand clothing in Africa. Wicks and Bigsten (1996) argue that in the context of Mozambique, with little local production, there is no absolute effect of used clothes on the market for new garments, although the imports of used (or new clothes) reduce the incentive to increase domestic production. In Mozambique the clothing sector has never got beyond an infant stage or been properly protected as a 'starter' industry along the ISI modernization model (McCormick and Rogerson, 2004: 1). Pitcher (2002: 193) argued that Sabrina did not have a 'viable' local market for finished goods because low-cost second-hand clothing 'undercuts the price of locally produced goods'. This is correct, but requires contextualisation. The simplistic narrative of used-clothing imports 'destroying' local clothing industries was challenged in the previous chapter. The repeated failure of clothing manufacture in Mozambique is an outcome of colonialism, civil war, destabilisation, economic liberalisation, national and international competition and domestic barriers to business. Second-hand clothing imports were facilitated by economic liberalisation throughout Africa; this can result in potential competition with local production, but also, as a process in and of itself, liberalisation eroded the viability of local industry in the 1980s and 1990s.

Importing used clothing to Mozambique

The port of Maputo is the main import node for used clothing in Mozambique. As outlined in Chapter 3, there are second-hand clothing warehouses clustered in the Alto Maé and Baixa areas of the city (Figure 3.2). Used clothes are imported in shipping containers full of bales of finely sorted and graded clothing by Indian merchants from Australia, Europe and North America (Figure 7.1). A supervisor from one of the

importers, UMUT World Connections, was interviewed (name withheld, 04/05/10). UMUT purchases clothing in 40ft shipping containers. An example cargo is 300 45kg-bales of sorted clothing, 120 sacks of shoes and additional sacks full of accessories such as bags or belts, which is comparable to Oxfam's export shipments detailed in Chapter 4. Twelve people work in the UMUT warehouse, including security guards, payment clerks, porters and Indian supervisors (Figure 7.2). On average they purchase two or three shipping containers per month, which makes UMUT a much smaller importer than METL in Tanzania (see Rivoli, 2009) although comparable in size to some of Oxfam Wastesaver's West African clients and to Kahlid in Zambia (Durham, 2004; see Chapter 5) and larger than some of those which Abimbola (forthcoming) documents in Benin and Nigeria. There are also importing businesses in Maputo such as Fatah Trading and Sabah Enterprises, which each have two warehouses and are larger than UMUT. Observations over the twelve months of fieldwork indicated that they had a greater volume of deliveries and sales. These limited examples do not give a representative picture of the firms which are involved in the import of used-clothing, but they do indicate that there are different sized companies rather than there being a single model which is common to Maputo and the rest of Africa.

Figure 7.1 Shipment of second-hand clothing being unloaded in Alto Maé.

Note the similarity to the bales of clothing produced at Oxfam Wastesaver in Figure 4.7

Figure 7.2 UMUT World Connections

In Maputo, Indian merchants wholesale intact 45-55 kg bales of used clothing and sacks of shoes to Mozambican retail traders, but do not resell individual clothing items to consumers (discussed further below). Mozambican market traders repeatedly referred to the importing merchants as '*Indianos*' (Indians) in interviews and reported that all the import and wholesale businesses were run and managed by Indians and not Mozambicans (with the exception of ADPP-Humana; see Box 1. pg.217). The observed warehouse managers at AHP Commercial, Almadina Commercial, Europatex LDA, Fatah Trading, M.Mawji and Sons, Mohiba Enterprises, Sabah Enterprises and UMUT World Connection (all visited in May 2010 and observed throughout the research process) were people who appeared to be of South Asian origin, although their nationality is unknown.

People who originate from Goa have been involved as merchants in Mozambican import-export trades for well over 100 years: '[b]y the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, second and third generation, Mozambican-born Indians had established fixed businesses throughout Mozambique' (Pitcher, 2002: 30). However, this does not necessarily mean that the 'Indians' in the second-hand clothing trade are Mozambican citizens of Goan origin (Jason Sumich, personal communication 17/06/11). They may have been recent migrants from Tanzania or Zambia, where Indians are also involved in the used-clothing trade (Field, 2000; Hansen, 2000; Rivoli, 2009) or immigrants directly from the sub-continent such as Kahlid in Zambia, who came from Gujarat (Durham, 2004; see Chapter 5) or Pakistani, as Pakistanis have become embedded in the comparable import of used cars in Maputo (Brooks, 2011). As this population was not willing to participate in the research process, their national identities remain unknown. Neither was it discovered if there were any horizontal linkages between firms at this level (e.g. a monopoly supply or splitting of imported shipment). What can be noted is that 'Indian' merchants are prevalent in similar import-export business of other goods (including new clothing, food and hardware) throughout eastern and southern Africa (Dobler, 2008; personal observations).

As there is an embedded cultural group which are locally referred to as *Indianos*, 'Indian merchants' is used as a label to differentiate the ethnically distinct used-clothing importers from the 'Mozambican' black African used-clothing retail vendors. Social groups with different racial, ethnic and regional identities in Mozambique have different opportunities (Pitcher, 2002). Mozambican used-clothing retail vendors are impoverished people. The majority of traders working in the Xipamanine market (including those who retail other products as well as second-hand clothing) were people from families which had been displaced from Inhambane province during Mozambique's civil war (scoping interviews June - July 2009, see Figure 3.1). Like the majority of Mozambicans, they do not have the prior access to capital or the agency which facilitated Indian merchants working in Mozambique and elsewhere in southern Africa, to establish critical assets in the used-clothing trade.

In this analysis I am not presupposing the existence of 'capital' or 'agency' in a trade pattern, for which Starosta (2010) has previously criticised commodity studies analysis. Rather, it is argued that the Indian merchants in Mozambique were able to become embedded in a profitable node in the network in Maputo because they had previously accumulated capital and assets (likely including warehouses, family or cultural

connections in other countries, access to credit, language ability) from other trade activities in different economic sectors, which empowered they to command profitable nodes in the network as was documented with METL in Tanzania (Rivoli, 2009). Without having interviewed people who have these assets, it is not possible to identify the specific trajectories which have enabled firms and individuals to have become ensconced in the second-hand clothing trade, but other studies of different Indian merchant populations in southern and eastern Africa have traced comparable socio-economic histories (Dobler, 2008; Pitcher, 2002; Jason Sumich, personal communication 17/06/11)

There continue to be barriers to new Mozambican traders 'upgrading' to the import activity. The cost of containers of used clothing, which are estimated at tens of thousands of US dollars (based on interview data, no exact price quoted), illustrates the magnitude of capital that is required to purchase a shipment of used clothing. The formal corporate registration of UMUT World Connections, Mohiba Enterprises and Europatex also show they had demonstrated they had each paid 20,000MT ($689.66) to the government of Mozambique (República de Moçambique, 2008; 2009; 2010). As discussed in relation to new clothing manufacturing, there are further bureaucratic and administrative constraints on establishing profitable businesses in contemporary Mozambique. The financial data presented in Chapter 8 demonstrate that working as a market vendor in Maputo does not provide the opportunity to accumulate profits and amass sufficient capital to upgrade to more profitable nodes in the trade network. The progression from market vender to importer has been documented to a limited extent by Abimbola (forthcoming) in Nigeria and Milgram in the Philippines (forthcoming). However, amongst market vendors in Mozambique, as Wegulo (2004: 601) found in Kenya; 'there are only a very few cases of micro-enterprises graduating into small-scale enterprises, and then later graduating into medium enterprises, all the way to large enterprises.' This is not to neglect there are also non-financial assets, connections and expertise that would be required to become established as an importer in the used-clothing trade which Mozambicans do not have.

Mozambicans working as market vendors in Maputo lack the diasporic links to the major suppliers in Australia, Europe and North America, which others are presumed to possess, based on the analysis outlined in Chapter 5. The predominant pattern of the used-clothing trade is of non-integrated activity *within* Mozambique – the Mozambican market vendors businesses are not co-ordinated with the Indian merchants or any other

upstream process. Establishing connections in sources of used clothing is inhibited by differences in language and culture, in contrast to the opportunities East European and Nigerian traders had in the UK (Abimbola, forthcoming; Ihezie, interview 19/03/09; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08).

Portugal is the main cultural link and diasporic connection in the global North for Mozambicans, but the trade in second-hand clothing from Portugal to Mozambique is very small; Portugal does not figure in the top ten importers (Table 7.2). The average exports recorded by Portugal were only US$61,580 per year and the average recorded imports from Portugal recorded by Mozambique were only US$53,926, per year between 2001 and 2010 calculated using UNCOMTRADE data (2011).[26] UNCOMTRADE statistics of the second-hand clothing trade should not be used in isolation and without critical reflection, but the low levels of imports from Portugal were triangulated through fieldwork as Portuguese clothing was not observed for sale in Mozambique nor reported as the origin of clothing in interviews. Investigating the second-hand clothing sector in Portugal lay outside the scope of this thesis.

The origins of imports of used clothing to Mozambique

The exact connections between Indian merchants in Mozambique and other upstream firms or charities in the used-clothing trade, are unknown because they declined to participate in interviews. From the UK research Ihezie (19/03/09) was the only interviewee who had an answer as to the origin of imports to Mozambique, responding 'mainly UK'. One method to trace the import of used clothing is to inspect the labelling attached to bales, which occasionally have information about the exporting company in the global North. Figure 7.3 shows one such label from Canam International (P) Ltd. Information from the Canam website highlighted how they export clothing from North America to grading facilities in India (also reflected in the flags on the label) and re-export used clothing to east Africa:

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[26] There are no import Figures for Mozambique for 2001 and an average of 2002-2009 is used.

Figure 7.3 Discarded CANAM clothing bale label found in Xipamanine Market
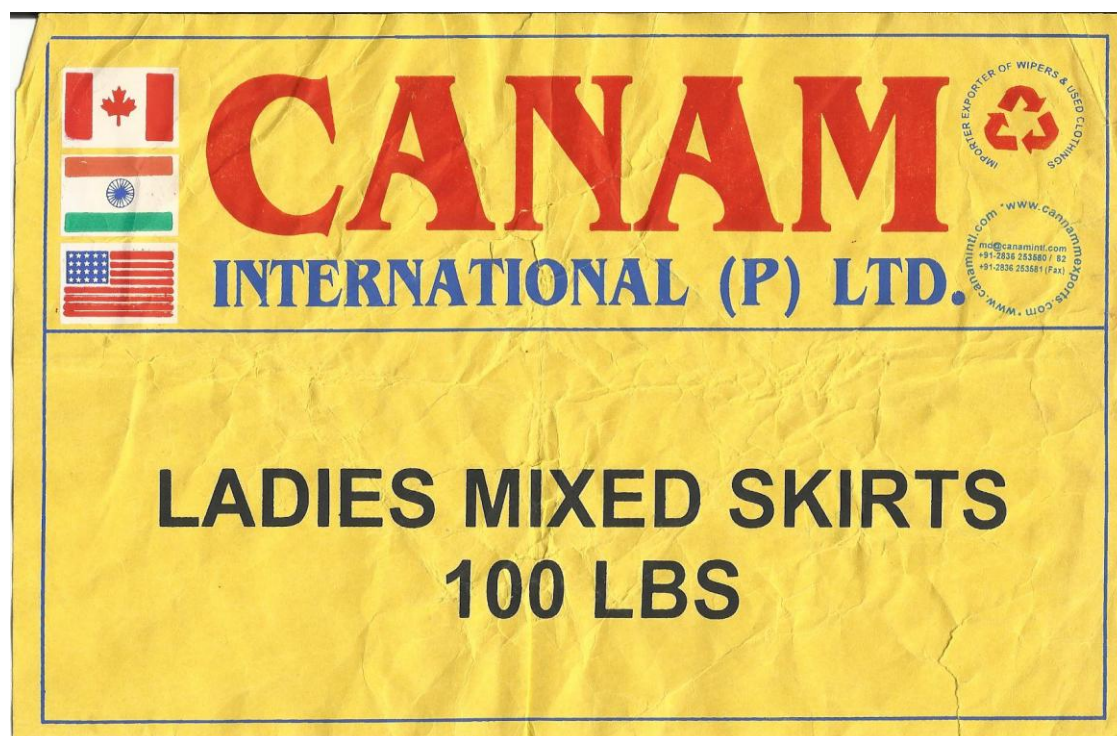
> Our India operation [is]... one of the largest sorting & grading facilities for used clothing in the world, sorting 105 million pounds of mixed rags annually and employing about 700 people...Our factory is strategically located at Kandla Special Economic Zone, Gujarat, India and it enjoys logistical advantage [exporting to] customers spread over Africa, South East Asia and North America [premium vintage clothing]... Due to the ever changing face of the mixed rags business it is very important at this stage to forge alliances directly; therefore we encourage Thrift stores, Charities and other [n]on-profit organizations in North America and Europe to associate directly with us. (Canam International, 2009)

This passage from Canam reiterates the volatility in the used-clothing trade and the importance in establishing links to charitable donation organisations for private companies in the global North (see Chapters 4 and 5). But, Canam also has a different mode of operation whereby the firm has located some grading and processing operations offshore in India to utilise low labour costs and incentives in a 'special economic zone', which are features of the geography of neoliberal globalisation also widely utilised in new clothing manufacturing (Knox *et al.,* 2003). The Kandla port is strategically located as a hub for labour-intensive processing activity, 'between' the collecting nodes in the North America and retail in Africa (Lucy Norris, personal communication 05/02/10). Similar hubs in 'the gulf' are used by Help the Aged's downstream clients, although for re-export rather than processing activities (Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08). The economic geography of global shipping routes

may make transport from North America to East Africa (through the Suez Canal) via India cheaper than direct shipments to Maputo. India is one of Mozambique's top ten trading partners and Mozambique has a small trade surplus with India (Overseas India Facilitation Centre, 2010), which may reduce the cost of the return (India to Mozambique) cargo route, although this assumption presumes the surplus Mozambican exports are of bulk container-shipped commodities.

Clothing bales with Australian labelling and many Australian garments were frequently seen in Maputo (Figure 7.4). When AHP Commercial was approached for an interview, which was refused, the two security guards revealed that clothing is sourced from Australia and Salvation Army-branded bales were observed inside the warehouse. An employee I spoke to at Sabah Enterprises and a worker at Armazém Nguesse Commercial, interviewed by Gudo (08/06/10), one of my research assistants, both said the used-clothing imports come from Canada. The supervisor at UMUT World Connection (interview 04/05/10) believed that most of their clothing originates from Spain, but his company procures it from Nigeria. He was asked several times about this, to confirm if he was certain it was Nigeria and not elsewhere in West Africa (as I was aware that imports are banned in Nigeria), but he stuck to Nigeria. Someone who is associated with UMUT works in Nigeria and purchases the clothing from Spain. Clothing from Spain was very rarely observed for sale in the markets in Maputo and I asked him to confirm that it was Spain. He checked with two colleagues and they both said Spain and added Germany. I also asked him if he could explain why so many items are imported from North America and Australia (see Table 7.1). He thought that it was because the clothing gets mixed together and that when it comes from Spain there are items with English writing on them. This could be because used clothes from North America transit via Spain, although there is no evidence of this beyond this interview.

Table 7.1 Top ten reported exporters of used clothing to Mozambique by value 2001-2010

Rank	2001		2002		2003		2004		205		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
1	Canada	$3,521,802	Canada	$2,030,595	USA	$2,133,441	USA	$4,087,333	USA	$2,665,481	USA	$2,899,561	USA	$5,067,792	USA	$6,298,180	USA	$5,188,512	USA	$7,845,820
2	USA	$2,115,610	USA	$1,635,754	Australia	$1,991,249	Australia	$2,560,662	Australia	$2,571,007	Canada	$2,740,799	Germany	$2,689,000	Canada	$2,719,630	Germany	$3,547,000	Germany	$5,213,940
3	Australia	$1,176,213	Australia	$1,018,709	Canada	$1,601,211	Canada	$1,109,181	Canada	$2,097,434	Australia	$1,628,924	Canada	$2,663,263	Germany	$2,681,000	Canada	$2,829,731	Canada	$3,661,896
4	UK	$1,024,632	UK	$627,159	UK	$805,410	Germany	$581,000	UK	$1,003,871	Germany	$1,240,000	Zimbabwe	$1,440,021	Spain	$1,947,938	India	$2,508,684	Australia	$3,100,333
5	Italy	$469,500	Zimbabwe	$415,742	Italy	$654,609	UK	$538,752	Germany	$739,000	Italy	$1,018,141	Australia	$1,364,846	Italy	$1,403,756	Italy	$1,705,406	France	$1,633,091
6	Germany	$269,000	Germany	$277,000	Germany	$380,000	Italy	$522,131	Italy	$501,749	UK	$783,980	Italy	$1,163,453	Australia	$1,312,690	Belgium	$1,414,051	Italy	$1,261,629
7	Holland	$200,648	Italy	$253,722	Belgium	$256,124	Belgium	$429,465	Belgium	$210,803	Spain	$571,356	Spain	$839,199	Poland	$571,074	Australia	$1,346,058	Malaysia	$993,869
8	Spain	$133,113	Belgium	$167,427	Finland	$210,333	Czech R.	$280,855	Spain	$199,909	Slovakia	$167,690	UK	$475,456	Belgium	$556,326	Spain	$1,309,320	Pakistan	$390,072
9	Poland	$100,000	Poland	$136,000	India	$181,130	Greece	$185,297	Lithuania	$186,344	Bulgaria	$153,539	Belgium	$264,206	Malaysia	$508,915	Poland	$1,268,518	Belgium	$333,005
10	Sweden	$77,834	Spain	$132,184	Sweden	$176,710	Spain	$150,133	UAE	$123,457	Finland	$111,426	UAE	$235,706	Finland	$412,587	Malaysia	$960,485	Thailand	$288,520

Source: UNCOMTRADE (2011)

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From observations of clothes in markets in different locations in Maputo (see Table 3.3 and Figure 3.3), the most common origins of second-hand clothes are Australia, Canada, USA and to a lesser extent Europe. 'Origins' refers to where they were exported from in the global North rather than where they were initially manufactured as new garments. These origins were also disclosed in repeat interviewing of market traders in Maputo and Matola, brief interviews with Mozambican workers at the Indian Merchants' warehouses and by examining accompanying packaging and individual clothing items. These different research techniques triangulate and consolidate this finding. There were also labels on some clothing items including Salvation Army and Village Values tags that were noticeably price tickets from Australian used-clothing retail shops demonstrating that these garments had previously been marketed as consumer goods in Australia, but were not purchased there. These clothes have been exported to a market further down the social gradient, which clothing traces between the rich and the poor at different locations in the global economy (as discussed in Chapter 4). By combining different research techniques, including in-depth interviews and more casual discussions with traders, as well as observations of markets and clothing labelling, these origins can be triangulated through extensive multi-method ethnographic research.

Used clothes frequently display names that embellished them with symbolic value when they were first consumed in the global North, for example sports teams, government institutions or businesses e.g. 'Andalucía Volebol', 'New South Wales Police Service' and 'WalMart USA'. There were also labels of distinctly national brands of clothing for example on the 13/10/09 a stall had many items of children's clothing with 'George @ ASDA' labelling and other labels which indicate clothing came from Britain included: Marks and Spencer-branded goods and logos such as 'Netball UK' and 'Thomas London'. Many 'Billabong' goods were also observed repeatedly; this is a popular and distinctly Australian brand, although one which is also marketed elsewhere in the global North. Other labels on second-hand clothing such as 'Fruit of the Loom', 'H&M' and 'Nike' are multinational brands, which are retailed around the world reflecting the internationalisation of the clothing industry and are not indicators of specific origins (Gereffi, 2001a). New clothing 'seconds' (sub-standard products) were very occasionally observed for sale in markets but this would be estimated as less than 1%. In Vilankulo, for example, tens of pairs of identical new 'Crocs' sandals, which had been imported as second-hand clothing, were observed for sale (25/03/10). Market

traders also check the pockets of clothing for money and very occasionally find US or Australian dollars and will exchange these for local currency. In general the market traders were unaware of and disinterested in the exact origin of the clothing. One of the few indicators of bale quality that some traders expressed was a vague opinion that stock from Canada was of high quality.[27]

Mapping the import of used clothing to Africa is difficult, as discussed in Chapter 5, and successful firms may depend on key contacts at upstream nodes in the supply chain or trust and long-term relationships which are not readily disclosed to a researcher (as Nieuwenhuis *et al.,* 2007 found in the used-car trade). Even within companies this information may be closely guarded. Due to his limited role in the company (*or perhaps his unwillingness*), the supervisor at UMUT was unable to disclose how UMUT acquires imports of clothing (interview 04/05/10). To get a new container they make a phone call to an overseas supplier, but he did not give a clear answer when asked about how payment was made. UMUT incurs various costs, the price they pay for a container, the transport costs and the cost of getting it through customs (discussed below). When asked directly about the costs of a single container with (or without) transport to Mozambique (via Nigeria), he said he did not know the price. It was very complicated, he said, and that he does not know exactly how *'os chefes'* (the bosses) purchase them.

Quantifying used-clothing imports

UNCOMTRADE data provide another indicator of clothing origins. The information revealed in these datasets should be used cautiously. As the previous chapter demonstrated, there are believed to be errors in these datasets. For example, in 2004 Mozambique reported that it imported 332 million kilograms of used clothing from Canada; in contrast Canada reported exporting only 1.09 million kilograms. Between 2003 and 2010 (without the 2004 record of Canadian imports) the total import of all used clothing from the whole world was only 184 million kilograms i.e. the Mozambican record for imports of Canadian used clothing in 2004 is twice what Mozambique recorded importing in total from all countries (including Canada) for seven years. If such a figure, which I think can be considered an error, was used without critical reflection, it would dramatically skew an economic model.

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[27] When interviewed about the used-clothing trade several vendors asked me if I was selling bales of second-hand clothing.

The UNCOMTRADE data can be used to triangulate the other sources detailed above. Mozambique's import record is fragmented; for example, there are no data at all for 1998 and 1999 so reported exports to Mozambique are primarily analysed here, although it is false to assume that export records from the global North are always more accurate representations of reality. Frazer (2008) argues that OECD countries have more accurate datasets and are less likely to under-report export figures than African nations are to mis-report their imports. This is not consistently the case as Graph 7.2 demonstrates, comparing British-reported exports and Mozambican-reported imports. In 1997 and 2009, Mozambique recorded higher imports; this implies that at least one of the country's datasets is inaccurate and, as with the 2004 Canadian example, disproves the supposition that African records consistently under-report imports.

Graph 7.2 British reported used-clothing exports to Mozambique and Mozambican reported imports from Britain in US Dollars 1975-2010
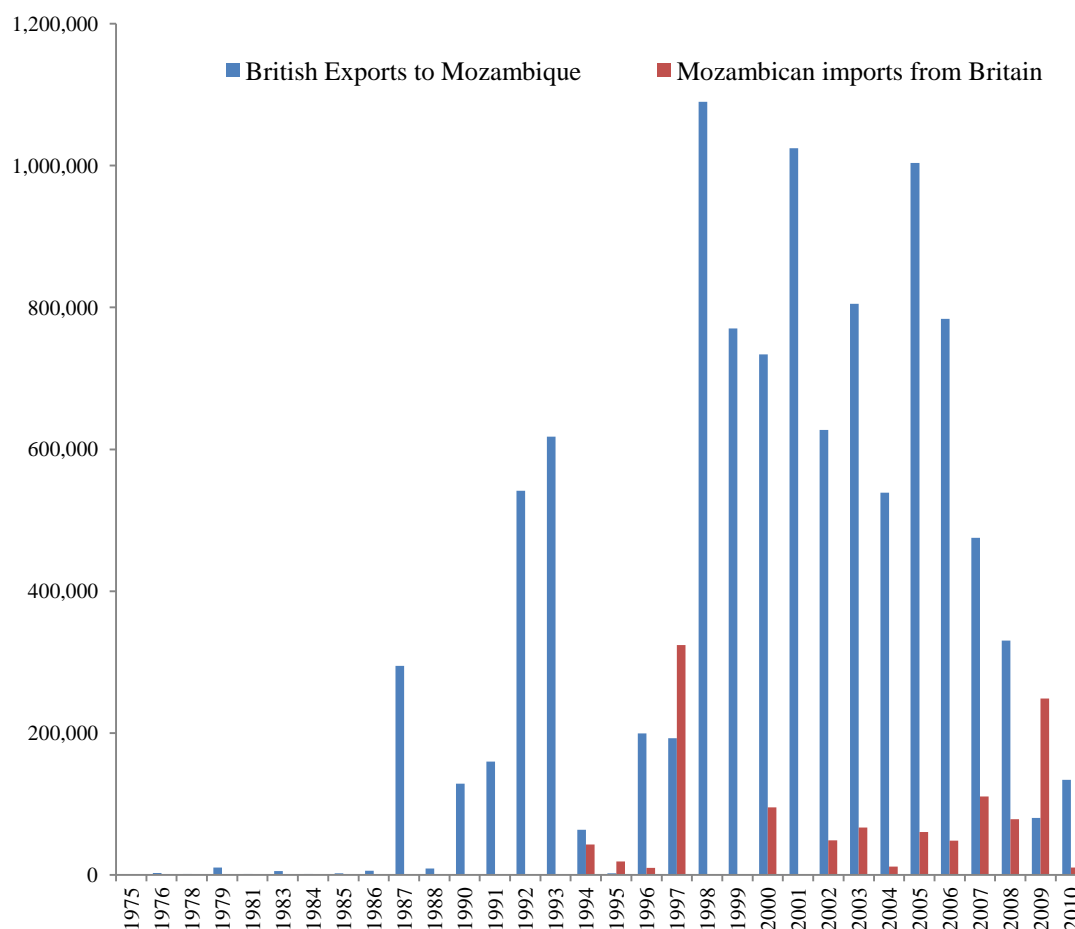
The UNCOMTRADE data from 2001-2010 of exports of used clothing to Mozambique indicate that Australia, Canada, Germany, Italy and the United States are consistently amongst the largest origins for imports of used clothing (see Table 7.1). This corroborates some of the evidence accumulated through field work which indicated that Australia, Europe and North America were the principal origins of used clothes, although, as noted in the previous chapter, many caveats must be included when drawing conclusion from UNCOMTRADE data. One data record to consider is India, which only figures once in the top ten exporters, in 2009, and does not document re-exporting used clothing to Mozambique (re-exports to Mozambique are officially recorded as negligible). This is contradictory to the supposition that Canam is importing large volumes of clothing via India, although it may be that this is reported in UNCOMTRADE statistics as exports directly from Canada or the United States.

Customs and the import of used clothing

Containers of used clothing can take a long time to clear the Port of Maputo and in general customs service delays are common in Mozambique (Coughlin *et al.,* 2004; Mosse, 2007). Different actors are involved to negotiate with customs in the import of used clothing to Maputo, but exactly what transactions occur at this node is difficult to investigate. Interviews and informal discussions have alluded to how import charges can be complicated to calculate and unofficial payments and bribes are paid to customs officials in both Maputo and Beira. The heterogeneity of used clothing means that the valuing of imports may be more ambiguous than equivalent new-clothing commodities. This was observed in the import of used cars, where there is subjectivity in the calculation of their value and import tariffs which enables corporate corruption between car importers and customs officers (Brooks, 2011). Pitcher (2002) reported that the avoidance of customs charges by second-hand clothing importers decreases the retail price of used clothing goods for poor consumers. The inverse relationship namely increased customs costs leading to increased wholesale prices of used clothing was also recorded in interviews. The circumventing of import charges (*impostos*) were not witnessed directly as firms and individuals actively conceal their activities, making them inherently difficult to document (Brown and Cloke, 2004; Field, 2000). The evidence from published sources (Pitcher, 2002; Mosse, 2007; Söderbaum and Taylor, 2008b), the used car trade (see Brooks, 2011), new-clothing imports (discussed in Chapter 9) and interviews with market traders, all imply that bribes and corruption are common.

The wholesaling of used-clothing bales in Maputo

Indian-owned warehouses (*armazéns*) where used-clothing bales are sold are located in Alto Maé and the Baixa close to some of the main used-clothing markets (see Figure 3.2). They are secure premises heavily protected with caging, locks and security guards. This restricts the access of traders and other people to avoid thefts of clothing and to prevent close inspection and tampering with the clothing bales. Second-hand clothing import is a specialist business and other commodities are not sold or stored alongside used clothing. UMUT World Connections is classified as an importer of new and used clothes, shoes and bags, whereas Mohiba Enterprises is a general importer and exporter

and may have other trade operations beyond the used-clothing business (*República de Moçambique* 2009: 49; 2010: 4). The involvement of the importers in the trade network is geographically restricted and they sell clothing bales only in major cities such as Beira, Maputo and Tete (discussed further below). The importers' function in the international trade is purchasing the large units from overseas, which requires significant capital, splitting bulk container orders back into individual bales and selling them to Mozambican used-clothing traders.

The bales wholesaled in Maputo are finely sorted clothing, for example jeans, blouses or shoes, which have been graded e.g. LTS-LS-MIX (Ladies T-shirt Light/Summer Mix, see Figure 7.4) and packaged at upstream nodes in the supply chains. Fatah Trading had used-clothing items displayed as examples of the type of clothing contained in different categories of bale, e.g. a denim shirt, a leather skirt, a pair of khaki trousers. There was also a notice displaying promotions such as 'sweaters' which had had their price cut from 1500 to 1200MT ($51.72 to 41.38) a bale (04/05/10). This sale demonstrates how the merchants had overpriced that particular type of clothing since sweaters are a less desirable item not suited to the local climatic conditions, nor considered fashionable. Intact bales of clothing are purchased in cash by Mozambican traders at set prices; there is no negotiation on price (Table 7.2 and Table 7.3). There can be variations in prices between different Indian merchants and some have two different qualities of used clothing, which are high and low priced. This evidence demonstrates how the wholesale clothing bales are specific, (re)produced commodities which are differentiated rather than amalgamated waste 'dumped' in Africa (Jester, 2002).

Figure 7.4 Discarded Australian clothing bale label found in Xipamanine Market

LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX

LTS-LS-MIX

DESCRIPTION : Second Hand Wearable Clothing Rags

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN : AUSTRALIA

LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
LTS-LS-MIX LTS-LS-MIX
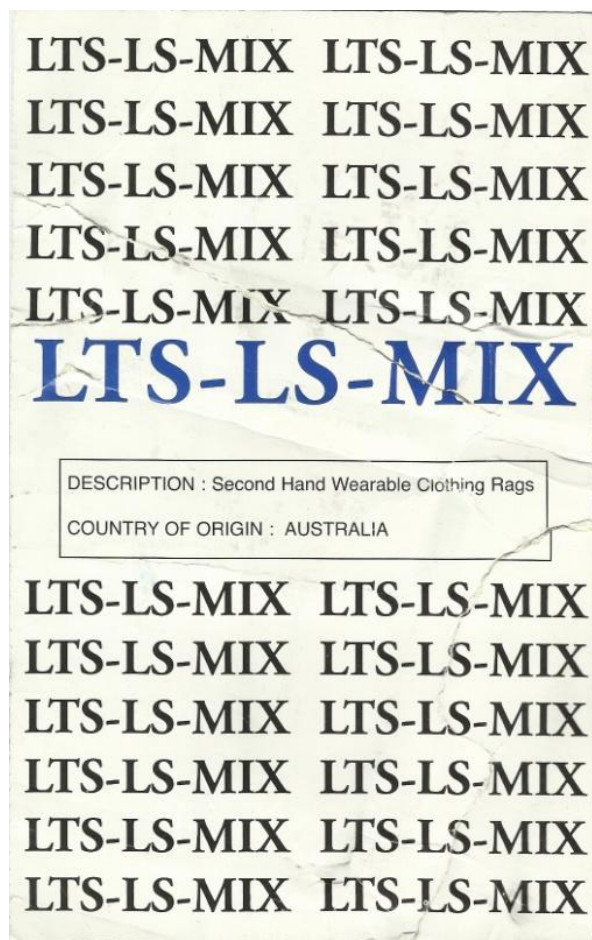
Bales were normally purchased from wholesalers in cash, but there were also limited examples of traders purchasing bales on credit. In these instances traders had to leave their identity cards at the *armazéns* as collateral and return the cost of the bale by the end of the day. One such example was a group of three male youths, who were unable to sustain a stock of capital through trading (interview 23/07/09). They lacked experience in the trade and they had to make rapid sales at low prices in order to ensure that they recovered at least the cost of the bale within one day of trading. This group did have one asset which other vendors did not command, namely that they were able to 'control' a prime vending location on the corner of Avenída Filipe Samuel Magais and Avenída Fernão De Magalhães in the Baixa (Figure 3.2). It was technically illegal to sell at this location and trading would occasionally be disrupted by the police[28] so no formal ownership rights could be exerted, but they would fight other traders to sell

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[28] Because of police attention paid to informal 'illegal' street trade practices, they were not included in the financial diary sample.

there. Their crucial asset was control of space and location rather than capital. 'That vending practice was called *dumba nengue*, which literally means "rely on your legs," implying that the vendor should be prepared to run away when police or other officers arrived' Sheldon (2002: 236).

Table 7.2 Example of the types of clothing bale advertised for sale at an *armazém* in Maputo (08/06/10)

Type of Clothing Bale	Price in Meticals	Approximate Value in Dollars
Children's clothing (0 to 7 years)	3000	103.44
Mixed shorts	1500	51.72
Trousers (womens)	1400	48.28
(men's)	1700	58.62
Skirts (denim)	1800	62.07
(cloth)	2500	86.21
Shirts (with collar)	1500	51.72
(without collar)	1300	44.83
Kahki Tousers (mens)	1500	51.72
(womens)	1800	62.07
Jeans (for men and women)	2000	68.97
Underwear (men's)	3500	120.69

Table 7.3 Clothing bale purchase prices, calculated from financial diary records collected in March-April 2009

Type of Clothing Bale	Average Price in Meticals	Approximate Value in Dollars
*Children's clothing (0 to 7 years)	5950	205.17
Ladies' blouses	2043	70.44
Boys' T-shirts	4800	165.52
Childrens' trousers	6500	224.14
*Men's' shirts (with collar)	2839	97.90
*(without collar)	2500	86.21
Children's shirts	4000	137.93
Long sleeve ladies' tops	1957	67.48
Ladies' night clothes	2127	73.34
Curtains and textiles	2243	77.34

All the Indian merchants sold a range of different types of clothing and there was no specialisation (Table 7.2). UMUT (supervisor, interview 04/05/10) get a list from their supplier of what will be included in each container. Such 'packaging lists' are also found in West Africa (Abimbola, forthcoming; Clark interview 13/03/09) and include items that are undesirable, such as coats, and are controlled by exporters to maximise profitability (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). The import of used clothing to Mozambique is irregular, which may be linked to how the trade is dependent on existing transport infrastructure. For example, Paulo, who sells used shirts, said there had been a *'crise'* (crisis) in the used-clothing trade and a serious shortage of bales around the time of the elections in November 2009. At this time, few boats made shipments into Maputo. This shortage increased competition and the price of bales rose. Conversely, when there is a surge of imports, the wholesale prices can decrease. Indian merchants actively market bales to traders. Paulo has received text messages advertising new and discounted used-clothing bales. The Indian merchants want to speed their rate of transactions whenever possible and sell their bales rapidly in order to recoup the capital to purchase another container and generate further surplus. The speed at which

commodities pass through such wholesale nodes in international trade networks has been demonstrated to be an important determiner of profitability as explored in global production network research, but is also a concept central to Marxist political economy (Harvey, 2006a; Woxenius, 2006).

Speculating on clothing bales – *Mamães Grandes*

Another category of intermediate economic actor in Maputo also occasionally engineers shortages of used-clothing bales to accumulate profits, namely the *'Mamães Grandes'* (literally, 'Big Mothers' – a predominately female occupation, although some men also perform this role).[29] *Mamães Grandes* are a small group of privileged clients of Indian merchants who do not retail clothes in the markets and attempt to form an oligopoly. They are especially active when there is a shortage of clothing bales and purchase large numbers of bales (50-100). They work just outside the warehouses, buying up available stock, particularly of desirable clothing like shorts. As an interviewee discussed:

> There are the *Mamães Grandes* who are the first in the lines, even if they have not queued. You are in a queue and a *Mamã Grande* can charge you 100MT ($3.49), she goes in and buys and they can charge you. The owners of the warehouses call the *Mamães Grandes* first (Ana, interview 21/10/09, response translated by Ngovene).

The *Mamães Grandes* have good personal contacts with Indian supervisors and Mozambican workers at the *armazéns.* They make periodic bulk purchases that are advantageous for the Indian merchants as the transactions are completed more rapidly. When they monopolise supply they contact market traders who have to pay them a premium above the Indian merchants' advertised price. A common level of rent extraction by the *Mamães Grandes* was a 100-300MT ($3.49-10.34) premium per bale. Maria discussed paying a 300MT ($10.34) premium on a bale of trousers (interview, 16/07/09). *Mamães Grandes* are able to speculate in the used-clothing trade as through specific social formations they have better knowledge and understanding of how the retail trade works in Maputo and closer ties to the market traders than the culturally and ethnically distinct Indian merchants.

Through early participation in the used-clothing trade in the 1990s, when it was more profitable, *Mamães Grandes* accumulated capital which they now use to speculate and

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[29] People who were identified as '*Mamães Grandes'* by other vendors were approached but declined to be interviewed directly about their businesses.

constrain demand. This positions them in a more powerful role relative to the market traders. It is demonstrated in Chapter 8 how retailing second-hand clothing no longer presents such opportunities for capital accumulation and upward mobility (what would be characterised as 'upgrade' in GVC literature). Collapsing profitability has been observed in other female-controlled informal market niches in Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rogerson, 2004; Wegulo, 2004). Davis (2004: 22; 2006) has argued 'ubiquitous and vicious networks of micro-exploitation, of the poor exploiting the very poor, are usually glossed over in accounts'. The example I have documented through in-depth ethnographic research can be contrasted to other analyses. Field (2000) believes the used clothing trade is beneficial for all those involved and Rivoli (2009) argues that African used-clothing wholesale and retail markets are examples of unregulated free market activity, which ensure the cheapest possible clothing products are available for the poor in Africa. At the micro-scale in Maputo there are exploitative relationships among the poor. The risks and benefits are not evenly distributed and there was resentment amongst market vendors of the *Mamães Grandes,* who perform no productive service in the used-clothing system of provision but whose speculation inflates the cost of second-hand clothes for consumers.

Shortages of used clothing, whether they are absolute, due to reduced supply from the global North, or relative, when engineered by *Mamães Grandes,* deplete the earnings of market traders. Judite, who sells blouses, recorded: '*Fui a armazém não apanhei roupa*' (I went to the warehouse but could not get clothes) (financial diary 06/04/10). In this week her earnings decreased. She had lost a day of work, committing labour-time to travelling and waiting at an *armazém* without making a purchase.

The risky purchase of used-clothing bales

Used clothing is inherently variable in quality as individual unwanted items of clothing donated in the global North have had different past histories as manufactured, consumed and worn garments before they enter a used-clothing (re)production system. This makes them fundamentally different to new clothes which are outputs of standardised manufacturing, be they either Fordist or flexible accumulation production processes (Knox *et al.,* 2003). The bales of clothing imported to Mozambique contain garments that are fashionable, pristine, stained, torn, and worn-out as well as unsellable apparel and rags. The Indian merchants pass the risk of bad-quality stock on to Mozambican

market traders by strictly controlling the purchase process and refusing refunds. Purchasers of used-clothing bales know only what category of clothing they are buying and are not permitted to examine the bales. Traders can be lucky and get many items in good condition, the right size for Mozambican physiques, and locally fashionable. This would imbue the clothing items with high degree of use value. Or they may be unfortunate and open a bale to find items that are ripped, soiled, rotten, unstylish or too large and oversized to fit Mozambicans. Bales can even be full of unsellable clothing waste. The opening of a new bale is called a *totobola* (lottery) because of the element of chance. A high quality content can enable a profitable return and can double or triple market traders' investment, whereas bales full of waste clothing erode their capital bases.

This lottery is recognised by the wholesalers and an Indian manager at Fatah Trading was overheard saying *'boa sorte'* (good luck) to a client (06/04/10), acknowledging that there was an element of risk in what she was buying. The Indian merchants have become profitably embedded through both restricting the inspection of bales and through the established business practice, common to all the Indian merchants, of not offering refunds except in exceptional circumstances. Some long-established traders interviewed in Xipamanine Market have built up relationships with Indian merchants and are able to exchange bales on rare occasions. Shoe traders in Compone Market also have been able to negotiate the refund of very-low quality shoes (discussed in Chapter 9), such returns are very unusual and not normal business practices in the second-hand clothing trade.

Raquel (interview 04/02/10) sells children's clothing in Xipamanine Market and she thought that allowing Mozambican traders to choose clothing bales would *'mata'* (kill) the profitability of the importers' businesses because Indian merchants would get stuck with bad stock. Instead this risk is passed on to market traders. When they open a bale and instead of finding clothes with exchange value, they can discover low-quality rags that have no local market and thus pass from the commodity phase to waste. Nevertheless, Mozambican traders can attempt to undermine the Indians' control of bale allocation to offset this risk. Judite described how she paid a bribe of 50MT ($1.72) to a warehouse employee and asked him/her to select a good bale for her, without the knowledge of the Indian supervisor (financial diary 08/03/10). This is an example of a small act of resistance through which disadvantaged people can undermine authority (Scott, 1985). But the external cost of this informal transaction will be borne by the

overall population of Mozambican traders as their odds of getting a good bale decrease with Judite's purchase of a prime bale. Despite efforts to resist the inequality in the power relation by some Mozambicans, these traders' continue to have the most risky form of trading activity.[30]

When a Mozambican trader purchases a bale, the group of clothing items collectively express the commodity form at the moment of sale from the Indian merchant. Collectively, because '[a]ll the linen in the market counts but as one article of commerce, of which each piece is only an aliquot [integral] part' (Marx, 1995: 68). When different second-hand clothes, with all their variable individual qualities, are *concealed* together within a bale there are a single collective unit. Like yards of linen on the bolt, second-hand clothes in the bale are all integral parts. 'And as a matter of fact, the value of each single yard is but the materialised form of the same definite and socially fixed quantity of the homogenous human labour' (Marx, 1995: 68). This sale, though, is an *illusion* in the case of second-hand clothing purchases; traders are not buying a homogenous commodity. The use value of each single item within the bale is not equal, but like the yards of linen on a bolt it is treated as a homogenous commodity because of the absence of information about their particular use value and potential exchange value. This is known only when the bale is split and dis-amalgamated into single objects.

Mozambican traders frequently purchase bales containing predominately clothing rubbish, incurring a net operating loss (quantified in Chapter 8). As Amélia recorded in her financial diary (12/03/10), many of the clothes are low quality: *'as roupas tambem não são satisfatoria, porque muita roupa saiu um pouco suja'* (the clothes are not satisfactory, because many clothes are left dirty). Some second-hand clothes are of such low quality that they have no monetary value in the market. Traders believe (or hope) to be exchanging money for a cumulative group of individual items which can profitably be resold as commodities for a greater total exchange value. But if the majority of clothes are actually unmarketable waste, it is revealed to be a purchase of rubbish. The unwitting purchase of *rubbish* by second-hand clothing traders is enabled by the used clothing system of provision. In the global North commodities (clothing bales) were

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[30] Traders' livelihoods are precarious, but wage labourers working in the used-clothing sector in Maputo including porters, security guards, salaried market traders and municipal market cleaners have lower incomes (reported in interviews). Their livelihoods can be considered to be more vulnerable than the market traders.

(re)produced from discarded items of clothing and different actors – charities, processing companies, exporters, Indian merchants – have profited from the chain of sales of items of second-hand clothing including those that are inherently 'waste' and have 'zero-value'. Taken collectively, a bale containing a high proportion of zero-value clothing is a purchase of rubbish. Judite purchased a bale of blouses and found the clothes to be torn and unsellable: *'Desde nunca pode vender quebras de roupa, muitas vezes deitamas fora'* (Since you can never sell rags, most of the time we throw them away) (18/03/10 financial diary). When clothing bales of rubbish are purchased, the objects have followed this pathway:

> *Unwanted clothing in global North – Bale of second-hand clothing – Waste rags discarded in Mozambique.*

Which is a further example of objects following a pathway which Thompson in his *Rubbish Theory* (1979), criticised in Chapter 2, argued was impossible:

> *Rubbish (zero-value) – Object of transient-value (commodity form) – Rubbish (zero-value)*

This pathway articulates how more powerfully embedded actors in the used-clothing system of provision increase their total profit from the trade by selling waste. This marginalises the opportunities for capital accumulation amongst Mozambican market traders. As demonstrated in the case of Intercontinental Clothing (see Chapter 5), in the free market trade in second-hand clothing there is an incentive for grading firms in the global North to pass waste and low-quality to the downstream traders in Africa, unless they are linked as in Abimbola's (forthcoming) case study.

Clothing which is of low-quality but not actually rubbish is also problematic for used-clothing traders in Mozambique. Low-quality clothing brings small profits or losses and the vendors find that it takes far longer to sell than better quality clothing and thus they are 'loosing' money; because utilising capital to achieve valorisation depends on the movement of commodities (Harvey, 2006a). The traders often reported how it is a day's relative *'movimento'* (the movement of goods, or rate of trade) which determines how profitable their work was. As Amélia recorded in her diary (24/03/10), *'O dia em que abri o fardo mas nem parece porque compraram bem'* (Today I opened a bale but it does not seem to be drawing the attention of the customers, they are not buying). A slow period of sale reduces the rate at which capital circulates; this reduces firms'

profitability (Harvey, 2006a; Woxenius, 2006). The market traders also lose their own labour-time when they are waiting and queuing for stock at the *armazéns*. This can be a slow process and the time taken for transactions to be completed affects the labour-time traders have to commit to acquiring exchange value from the sale of the used-clothing commodities.

International economic integration and entrepreneurship

In addition to the risks of low-quality clothing and delays in obtaining stock, currency fluctuations are another insecurity which marginalises the businesses of market traders. Second-hand clothing importers contracts with suppliers in the global North are agreed in US Dollars, Euros or other hard currencies (UMUT supervisor, interview 04/05/10; Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000; Hansen, 2000). When the Mozambican Metical weakens against the US Dollar, the Indian merchants pass the increased costs on to Mozambican market traders, but when the Metical strengthens against the dollar the price of bales will not be reduced. In Maputo, market traders complained about this process to the importers and had lobbied the Concelho Municipal de Maputo, but have been unable to leverage change. Sergio (interview 11/02/10) who sells boys' T-shirts complained that groups of market traders are treated *'sem seriedade'* (without seriousness) by both Indian merchants and city authorities. Sergio explained that Indian merchants 'say things like what are you doing? We are just here to make business' and Sergio had found that 'it is like those who have money have power' (translated from Portuguese and transcribed by myself in English during interview). Sergio's linking of capital (money) with political agency (power) demonstrates how in Maputo the voice and roles of different economic groups are privileged and marginalised.

Breman (2009) argues that the recent global economic crisis has taken a disproportionately heavy toll on the most vulnerable people in the world, especially low-earning people in Africa working on their own account in the open air. Trading practices are 'seen as a safe haven by *Wall Street Journal*' but this is a misconception (Breman, 2009: 32); the poor are *affected by,* not *isolated from*, international economic processes such as currency fluctuations (Ngandu, 2009). There are endemic problems with self-reliance for impoverished second-hand clothing traders, which are documented in Chapter 8. Poor people live in a state of constant emergency rather than being a

vibrant class of entrepreneurs ready to fight their way up (Hermele, 1992; Iyenda, 2001; 2005; Van Deth, 2003).

Tensions both within and between groups in Mozambique can serve to embed inequality. As Pitcher (2002: 173) found, 'Racial, ethnic, and regional conflicts also permeate Mozambique and they dilute attempts at class or national unity'. In Maputo, second-hand clothing market traders do not have a recognised trade association and had not managed to unite as a group to challenge the entrenched power of the importers. For the Maputo traders, unity may be difficult to achieve as each individual trader has an incentive to try to establish positive personal social relations with workers and supervisors at the *armazéns,* as this can bring the benefit of better access to stock or opportunities for refunds and calls when new shipments arrive (discussed above). Competitive 'entrepreneurial spirit' diminishes group bargaining power or what could be characterised as social capital (Abe, 2009, discussed further in Chapter 9). This example is in stark contrast to Rivoli's (2009: 242) supposition that 'the entrepreneurial training ground provided by the mitumba [second-hand clothing] trade can only bode well for the future of all types of economic activity in Africa.' Individualism and self-interest privilege one set of economic activity over another rather than benefitting all, as in the examples of the role played by *Mamães Grandes* and Judite's bribe to acquire a good quality bale.

The supervisor at UMUT discussed (interview 04/05/10) how they used to allow customers to select bales themselves but customers always tried to open the bales, and if a bale had been opened and not purchased, then other customers would not want to buy that bale, so then they stopped allowing that. The 'entrepreneurial' selection of bales has been stopped by Indian merchants who are now being more 'entrepreneurial' themselves in their management of this process. They securitise their wholesale space and embed themselves to utilise their more powerful position in the network, which is part of a neoliberal trend of enclave capitalism in Maputo (Hanlon, 2002; Hermele, 1992; Paasche and Sidaway, 2010). This shows how the avenues for individual entrepreneurial activity can be curtailed to the advantage of a larger firm and is not 'boding well' for the Mozambican traders**.**

Used-clothing retail in Maputo

In Chapter 2 the principal research sites in Maputo and neighbouring Matola were introduced (Figure 3.2 and Table 3.3). There are different areas of Maputo where second-hand clothes are hawked and vended on the streets by informal traders including in the Baixa and Jardim dos Madjermanes and on the fringes of formal markets, especially Mercado Municipal, as well as permanent formal used-clothing markets principally: Mercado Compone, Mercado da Estrela, Mercado Nwa Nha-Kawi e Mercado Fajardo, Mercado de Xiquelene and Mercado Xipamanine. The divide between informal and formal economic activity in Africa and the different livelihood opportunities they present has attracted much interest in academic debates (Aryeetey, 1999; Davis, 2004; Kamete and Lindell, 2010; Lindell, 2010; Roitman, 1990; Samson, 2010). In Maputo, analysis of a broad range of interviews indicated that street traders earn less than those who work at permanent markets and are more often in conflict with the city authorities. The difference between formal and informal used-clothing traders is relative and is not a decisive social cleavage. Market traders such as those at Xipamanine (discussed further in Chapter 8) are formalised because they pay daily *taxas* (charges) and work in locations regulated by the municipal authorities. The actual work activity of formal market traders and informal street vendors are though very similar. These two types of work are much more comparable as livelihoods than *formal* market work is to modern formal wage employment (e.g. in a shop or factory).

The retail process is fragmented. In general there are three types of traders; i) those who purchase bales from the Indian merchants, open them and sell clothes to retail and trade customers, ii) vendors who purchase high quality clothes in the markets when a bale is first opened in order to resell at a mark up, and iii) the third category is traders who buy up unsold low quality stock (see Figure 7.5). The second category includes specialist formal market traders who often have the prime locations within markets, on corners towards the front of markets, like Mauricio, who sells high-quality tracksuits with his colleague at the junction of two main thoroughfares in Xipamanine Market. There are also informal street vendors in the second category who have limited capital and select items which they sell; on the streets, occasionally this is done on credit. Sara, (interview 19/02/10) who retails bags in Xipamanine, would sometimes give a selection of high-quality bags to an informal hawker to attempt to sell in the Baixa (downtown) on a sale or return basis. She would agree a price per bag with him and any excess he was able to achieve above this price he kept as his earnings.

Figure 7.5 The second-hand clothing trade in Mozambique
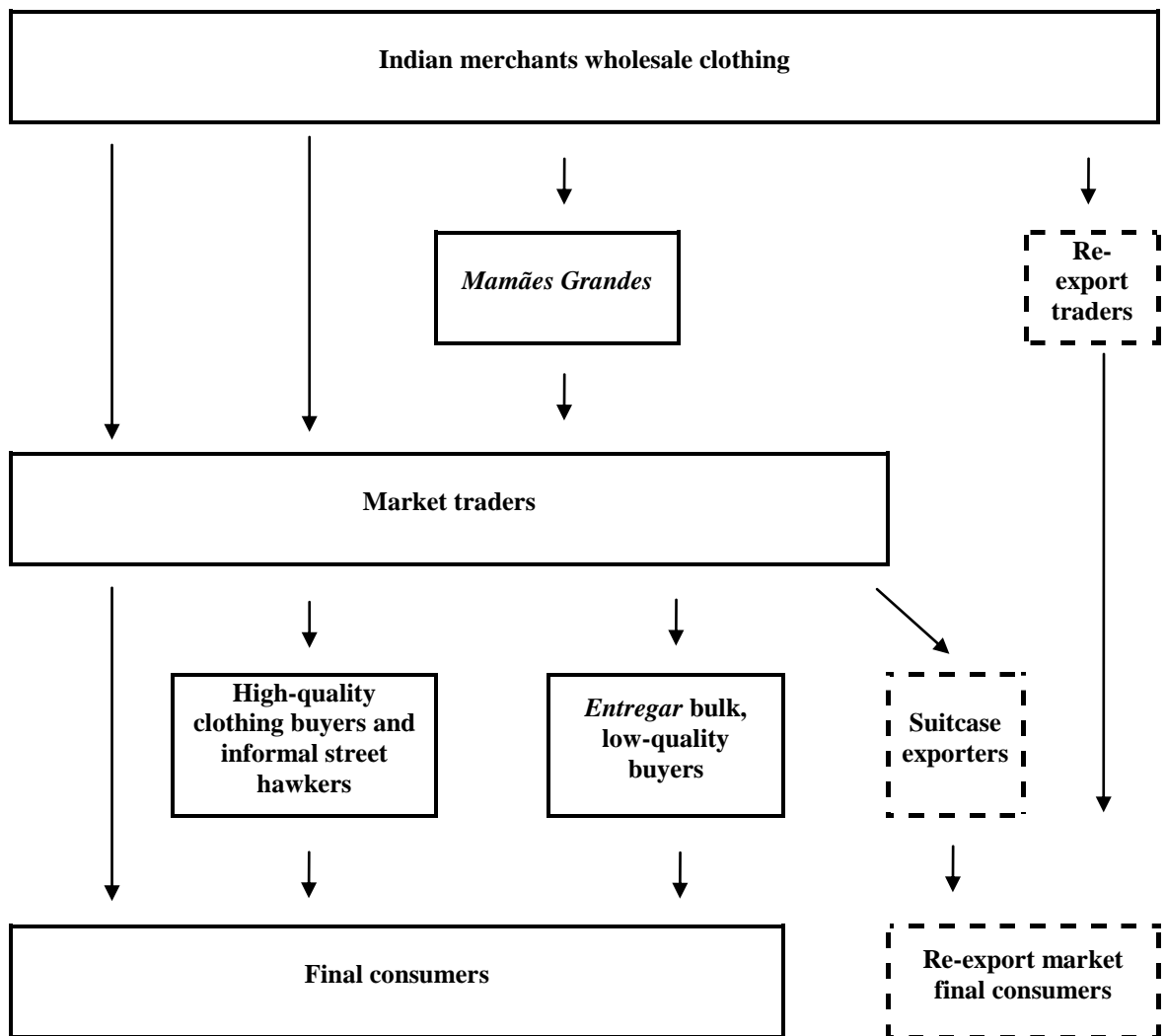
The high-quality clothing buyers attend the opening of bales and try to identify the prime goods, which can be retailed to relatively affluent customers. The opening of bales of second-hand clothing is frantic; traders who have purchased a bale are nervous about the quality of the clothing acquired in the *totobola* (lottery). Market traders discussed how they aim to recoup the cost of the bale through this first phase of sale to trader customers, which usually signifies a good bale, with the remainder (in the region of 70-90% by volume) being retailed on their own market stall to provide their profit from the bale. The third category buy up stock when market traders *'entregar'* (give up on) their stock after they have been unable to retail it to customers inside the formal markets. These clothing items are of the lowest quality are then retailed outside the

main market sites at very low prices, such as a few Meticals (several cents) for a T-shirt. This third category also takes away the waste clothing which is discarded as rubbish.

It is important for the traders who purchase clothing bales to have good contacts with both the high-quality and low-quality buyers and they may communicate with them by phone to speed transactions at the opening and *entregar* of a bale. The main used-clothing market and hub for these different used-clothing sales activity in Maputo is Xipamanine, which is discussed at length in the following chapter.

Box 1. Humana-ADPP in Mozambique

Humana-ADPP is an international organisation which imports used clothes to Mozambique. This organisation has only a small operation in Maputo but has a greater presence elsewhere in Mozambique including in Beira and Tete and in neighbouring countries (see Figure 3.1). ADPP (*Ajuda de Desenvolvimento de Povo para Povo* – in English DAPP – Development Aid from People to People) is a Mozambican Association and member of the International Federation 'Humana People to People' (ADPP, 2011). Humana also operates under the names 'Gaia', 'Planet Aid' and 'Tivind' and collects clothing in Europe and North America to sell in Africa, including in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia (personal observations, Figure 7.6). Humana/ADPP has been involved in some controversy, which highlights the concealed trade practices and criminality with which the international trade in second-hand clothing can be associated (Eng, 2011; Wakefield, 2002).

Figure 7.6 DAPP shop in Kabwe, Zambia

The charismatic leader of Humana is Mogens Amdi Petersen and he created: 'the many-tentacled Humana People-to-People NGO, operating under a baffling variety of names and spheres of interest' (Durham, 2003). The management of this organisation has been associated with illegal activities in both the global North and Africa. 'Employees at Development Aid from People to People in Malawi (DAPP) have turned against their employers, accusing them of secretly swindling money for unknown activities' (*Nyasa Times*, 2011). In the UK one of the organisations contacted for interview which declined to participate in the research process was TRAID. TRAID: 'worked with the Charity Commission to close down Humana UK due to concerns over how the organisation was managed and funded. The remaining assets were used to establish TRAID in July 1999, a brand new charity' (TRAID, 2011). The overall record of Humana has not been investigated and lies beyond the scope of this research, especially as evidence from media reports imply that it would be a very difficult organisation to study (see Eng, 2011; Wakefield, 2002). Humana-ADPP's operations in Mozambique are discussed briefly here.

Humana imports bales of used clothing to Beira, rather than Maputo, thus also allowing Humana to serve the Malawian and Zimbabwean markets. In Beira Humana-ADPP sells bales to Mozambican market traders and a trader interviewed said their clothing is good quality and came from Spain, which was corroborated through observations of clothing (28/03/10). In 2009, two Humana retail second-hand clothing shops were opened in Maputo and Matola (staff at these two stores were interviewed) and in total there are 12 such shops in Mozambique, including four in Beira and others in Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Quelimane (see Figure 3.1). In other parts of the country, including in Beira and Tete, Humana-ADPP wholesales bales to market traders but in Maputo only retails second-hand clothes to consumers. The Cameroonian worker, who had previous experience working for Humana elsewhere in Africa, was interviewed (in English) and emphasised that the Humana shop in Maputo provides poor people with the opportunity to purchase low-cost clothing and sells approximately 300 items per day. 'We do it because we need to help people and we also did it because people need work... It really is not a business, because business means that you buy and sell and have a lot of money. We are helping people as the clothes are cheap.' (04/05/10). The manger in Matola said the profits go to fund education and HIV/AIDS projects and that clothes are sometimes distributed to children or people impoverished by HIV/AIDS (interview 06/05/10).

The employee in Maputo was unclear as to how ADPP obtains clothing: 'We receive the bales of clothing and shoes... we just receive the clothes' (interview 04/05/10). The manager in Matola, who was more open in the interview, elaborated further discussing how the origin of the clothing is 'Barcelona' and that clothing also sometimes clothing comes from Italy, England and Australia (interview 06/05/10). She believed that the top quality clothing is sold in Spain or elsewhere in the global North. There is a sorting process in Beira, where the clothing is separated in to different categories. She thought the clothing they have is better than that which is found elsewhere in Matola and the price range is 10-150MT ($0.34-5.17). When they restock with new second-hand clothing, they have a shop full of customers and they send text messages out. One customer can buy 5000MT ($172.41) worth of clothing. She thought that these customers who buy in large numbers sell high-quality items informally on the street, which she referred to as the 'Black Market' (in English, although the interview was in Portuguese 06/05/10). Humana in Matola restocks twice a month, when items remain on the racks for a month they change the prices and do discounts pricing clothes at 10-20MT ($0.34-0.69) each.

Retailing used clothing beyond Maputo

As an add-on to the main field research in Maputo, market traders in Vilankulo, Inchope, Beira, Tete, Chimoio (Figure 3.1) were interviewed (March – April 2010) to map some of the trade practices which extend beyond Maputo. In Mozambican towns and cities it was common to see vendors selling used clothing at formal markets similar to those in Maputo and on individual stalls. Second-hand clothing stalls were also observed in rural and isolated communities throughout the areas of Mozambique visited including parts of Gaza, Inhambane, Manica, Maputo, Sofala and Tete Provinces. Cotton growers in Nampula Province of Mozambique have even 'hired' labour in exchange for second-hand clothing (Pitcher, 1998). This example again illustrates a dynamic, although distant connection between the new and used-clothing systems of provision where a labourer is employed in the first stage of the former through the final output of the later.

There were small roadside stalls and a large municipal *Mercado Central* (Central Market) selling second-hand clothing in the small seaside town of Vilankulo. Some

traders travel to Maputo or Manhiça on the northern outskirts of Maputo by *chapa* (shared minibus) to purchase two or three clothing bales from the Indian merchants and pay a luggage fee, whereas others purchased bales in Vilankulo itself (second-hand clothing trader interviews 24/03/10). Prices were higher in the towns outside Maputo. In Inchope, a town where Mozambique's main North-South highway (the EM1) intersects the Beira corridor, vendors buy from Beira (including from ADPP), Chimoio, Sofala as well as Maputo although they said that the quality available in the smaller towns (second-hand clothing trader interviews 27/03/10).

In Beira, which was visibly poorer than Maputo, the large *T'Shungamoyo* market (visited 28/03/10) is the centre of the used-clothing trade. This market had several hundred stalls and was similar, although smaller, than Xipamanine Market in Maputo. In T'Shungamoyo there was less pressure on space than in the Maputo markets as Beira is not as densely populated. Amongst the interviewees was a male jeans vendor who said that most T'Shungamoyo market traders buy second-hand clothing bales from Maputo, because the price is lower, quality is higher and there are more *Armazéns* to choose from. It was common for one vendor from Beira to travel to Maputo and buy bales for three or four vendors, purchasing in total ten to twelve bales. They pay 250-300MT ($8.62-10.34) to bring each bale back on the *chapa* which costs 1000MT ($34.48) for the round trip. Others buy from traders who go to Maputo and purchase bales in bulk to re-sell. Market traders can also buy bales in Beira, where there are at least different two importers, including ADPP. Clothing imported to Beira was said to originate from Australia, Canada and Spain but there was the opinion that the importers had more problems with the customs services in Beira than in Maputo. I also found one retail shop for second-hand clothing in Beira called Rovuma Textiles (28/03/10). I spoke to a shop assistant whilst the shop was closing up on a Saturday morning. The store is run by Indian merchants and they import clothing directly to Beira and sell items in the shop. It was not possible to arrange a further interview at this shop.

In Tete, interviews (30/03/10) were carried out in the Primeiro de Maio market, which is a formal city-centre market specialising in higher quality consumer goods, including second-hand clothing. Traders buy clothing bales locally or travel to Chimoio (where bales are approximately 100MT ($3.45) cheaper), Beira and Maputo. ADPP has a warehouse in Tete selling two types of bales, 45kg finely sorted and 450kg mixed bales transported from Beira. The origin of the bales was said to be Australia. There are two Nigerian-owned warehouses in Tete but the interviewee did not know where they buy

their clothing from. ADPP has more clients and brings better quality clothing at a lower price and is the most important local supplier. Tete has experienced recent economic growth and people prefer the high quality items, whereas the low-quality goods tend to go to the rural areas and these clients tend to buy the cheaper bales from ADPP.

Re-exports of second-hand clothing from Mozambique

Second-hand clothing is also re-exported to neighbouring countries in southern Africa. Second-hand clothing from Maputo was observed for sale in Manzini and the Malkerns Valley, Swaziland and in Nelspruit, South Africa (Figure 3.1). Indian merchants in Maputo wholesale bales to clients including Botswanans, South Africans, Swazis and Zimbabweans (repeat interviews with market traders). UMUT (supervisor interview 04/05/10) also reported selling bales to Nigerian customers who worked in the region. In addition to the Nigerian merchants in Tete, Velia *et al.* (2006) found that Nigerians were amongst the foreign merchants working to retail clothing in South Africa. Foreign clients purchase in bulk, buying 10 to 100 bales and some may pay in South African Rands or US dollars, although Meticals are also accepted in payment. The exporters arranged their own transport and foreign, Swazi and South African, pick-up trucks and Lorries were observed loading bales of second-hand clothing at the warehouses in Maputo around Alto Maé.

Foreign clients receive privileged treatment from the Indian merchants because they are bulk purchasers. It was not possible to interview any foreign traders but their transactions were a cause of widespread resentment amongst the local Mozambican market traders. The resentment stemmed from two inter-related factors. A leather jacket trader who had been working in Xipamanine market since 1989 (interview 20/10/09) discussed how he used to have many Swazi and Zimbabwean clients up until 2005. They would buy from him in large quantities, because the import of clothing bales to Swaziland and Zimbabwe was restricted. Now these traders go directly to the importers and buy bales in US dollars. Large-scale Zimbabwean importers have displaced the earlier 'suitcase' traders who purchased in small quantities from markets and put the items into suitcases and bags to pretend it was part of their luggage when they travelled back. In Tete, second-hand clothing traders discussed how Zimbabweans buy bales from warehouses in Chimoio, buying a 100 at a time. If Zimbabweans know 'the right way round' (translated from Portuguese during interview 30/03/10) and have contacts

with the customs service, they can get through the border (interviews; *Business Weekly*, 2011). A market trader selling children's jeans at Mercado Nwa Nha-Kawi e Mercado Fajardo (interview 07.08.09) in Maputo said that tightening customs controls had restricted the small-scale Zimbabwean and South African 'suitcase' re-export trade. Shoe sellers in Compone market also repeated that they had lost foreign clients and faced greater competition for the purchase of clothing bales. They believed that foreign clients received better quality items. The tightening of border controls for the disadvantage of individual suitcase traders, and the corporate collusion between Zimbabwean customs officers and allied large-scale second-hand clothing traders, mirrors the process in second-hand car imports to Mozambique. The individual smuggling of stolen South African cars has been restricted by the authorities and superseded by the large-scale import of Japanese used cars from which corrupt individuals in the custom service profit (Brooks, 2011; Söderbaum and Taylor, 2008b).

According to Jossefa (interview 08.0210), who sells jeans in Xipamanine market there is now a hierarchy of customers in Maputo: first are Zimbabweans, second *Mamães Grandes* and third local market traders. The volume purchases by foreign clients are advantageous for Indian Merchants, as like the *Mamães Grandes,* their bulk purchases speed transactions, accelerating the merchants' circuits of capital to enhance profitability. The purchases made in foreign exchange are also useful as this facilitates the purchase of imports of used-clothing which are priced in US dollars (see Chapter 5). The shortage of foreign exchange can be a barrier for businesses, as was widely reported in Zimbabwe (*Business Weekly*, 2011) and which has been the case recently in Malawi, where it is also approaching crisis levels (Mitchell, 2011).

In Lilongwe, Malawi, second-hand clothing traders at the Malangalanga Road Market were interviewed (02/04/10). These stallholders buy their clothing in 50kg bales at Indian warehouses in Lilongwe. The bales were said to be imported from Beira, Chipata in Zambia and Tanzania, with the most coming from Tanzania. The port in Tanzania was not named but could be assumed to be Dar-es-Salaam or Mtwara. ADPP-Humana re-exports clothing from Beira to Malawi and, in Durham's (2004) case study in Chapter 5, clothing was imported to Chipata from Beira, so clothing may follow this route and continue onwards to final sale in Lilongwe. The origins of the clothing on sale in Malangalanga Road Market were Britain, Canada, Spain and the United States and similar to the stock observed in Mozambique.

Conclusion

Documenting the history of the small and crisis-ridden clothing manufacturing sector in Mozambique provides a case study of how the country has been marginalised in the international economy, through colonialism, warfare, destabilisation, economic liberalisation and rent-extraction by local elites (Hanlon, 1984; Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Sheldon, 2002). The large-scale import of second-hand clothing, which is a trade activity that extends across the nation, is a further example of how Mozambicans are unequally integrated into the global economy. These two economic sectors are interlinked in Mozambique as Cramer (2001) and Pitcher (2002) demonstrate. Following de-industrialisation, factory infrastructure has been re-used as storage for second-hand clothing. That is not to imply that a direct causal relationship can be demonstrated, which would be difficult – if not impossible – to evidence because of the weakness of official datasets including UNCOMTRADE, UNIDO statistics and national Mozambican records (Ossemane *et al.,* 2008). Rather, the two trades are outcomes of the broader economic malaise that has embraced Mozambique.

The recent examples of limited success in the Mozambican clothing sector for export to South Africa or the global North are facilitated by low wage levels and preferential trade agreements (African Coalition for Trade, 2007; Maccauhub, 2011). But this industry is very small and employs far fewer people than the used-clothing trade. A modernization approach to industrial development or an import-substitution approach to establishing a 'starter' clothing manufacturing sector could not be attempted in Mozambique whilst the import of cheap used and new clothing continues (Minor, 2005; Wicks and Bigsten, 1996). These development models have been widely criticised as out-dated and unrealistic in a liberalised international economy (Ferguson, 2007). Neither does the free-market import of used clothing allow poor African 'entrepreneurs' in Mozambique to build capitalist enterprises and facilitate development as Field (2000), Rivoli (2009) and numerous organisations in the export of used-clothing from the global North claim (see Salvation Army, 2009; Ragtex UK, 2011). Money leaves the national sphere of capital circulation and the profits that remain in Mozambique from this outflow are concentrated amongst the small population of culturally and ethnically distinct Indians who enjoy a privileged position in post-socialist Mozambique (Pitcher, 2002; Paasche and Sidaway, 2010).

Analysing the relative profitability of Indian merchants businesses compared to firms and charities in the global North has not been possible. I was unable to obtain financial data for the processes in which they were involved, especially the cost of importing a container. Nor was I able to discuss their professions with them. It was practicable only to document qualitative indicators of how affluent the Indian merchants were through observations and interviews with market traders. It was judged that their incomes far exceed those of the Mozambican market traders and informal street vendors, and their livelihoods are more comparable to the commercial used-clothing traders operating in the global North. Even if it had been possible to trace the relative price increases of used-clothing commodities at the different nodes in Mozambique – as they are dis-amalgamated from bales back in to individual clothes (and rubbish) – understanding the relative profit accumulation requires a critical reflection on the labour activities which are occurring at each node and the rate of transaction. The speed of used-clothing transaction completion, like any commodity sale, determines the rate of capital flow, which is a fundamental feature of profitability in capitalist trade (Harvey, 2010b). Market traders may, for example, sell shirts at prices equivalent to twice the bulk purchase price of clothes within bales, and this may well be a higher percentage mark-up than Indian merchants gain from selling complete bales, but examining the rate at which capital flows between firms and individuals is just as important to consider.

Impoverished market retailers in Mozambique are not structurally integrated into coordinated vertical supply chains and the incomes of vendors are constrained. The key location at which this is articulated is in the *armazéns* where the purchase of bales of used-clothing items of unknown quality is strictly controlled and market traders chance their limited capital on a lottery. There are asymmetries of power between the different groups in the network, which is highlighted through the example of *Mamães Grandes*. The differential power relations influence their level of choice and agency for firms and individuals; discussing such power imbalances has been a feature of other commodity studies (Coe *et al.,* 2008b; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005) The analysis of the positions of different individuals in the trade is not based on presupposed capital or power relations (Starosta, 2010). The following chapter will analyse in-depth how individual Mozambican market traders sell clothing and are limited in their opportunities for capital accumulation.

Chapter 8. The Working lives of Xipamanine Market Traders

Introduction

Xipamanine market in Maputo contains hundreds of tightly packed stalls selling second-hand clothing. There is multitude of different types of used garments: children's T-shirts, bridal dresses, Levi's jeans – all hanging on improvised rails or heaped on the floor on polythene sacks (Figures 8.1 and 8.2). The clothes are varied in appearance and quality; there are pristine and desired garments as well as unfashionable, soiled and torn waste apparel. The working lives of Mozambican market traders who sell clothes in this market are opened up and explored through this chapter. The process of selling used clothing, the difficulties vendors encounter with the material quality of stock, the variability of incomes and the risks they face in trying to achieve profits to support their families are explored. The case study demonstrates what people earn from retailing used clothing in the largest second-hand clothing market in Mozambique, which is an illustrative example of the processes which occur in African urban markets. This chapter further demonstrates how in this thesis the focus is on the human geography of the lives of people who are engaged in transnational economic process rather than the 'biographies' of 'things' which have transited through a chain or network of trade processes in a cultural landscape (Appadurai, 1986; Cook *et al.,* 2004; Gregson *et al.,* 2010).

The in-depth tracing of individual vendors' businesses shows how their opportunities to profit or 'upgrade' are limited and differ to those presented in other analyses of used-clothing markets in Africa (Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000; Rivoli, 2009). The findings analysed in this chapter draw upon the twelve months of fieldwork in Maputo. Quotations from interviews and both written comments and quantitative data from the financial diaries are discussed at length. The greatest analytical weight is given to the data collected in the second phase of financial diaries (01/03/10-11/04/10). As was discussed in Chapter 3, this sample provided a more accurate representation of work in the market than the first phase as the research tool had been refined and developed (the third phase is discussed in Chapter 9). The daily challenges in second-hand clothing retail are discussed and, despite this livelihood providing a greater income than that of many others, the analysis focuses on the difficulties traders experience as this thesis is an example of problem-orientated social research (Rabinow, 1977/2007)

African second-hand clothing markets

The different markets in Maputo (see Table 3.3) and elsewhere in Mozambique and southern Africa discussed in this thesis are centres of economic and social activity. At these nodes 'large numbers of urban residents go to take "their chances" to buy and sell nearly everything' (Simone, 2004: 13). The livelihood opportunities they present for poverty reduction have been neglected in social discourse and applications of 'livelihood approaches' (Dorward *et al.,* 2003: 319). Vendors connect producers to customers and profit (and make losses) from local and transnational commodity flows. The market is the main location for their expression of aspirations and disappointments of traders, as their workplace is where they directly experience the successes and failures of their entanglement with the international economy (Kapferer, 1972).

The daily work activity of selling second-hand clothing in African market places shares many commonalities with the retail of new clothes (see Chapter 9). Used clothing marketing is distinctive, because of the variable quality of wholesale, (re)produced commodities supplied via the used-clothing system of provision. Some clothing items are of high-quality and are culturally and thus economically valuable, others are of low quality and cannot be retailed as commodities. Like their counterparts in the global North, African consumers respond to local manipulated desires for clothing shaped by advertisers and media imagery. There is no retail advertising for second-hand clothing,[31] but the broader symbolic values and desires for certain styles of clothing, both those loosely defined as *local* or *international*, permeate through lived social lives and establish individual clothing preferences (Nuttall, 2004; Manwa *et al.,* 2010; Thomas, 2003). In Maputo, the problems associated with negotiating the final sale of low quality used clothing goods affects the ability of market traders to profit from a trade where they lack control over the provision of a low-value, variable consumer commodity sold predominantly to impoverished customers. Second-hand clothing traders who are not structurally integrated with upstream process have to mediate between the provision of certain types of goods and the consumer preferences of local people, although frequently they are unable to reconcile the desires of impoverished customers. For most Mozambican consumers price remains the ultimate determining factor for clothing choice.

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[31] The Indian merchants do have adverts outside *armazéns* for wholesale bales as discussed in Chapter 7.

There are many other goods sold in African market places. The material culture which surrounds the provision of some commodities is enhanced through advertising, such as carbonated soft drinks, mobile phone credit and soap powder (Ferguson 2007; Moses and Vest, 2010). However, other commodities such as vegetables, kerosene, salt or second-hand clothes are retailed without stimulated symbolic values formed through mass advertising campaigns. The goods are sold by individual traders, but they have not independently decided, as socially decontextualised entities, to become salt, soap or second-hand clothing traders as is posited in neo-classical theory. Rather, individual traders are part of a 'collectivity' of retail and the consumption of these goods has become part of everyday life in modern Africa (Roitman, 1990: 676). Used-clothing markets like Xipamanine have become established and socially normalised as one of the locations for the provision of clothing commodities in many African urban centres.

Xipamanine Market

The Mercado do Xipamanine is a large, sprawling, dusty, urban market in central Maputo, located approximately 3km from the core downtown (Baixa) area (see Figure 3.2). Neighbouring the market is a bus terminal for local shared taxis (*chapas*), and longer distance minibuses. The market is bustling and a sight of great activity; one of the most *'carismáticos... antigos e populares'* (charismatic... old and popular) in Maputo (Concelho Municipal de Maputo, 2009: 77). Customers, porters and hawkers jostle for space in the dark and narrow alleyways, which even the experienced traders can find hot and stifling. Despite appearing to be disordered (see Fitzpatrick, 2010), Xipamanine is a longstanding hub in a sophisticated trade network. Used-clothing traders from as far as Tete were aware of the scale and importance of the market and customers from South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe – despite the decline in 'suitcase' traders – still visit the market. Historical details about Xipamanine market are difficult to uncover, partially because it has been a trade centre which has straddled both formal and informal sector economic activity (Lindell, 2010).

Second-hand clothing markets may not be officially documented until their importance can no longer go unnoticed (Besnier, 2004). The sale of second-hand clothing in Xipamanine grew rapidly after the environment for private trade in Maputo improved following the implementation of economic liberalisation as part of PRE (Little, 1999). In 1992 people began selling used clothing on a football pitch behind the pre-existing

formal Xipamanine market. During the 1990s many vendors worked adjacent to or inside urban markets in Maputo and Beira setting up their own stalls, rather than renting cement stalls in the 'formal' market areas and they paid only small symbolic fees to the local authorities (Sheldon, 2002). An informal fringe of second-hand clothing traders has also been reported around formal markets in Harare, Zimbabwe (ZBC, 2010).

Little (1999: 32) estimates that the Xipamanine market increased in size by 300% following the relaxation of government restrictions on trading. By the mid-1990s the number of informal stalls had reached a critical mass and the Municipal Authorities designated the football pitch as an extension of the Xipamanine market; the goal posts are still visible within the market! The import of used clothing to Mozambique has since increased further (see Table 7.1) and Xipamanine has become ensconced as a hub in used-clothing sales, being the largest second-hand clothing market in the country. It is estimated that Xipamanine has in excess of 2500 market stalls selling second-hand clothing, food products and a wide range of low-end consumer goods. Over half the market is clothing stalls – both new and used items – and a survey of the market on 26/10/09 revealed 973 occupied second-hand clothing stalls (see breakdown in Table 8.1 below). The used-clothing vendors work to the rear (South) of the market. The stalls towards the front of Xipamanine are reasonably systematically organised in a grid pattern with concrete and wood construction and frequently metal roofing, these are the older formal stalls established before 1992. The used-clothing stalls tend to be less substantial fashioned from odd lengths of wood, corrugated iron, rice sacking and packaging from second-hand clothing bales.

Figure 8.1 View of Xipamanine Market

The predominant model for second-hand clothing retail is for a trader to have one small stall (*banca*), usually 3-8m². Most items are hung on twisted metal coat hangers or basic racks (Figure 8.1). Lower quality clothing is displayed on the ground on old bale wrappers or reed mats. These are the clothes which, if they remain un-retailed, will be sold on to the *entregar* traders as the vendors periodically clear out their remaining stock and clothing rubbish. The *entregar* traders operate outside the Market, especially on the muddy and very crowded Rua do Silex, which runs alongside the northern edge of the market and on the Rua dos Irmãos Roby leading to Alto Maé, where *dumba nengue* informal traders can also be seen. There are also traders who specialise in high-end items, purchasing selected high-quality clothing from market vendors. Some of these have stalls inside Xipamanine, such as Alfonso, one of the more successful traders selling fashionable jeans near the entrance of the used-clothing section of the market. Alfonso's jeans were on average sold for 221.15MT ($7.63) (n=130); in comparison, over the same period (27/10/09-23/12/09 financial diaries), Mario retailed men's jeans for a mean price of 128.07MT ($4.42) (n=140). Alfonso did not record the price of his stock, so the profitability of his business cannot be calculated, but this comparison

demonstrates how there are different traders serving particular market niches. Others retail elsewhere; including as itinerant traders in the Baixa.

The stalls in Xipamanine market are either owner occupied or rented, with longer established market traders, especially those who have been working since 1992, more likely to own their stalls. A market stall was estimated as being worth approximately 20,000MT ($689.67) and Eduardo had purchased a stall in 2000 for 8000MT (interview, 22/02/10). Monthly rents typically range from around 300-600MT (9.38-18.76 US$). Stallholders pay a small daily fee (*taxa diária*) of 1MT ($0.03) per m² to the municipal council, a monthly fixed tax of 10MT ($0.34) for security and cleaning of the market toilets. Some traders pay a weekly charge of 3 or 4MT ($0.10 or 0.14) to have the area around their banca cleaned, but this is a private service. The vendors have additional daily costs including the cost of storing their stock, when is kept overnight in lock-ups, garages, rented spaces in homes and warehouses near the market which can vary (e.g. 5-20MT ($0.17-0.69) per day and different vendors pay daily, weekly or monthly) and the cost of a *carregador* (porter) to transport their clothing (5-15MT ($0.17-0.52) per day) between their stall and overnight storage facility.

Table 8.1 Second-hand stalls in Xipamanine Market

Type of Clothing	Number of stalls
Male	
Male jeans	24
Men's trouser (non-jeans)	33
Tracksuits	8
Men's shorts	17
Men's shirts (with buttons)	34
Men's T-shirts (including polo shirts)	28
Men's jackets	2
Men's underwear (including swimwear)	6
Mixed male clothing	7
Men's suits and blazers	7
Ties	5
Total Male stalls	**171**
Female	
Female jeans	8
Women's trousers (includes stalls with jeans and other types of trousers)	43
Women's skirts (includes shorts)	37
Women's shorts	4
Women's dresses	73
Women's blouses (with buttons)	34
Women's tops (including vest tops, T-shirts)	96
Women's jackets	2
Women's underwear (including swimwear)	62
Mixed female clothing	8
Women's night gowns (includes petticoats and lace items)	10
Total Female stalls	**377**
Children's	
Children's jeans	3
Children's shorts	3
Children's T-shirts (including mixed children's clothing both genders)	108
Total Children's stalls	**114**
Shoes (all types including trainers and sandals)	**123**

Type of Clothing	Number of stalls
Accessories	
Belts	12
Bags	33
Socks	15
Hats	9
Total Accessory stalls	**69**
Textiles	
Towels	9
Sheets and mixed textiles	82
Curtains	28
Total Textile stalls	**119**
Total Stalls	**973**

Category of Clothing	Percentage of stalls
Male	17.06
Female	38.75
Children's	11.72
Shoes	12.64
Accessories	7.61
Textiles	12.23

Starting to trade

Forty-seven traders with a range of experiences were interviewed in Xipamanine. The 18 traders who participated in the two different financial diary samples were all interviewed repeatedly at least five times over a two-month period. As discussed in Chapter 2 many traders were repeatedly visited over the twelve months of fieldwork (the diary participants are referred to by their first names (see Table 8.2), other interviewees just by the item which they sell). Some traders had entered the trade in recent months, and others had been trading since 1992. People draw on advice from spouses, friends and family who also frequently provide the initial capital for starting the businesses, as has been observed amongst other African market traders (Iyenda, 2001). There were many instances when a young person had inherited a business from an elderly, ill or deceased relative. Others have used money lenders, who can charge

very high interest levels. A curtain seller (interview 05/11/09) who borrowed money to start his business in 1992, when credit was very difficult to acquire, borrowed 2000MT ($68.97) without offering collateral to an informal money lender. Every month he had to pay 600MT ($20.69) for six consecutive months, and in the final month he also had to repay the entire 2000MT ($68.97) sum, meaning that in total 5600MT ($193.10) had been paid, including 3600MT ($124.14) in interest over six months. This example demonstrates how expensive informal sector credit can be and few Mozambicans attempt to establish businesses using credit.

Traders did not use formal bank loans to establish businesses, because they either did not have collateral to offer to secure loans or feared losing their homes or land. Some traders have bank savings accounts, which are discussed in Chapter 9. There were no cases in my own sample of people using micro-credit schemes to start trading second-hand clothing, although Opportunity International, a British microfinance NGO, reports an example of making a £300 loan to a second-hand clothing trade in Mozambique to start a second-hand clothing trading business (2010). Traders had also upgraded to selling used-clothing after previously doing another less capital-intensive type of trading such as selling soap, vegetables or cooking oil. In the same way there is the potential for traders to exhaust their capital, for example; if they get a succession of low quality bales, and then drop down to specialise in a less capital-intensive trade. As is often neglected in livelihood studies, development literature and the social sciences in general 'social mobility' can be downwards as well as upwards.

Another source of capital to establish a business was savings from previous employment in formal modern jobs, such as a male who sold ladies' blouses and tops, who had previously been a migrant mine labourer in South Africa, which was an important source of employment for Mozambican men (Cramer and Pontara, 1998). This also included post-PRE public sector retrenchments, such as an ex-station worker for CFM (the national railway company) and a cook at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (the state university in Maputo) who were now selling second-hand tracksuits and leather jackets (interviews 13/10/09 and 20/10/09). Such redundancies are typical of the loss of formal public sector employment that accompanied structural adjustment programmes in Africa, which have enabled the increased import of used clothing (McCormick *et al*. 1997: Pitcher, 2002). "The 'microentrepreneurs' so beloved of North American business schools are often displaced public-sector professionals or laid-off skilled workers" (Davis, 2004: 24; see also Iyenda, 2001). Rather than

entrepreneurialism being an emancipatory way of making a living, as Kapstein (2009) and Rivoli (2009) espouse, it was foisted upon former salaried employees by economic liberalisation and the reduction in the size of the state in Mozambique has been accompanied by a decline in their living standards.

Compared to the average incomes in Mozambique, there is a relatively high capital barrier to entering market trading in Xipamanine. To be sure of establishing a business successfully, more capital than the cost of a single bale would be required to sustain a business, especially as a bale containing low-quality clothing will lead to a loss. Additional funds would be required for rent and many landlords require several months in advance to be paid, although some traders, such as a ladies' blouse trader (name and date withheld for anonymity) started informal selling by using an unoccupied space without paying the landlord. Traders can also get a foothold in the sector by selling on the margins of the formal designated market area. Access to capital determined some traders' product choice and someone with low capital would be more likely to start and continue as a trader of a cheaper type of clothing bale (see Table 7.2 and 7.3). Amélia (interview 22/02/10) started selling second-hand children's clothes using money borrowed from her mother who sold new children's clothes in the market. The first bale she bought cost 6000MT ($206.90) and she had to pay 1000MT ($34.48) in advance for two months' rent of the stall. To start this business, in excess of 7000MT ($241.38) was required. This is capital that is far beyond most Mozambicans' means as a 'very high percentage (42.1%) of the adult population [are] claiming to earn less than 5,000 MT [$172.41] per year' (de Vletter *et al.,* 2009: 27).

Specialisation and gender roles

Market traders working at Xipamanine are highly specialised, normally selling only a very specific type of clothing, e.g. men's jeans, silk boxer shorts or leather jackets (Figure 8.2). Mauricio (interview 13/10/09), who works with his business partner and sells tracksuits, explained how switching businesses is difficult. He said a trader cannot just start selling children's clothes when they have been selling tracksuits as they will have left-over stock and will not know how to price the new item. There were several inter-related reasons behind the specialisation. The primary reason was as Mauricio commented; traders build up knowledge about which styles of items are popular and can calculate what price they will achieve on the market. Due to the variability of used-clothing stock it is important to have these skills and particularly to appreciate which clothes have a high symbolic value (or in a Marxist sense the symbolic proportion of use value). Because of the high level of uncertainty, the traders tend to be risk averse and, once they know the values and prices associated with a certain type of item, the tendency is to stick with that. Lack of experimentation with new products is a way of not exposing oneself to risk.

Figure 8.2 Second-hand jeans displayed for sale in Xipamanine Market

The precariousness of their business is experienced when a used-clothing trader opens a bale, as detailed in Chapter 7. At this moment they have no idea of the exchange value of the goods, or if they can even be retailed as commodities. They may have some imaginary, ideal notion of the goods' exchange value, based on their previous experience of selling that type of clothing item with comparable use values in Xipamanine and so decide to price the item accordingly. They can then tell potential purchasers what they think the exchange value of the used jeans or overcoat should be. But, they cannot be sure they will get that price for the jeans or overcoat, though, because they have no prior idea of what each unique item of used clothing's value is 'on the market' at that particular socio-economic moment. The value is not of itself materially measurable, but is only represented in the exchange for money (Marx, 1995).

Specialisation in a certain type of product also facilitates the establishment of relationships with repeat customers. This includes the two different types of clients who buy from market traders in Xipamanine in bulk to retail elsewhere, both the high-quality fashionable clothing hawkers and market specialists, and the low-quality traders working outside the main market (see Figure 7.5). This may also be because they are able to build up a reputation with suppliers who will know to contact them when they have a certain type of item, although this is less important as the relationships between Mozambican market traders and Indian merchants is strained, as discussed in the previous chapter. Another reason for specialisation was that traders can steadily introduce new stock, mixing it in with older items, as keeping the market stall looking fresh attracts customers. A trader (interview 17/07/09) who sells woollen hats found that if his stall is low in stock it is harder to attract customers. He then buys a new bale and mixes in the new and old items. This was common practice amongst retailers. This particular trader would also sell different items such as baseball caps during the warmer months, although such seasonal variation in clothing stock was rare. Variation in product type is only normally undertaken when the specific type of used clothing they specialise in is not in stock at the *armazéns*. Traders may then temporarily switch to a different type of item. Mario, experienced problems acquiring men's jeans and temporarily switched to trading T-shirts in April 2010 (documented in his financial diary).

Previous research on second-hand clothing trading in both the global North and South has demonstrated that second-hand clothing vending is highly gendered and is predominantly a female occupation (Field, 2000; Gregson and Crewe, 1998; Milgram,

forthcoming; Velia *et al.,* 2006). In Xipamanine market, and Mozambique in general, it is estimated that comparable numbers of females and males sell second-hand clothing and in the recorded interviewee responses there was no clear consensus that it was either a male or female profession. Furthermore, males could be observed retailing female clothing and vice-versa; there were more stalls selling female clothing, as Table 8.1 demonstrates. In contrast, new clothing retail was predominantly a male occupation, discussed further in Chapter 9. Sheldon (2002) found that the majority of informal Mozambican street traders are women and that females are more prominent in selling locally-grown vegetables, but more men sell non-perishable items and work in the formal markets, which tend to be the types of businesses that generate greater earnings. My own observations would confirm Sheldon's findings, with women selling more of the fish in Maputo and men retailing mobile phone credit, although there is not a rigid division of labour. Sheldon (2002: 256) argues that, in contrast to the mid-1980s and earlier eras when women were 'nearly invisible' in urban areas, females can readily be seen making a living trading in the streets of Mozambican towns and cities.

The paucity of formal waged jobs in the Mozambican economy, which are predominately occupied by males, may be a reason why males can be found working in a sector which has elsewhere established a reputation as a female profession. Sheldon found that 'Men sometimes voiced their concern that women would become too independent if they earned too much, though they appreciated it when women could contribute to the family budget' (2002: 236). In Xipamanine, some of the female traders discussed how their profits from their markets sales and their husbands' earnings were used for different roles in the household, especially if their male was a wage earner. The male income would pay for the more important fixed subsistence costs, which would include rent and the purchase of staples such as rice and cooking oil, whereas the more variable female used-clothing income would be used for the *'sopa'* (soup; the meat and vegetables to enrich meals) and for extra purchases for the house such as bedding and crockery.

This illuminates that although there is not a strict gender division in the retailing of clothing sales, there may be different roles within the household performed by male and female traders. Evidence from the interviews suggests that male second-hand clothing traders are the main earners in their households, whereas female second-hand clothing traders are more likely to be the *secondary* earners in their households. 'Secondary', though, does not necessarily denote a lower level of earning and may be contrasted to a

male salary which is more consistent and predictable. Households with a combination of a wage earner and a market trader enjoy greater livelihood security as the predictable wages act as a bulwark to offset the insecurity of purchasing low-quality clothing bales, discussed further below. However as the research did not extend to examining gender relations within the household, this cannot be further elaborated upon or proven empirically (see Pfeiffer *et al.,* 2001; Sheldon, 2003; Tvedten, *et al.,* 2009).

What is apparent is that both women and men do not sell certain types of clothing items because they have an interest in or affinity with that type of clothing. For example, when I interviewed male youths, who sold fashionable jeans, or girls who sold stylish ladies' tops, they said 'yes' they liked the items but insisted that they sold these used-clothes because they found that item to be profitable, not because that type of clothing appealed to them. There were numerous examples of traders selling items they had no interest in, it is not something people do because they are passionate about clothing. The co-construction of value in clothing retail in Maputo was not related to people having an emotional attachment to the clothing articles as has been observed in retro and niche marketing of second-hand clothing in the global North (Jenβ, 2005; Palmer and Clark, 2005; Palmer, 2005). Selling used clothing in Xipamanine market is not an occupation people do because they have a cultural attachment to clothing, but rather is a livelihood born of necessity.

Self-employment and entrepreneurialism

The majority of stalls in Xipamanine are businesses run by individual self-employed traders and some have the help of family members or employee assistants. Assistants are especially employed on Saturdays or Sundays, or to work on the stall when the trader goes to buy new bales, although others rely on neighbouring stallholders to retail clothes for them when they are absent for periods during the day (see Nielsen (2010) for a discussion of reciprocal relationships in Maputo). There were some very limited examples of traders having multiple stalls and employing assistants and therefore having progressed to a petite-bourgeois status, whereby they buy the labour-power of others and work alongside their employees. Owners who have multiple stalls tend to have the secondary stall located nearby so they can supervise their worker, but their ability to discipline the workplace and prevent thefts or losses through surveillance of

labour as envisaged in studies by Braverman (1974), Foucault (1977) or Gramsci (1971) is very limited.

Paulo has two stalls selling shirts and employees an assistant (interview 13/11/09). He pays his assistant 600MT ($20.69) a month, as well as giving him 20MT ($0.69) daily for his *chapa* (bus fare), and buying his lunch. He also gives him a tip if he makes many (over six a day), but despite this incentive he suspects that his assistant steals from him. Mistrust between employers and employees was a feature of used-clothing trading. This social relation was an outcome of the negotiating process which determines the price of variable used-clothing commodities. Bargaining determines their price on the market and traders discussed that it is difficult to pay assistants according to what they sell, as they prefer a fixed salary as it instills confidence in them. They know they will get paid even if the business is not going well. Traders do not allow assistants to set the prices in negotiations and Paulo gives his assistant a starting price and permission to reduce to a certain limit (e.g. 100 to 90MT ($3.45 to 3.10), but sometimes his assistant will sell a shirt for slightly less, although Paulo cannot confirm if this is true (i.e. if his assistant sells a shirt for 80MT ($2.76) he does not know if he really sold it for 90 and kept 10MT). Another example would be that a trader and assistant may agree that a pair of jeans can be sold for 150MT ($5.17), but the assistant may attempt to market them for 200MT and keep the margin (Alfonso, interview 03/03/10). This can create problems for the stall owners when potential customers refuse to pay 200MT ($6.90), but may have been prepared to buy then for 150MT and a sales opportunity is missed. It is also difficult to keep stock of the number of items traders have, so assistants can make sales and not report them or after the item is sold an employer and an assistant may dispute it's true exchange value.

ADPP-Humana experienced a similar problem with the pricing of clothing and the manager discussed how, in the Matola retail store, she securely double staples price labels to clothing to prevent customers (and possibly employees) tampering with pricing (interview 06/05/10). These business challenges are features of second-hand clothing trading; there are not the same opportunities for deception and theft of standard and uniform commodities with fixed prices, so there is less subjectivity and room for the wage labourer to deceive the absent business owner. As managers of trade businesses, they are unable to leverage 'the real subjection of labour to capital' because they cannot effectively and consistently organise 'the labour process itself in order to acquire relative surplus value' due to the particularities of the provision of used-clothing

(Harvey, 2006a: 107; Marx, 1995: 1025). Employing an assistant or wage labourer presents challenges of trust for market vendors and is one of the barriers to building a capitalist enterprise that extends beyond that which can be organised under their own labour-power.

The potential 'entrepreneurs' in Xipamanine struggle to command the labour-power of others to their advantage as a building block for capitalist development and graduate beyond petite-bourgeoisie status. The problems of managing employees had led some to stop employing wage-labour in favour of remaining as independent members of the working class relying on their own labour-power. This included Alfonso, who had had an assistant who stole money from him and ran-off, so now he works alone (interview 03/03/10).

The difficulties in the surveillance of workers in the used-clothing trade further indicate why Indian merchants elect not to employ large numbers of Mozambican workers as wage labourers and instead focus their business on rapid wholesale and attempt to maximise profitability through the refusal of refunds. In the new clothing industries in South Africa and Zambia, Taiwanese and Chinese investors have attempted to instil discipline into African workforces, with varying degrees of success (Brooks, 2010; Hart, 2002). In the new clothing sector a comparable separation of economic activity is used. Contract work takes production outside the factory and clothing can be finished as 'homework' (Breman, 2009; Chan and Ross, 2003; Hale, 2000: 352). This is similar to how in the non-integrated used-clothing trade the final retail process is outsourced by the Indian merchants to Mozambican traders and separated from the profitable import business.

There are further systemic problems for 'upgrading' in the free-market, unregulated second-hand trade. Rivoli (2009) has lauded the African used-clothing trade as part of a much broader trend toward liberalised, unprotected trade which have been heralded as part of a 'capitalist revolution' that will fuel 'the hopes of the region's entrepreneurs' (Kapstein, 2009: 126). The absence of regulation, for instance any statutory rights for refund, allows the Indian merchants to prevent the return of goods and, as discussed in Chapter 7, erodes the profitability of Mozambican used-clothing retail business.

Quantifying the earning of second-hand clothing traders

The field research allowed the understudied economic aspects of informal trading practices to be opened up and explored (Dorward *et al.,* 2003). The second sample of the financial diaries was used to quantify the earnings of nine vendors in Xipamanine market. These traders were aged from the early 20s to mid-50s (see Table 8.2 for basic details)[32] and the sample was broadly representative of the mixed age and gender profile of the population of market traders. The most important finding from this research tool is that two of the nine research participants recorded a net daily operating loss. Their expenditure on clothing bales and other costs incurred in Xipamanine market exceeded their income when averaged over the six-week study period (Table 8.2). This finding does require critical problematization but is indicative of the insecurity of achieving and sustaining an income through selling used clothing. When analysing the losses, the wider social context of their working lives has to be considered. The two vendors, Emilia and Sergio, had nine and eighteen year's experience selling second-hand clothing respectively and when interviewed they voiced concerns that March-April 2010 was a difficult period for retailing clothes, but not that these six weeks were unusually so.

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[32] The sample originally contained 12 traders (see Table 3.4), but due to practical difficulties with data collection three records are not analysed in this chapter.

Table 8.2 Details of the nine second-hand clothing vendors in Phase 2 financial diary

Name	Gender	Item sold	Average daily income MT	Average daily income US$	Years working in market
Maria	F	Curtains and textiles	51	1.76	16
Judite	F	Blouses	212	7.31	2
Sergio	M	Boys' T-shirts	-131	-4.52	9
Mario	M	Jeans and T-shirts	205	7.07	7
Paulo	M	Men's shirts	134	4.62	10
Marie Antonio	F	Children's clothes and handkerchiefs	284	9.79	17
Eduardo	M	Ladies' tops	768	26.48	10
Amélia	F	Children's clothes and soft toys	137	4.72	1 month
Emilia	F	Night dresses	-181	-6.24	18

Conclusions about the viability of their livelihoods from six weeks of data collection have to be inferred cautiously. Numerical outputs have to be triangulated through interview and the context and periodicity have to be considered. Sergio's record of six weeks of net losses were influenced by a large 10,000MT ($344.83) investment in new stock made in the first week of research. This purchase of bales was made using capital gained from trading prior to the start of the data collection. In his comments in the diaries, Sergio repeatedly recorded that he was having a *'dia suficiente'* (recorded in 17 of 33 days of work in the financial diary, 01/03/10-11/04/10) which he explained in repeat interviews was a 'sufficient day', when enough sales had been made, even though when the data were subsequently analysed it demonstrated that he was not recouping his capital investment. Sergio is the real expert in the used-clothing sector (Mayoux and Chambers, 2005). He has an overview of his own supplies of capital and stock and the rate of *movimento* (movement or turnover) of sales and purchases and he has expert knowledge of what is normal business in Xipamanine. Like the other vendors whose businesses were researched in all three of the samples in Maputo, Sergio does not

usually keep a written record of turnover. He relies on the lived experience of market trading to inform his decision making. Successful market traders are able to take a long-term perspective of businesses and the local socio-economic situation (see Simone, 2005). Xipamanine traders are constantly entangled with Mozambican society, local market fluctuations and the build-up, renewal and depletion of their own stock and capital. I recorded only narrowly defined behavior over a relatively short period of time, as the example Figure 3.3 demonstrates. What can be deduced from the data by logical inference, when considered in conjuncture with analysis of twelve months of in-depth ethnographic research, is that general patterns of periods of sustained losses (as well as profits) are experienced through selling used clothes in Maputo.

Short-term losses, such as these six weeks of net negative turnover, were periods where capital was being eroded. The capital was invested in the purchase of used-clothing bales which, the evidence suggests, was yielding a loss rather than an accumulation of surplus-value. Bales of second-hand clothing often do not lead to the opportunity to recover the costs incurred. Maria recorded in her financial diary on two consecutive days how she had contrasting fortunes with two bales: *'Não foi um bom dia porque abri fardo de curtains mas nem se quer uma cortina comprearam'* (It was not a good day because I opened a bale of curtains but without there being one piece bought, 03/03/10). The next day Maria's experience was more positive when she opened a different bale: *'Abri fardo de pano da corzinha. Vendi 1200MT. Foi um dia bom'* (I opened a bale of cloth. I sold 1200MT ($41.38). It was a good day, 04/03/10).

Moving from the temporal scale of six weeks to the individual weekly records, it was found that out of a total of 49 weeks of trading,[33] 17 weeks of trade incurred net losses, versus 32 of profit. These records of weekly sales were compared against the amount that was spent on bales per week, using Pearson's correlation, a non-parametric statistical test. There is a significant positive correlation,[34] illustrating that in weeks when a trader spent more on stock they also had high levels of sales. However, this correlation is no indication of causality; more sales may result in the purchase of more stock, or more stock purchases may lead to more sales. The research tool does not enable specific relationships to be adequately reported as the stock from different bales gets mixed together and clothing brought in one week is not always sold that same

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33 The total for which there was adequate data collected by the research participants.

34 r = 0.382 significant at p = 0.1 (47 degrees of freedom).

week. A further issue to explore was whether individuals who invest more capital in purchasing used clothing actually earned more from the trade, rather than just having greater sales as the previous correlation demonstrated. To attempt to compensate for the unknown connection between specific stock purchases and the moment of retail sale, the mean weekly expenditure on clothing stock over the six-week period for each trader was paired with the net income for each of their individual weeks of trading. This was repeated for all nine vendors and again using a Pearson's statistical tests this population of data was analysed. It was demonstrated that it did have a significant positive correlation.[35] The positive relationship suggests that spending more money on stock over the six weeks was related to how profitable vendors were in individual weeks; therefore more capital-intensive trading businesses have a greater income.

The financial diary records illustrate how selling used clothing can provide an income which is above that of most Mozambicans, especially those in rural areas (see Silva, 2008), but fluctuates greatly (discussed further below). As Paulo *et al.* (2011: 6) demonstrate in Mozambique the urban poor exhibit 'vulnerability to external or other sudden shocks, partly levelling out the material advantages of living in urban areas'. The main ongoing challenge for second-hand clothing traders is to sustain stocks of capital and resist shocks to the businesses. These risks are determined by the traders' social relations and power dynamics such as those between Indian merchants and Mozambican traders are frequently neglected in livelihoods research (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005). There are further social relations which present difficulties for their businesses as the same revenue that is utilised as operating capital is under demand to support families. Market traders described how it can be challenging to ring-fence or compartmentalise the income from sales that will be needed to buy new bales when faced by other pressing costs. In addition to the daily living expenditure, these include building materials, illness, remittance payments, school fees, wakes, and weddings. Emilia, for example, had to leave the market and make a contribution to her uncle's funeral wake on 20/03/10 (financial diary). This had a twofold impact; being absent from Xipamanine meant she lost a day of work and her capital was also eroded because she contributed financially to the wake. Funeral expenses can be a debilitating cost in southern Africa, without considering the psychological effects of loss (Collins *et al.,* 2009).

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35 r = 0.327 significant at p = 0.05 (47 degrees of freedom).

Some of the more successful traders had an alternative source of money, such as savings or a wage earning family member, to act as security against such shocks. Many market traders also use local small-scale saving schemes called *'estique'* as a way to save funds, which are analysed in Chapter 9.

Vendors' skills and business practices

The analysis so far has considered capital, labour and the relationships between the market traders and Indian merchants, but the individual skills and abilities of traders are also important in determining how they profit from the used clothing trade. The case of Eduardo provides a key example in this instance. Eduardo recorded the highest average profit from the trade because he brought bales of long sleeve ladies' tops, which were relatively low-price bales (see Table 7.3). Long sleeved tops have a relatively low price (or were not a popular item) in comparison to short sleeved tops (interview, 22/02/10). He then took these ladies' tops to a tailored to remove the sleeves, as this fashion was locally desirable and imitates new clothing styles, as discussed further in the next chapter. The tailoring costs 5MT ($0.17) per item and Eduardo believed he is able to sell these tailored tops for a higher price; the average price he achieved was 53MT ($1.83) per top (n=815) which can be compared to the average prices of other commodities in Table 9.1. His stall was normally busy and he had a rapid stock turnover. However, imbuing clothing commodities with such an increase in exchange value was atypical and throughout the broader research process July 2009 – July 2010, such examples were very rarely encountered, although Hansen (2000) found numerous examples in Zambia and altered children's clothes have been observed in Kenya. Furthermore, Eduardo's wife often worked alongside him in the market and they had another market stall in a different market, but this stall was far less profitable and Eduardo was unable to expand his business. This 'entrepreneurial' example demonstrates the limit of petite-bourgeois expansion of Mozambican market vendors.

Figure 8.3 Eduardo (in red polo shirt) in front of a display of tailored ladies' tops

Vendors have different strategies in pricing used clothing to attempt to maximise their exchange value. Sergio categorises his boys' T-shirts, displaying them in different groups and selling them at fixed set prices between 45 and 70MT ($1.55 and 2.41) (financial diary). The condition of children's clothing is relatively high and consistent, with a low proportion of rubbish and this affected his fixed pricing policy. This may be because children's clothing is donated in the global North when it is 'grown out of', in contrast to adults clothing which may be discarded when it is 'worn out', 'stained' or 'torn'; Gregson and Crewe found this in car-boot sales in the UK, where children's clothing was "almost always 'nearly new'" (1998: 86). Other vendors price items individually. Maria sells curtains and textiles and is more flexible in her pricing policy because the goods she retails are very variable in quality and determining the exchange value of unique items is a more subjective process than the relatively standardised boys' T-shirts. Maria's items had the large range of retail prices (5-500MT ($0.17-17.24)) of any of all the traders' commodities (financial diary). Maria can change the price of an item and quotes different prices to potential customers, or one person may make repeat

visits to her stall to negotiate a purchase (interview 10/02/10). The average price actually achieved on a particular day in the market varies and depends 'on how many people want the commodity and how many people come to market wanting to sell it. So the average realised price will jump around depending on fluctuations in supply and demand conditions' (Harvey, 2010a: 59). But, although consumer preferences in Maputo can affect the prices that vendors achieve, Mozambicans' preferences do not shape the provision of the used clothing items, as these are exogenously supplied to the wholesalers at an earlier node in the commodity chain.

The price elasticity was further demonstrated in repeat interviews; many vendors discussed how they try to negotiate a higher price if they think a potential client is affluent. Customers who appear rich tend to select high-quality and appealing items, especially young women and men who want to emulate international styles. Young Mozambican men, for example, favour clean and immaculate striped polo shirts and high quality loose-fitting cargo shorts, which achieve high prices. Although finding very specific items which exactly match the latest fashions associated with popular international hip hop and r'n'b culture can be difficult because of the time-lag between the purchase, consumption and disposal of the item in the global North and its arrival in Mozambique. This process does not keep pace with the rapid migration of international fashion trends (Norris, 2010). The ability of traders in Xipamanine to be able to judge what is desired in Maputo, based on both local fashion and stimulated desires for international fashions, affects their profits from the trade.

By contrast, prices are also 'elastic' because used clothing may be under-sold and will not always meet an idealised market price, due to micro-scale imperfections in the market (Fine and Milonakis, 2009). These can be externally determined by the social context of market trader's lives. For example, if a trader is in desperate need of money, items can be priced artificially low (i.e. below market price). Mozambique is an impoverished society and social crisis associated with health care and deaths are commonplace and have real impacts upon traders' businesses (Pfeiffer *et al.,* 2001; Sumich 2010; de Vletter *et al.*, 2009). During one week (financial diary 01/03/10-07/03/10), Mario had to drop the price of jeans down to 85MT ($2.93), below a usual retail price over 100MT ($3.45), because he had a shortage of cash to support an urgent family need.

Livelihoods and risks

As has been discussed in Chapter 7, buying bales blind without knowing what quality of garments they contain is a key moment of risk. After vendors have chanced their capital on the *totobola*, they have to work hard in Xipamanine to sell used clothes and attempt to maximise prices and maintain turnover. The vulnerability of livelihoods, which is an outcome of the inherent risk and uncertainty in buying clothing bales, is something Hansen (2000) also found in Zambia. There is a tension between taking risks to hold out for the maximum price for clothing and thereby reducing turnover; this also means that the vendor does not have cash to meet the everyday demands of their families.

The financial diaries had a category *'deixei em casa'* (money I left at home, see Figure 3.3) which was an indicator of how much money traders were able to extract from their businesses on a daily basis to support their families, which averaged 66.70MT ($2.30). Yet this sum is not a perfect indicator. Money is fungible; it can be diverted from supporting businesses when other needs are ranked as more important by households. There were not any of examples of traders going more than one day without being able to leave at least a small amount, 10MT ($0.34), at home. Amélia, who had recently started in the trade, extracted the least amount of money from her business on a daily basis as she was attempting to build up her capital, but also was experiencing some difficulties in attracting customers to her stall (interview 20/04/10). In isolation, the *deixei em casa* is not a measure of income as there were also the 'lump' earnings from the bulk sale of clothing with traders first open a bale, *entregar* their stall or receive an *estique* saving sum (see Chapter 9).

The different expenditures and incomes in the six weeks of financial information collected in the second sample of research dairies were used to calculate a mean of the research participants' net incomes, which gave an average income of 172MT ($5.93) a day or 4644MT ($160.14) per month.[36] Market earnings normally support several dependents, and can be compared to the mean per capita figure for Maputo of 1410MT per month ($48.62; 2008/9) and the national average of 290MT ($10; 2008/9) (MPD, 2010, quoted in Paulo *et al.*, 2011: 16). The figure I calculated is based on a small

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[36] Adjusted for the number of days traders worked in the study period. This Figure does not reflect that the participants received a *per diem* of 25MT ($0.86) because most participants used that money for additional personal or household consumption rather than as operating capital. However, the *per diem* may have been substituting for money that would have otherwise been taken out of the businesses. The monthly Figure is based on 26 days of work per month, a representative Figure based on analysis of financial diaries.

sample size and there is great variance in second-hand clothing vendors' earnings, so it is important to emphasise that this figure in isolation is of limited utility. As de Vletter *et al.* (2009: 27) caution following their more extensive data collection in Mozambique, 'It should be borne in mind that income estimates derived from this type of survey should be treated with caution and seen as only indicative'. Through drawing on the different research activities undertaken over the twelve months of ethnographic research, the conclusion is that a more representative daily income for second-hand clothing vendors in Xipamanine would be variable, but a higher amount than this six dollars a day figure. Quantifying the amount is very difficult because of the complexity of the processes under consideration, especially as it was not practical to take an inventory of businesses when the sample was started or to quantify the assets of used-clothing traders' households, in the manner of a DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (1999).

The research does not focus on poor households or individuals and how they manage money, but rather the unit of analysis is the *bancas* (market stalls) in Xipamanine. Therefore there are many missing transactions due to the financial complexity of the lives of the poor, the financial recording misses a lot of the 'noise' (Collins *et al.,* 2009: 93). Trying to triangulate these findings was also inhibited because interviewees were reluctant to quantify their estimated daily or monthly incomes when questioned directly, despite being open about other aspects of their trading activity. This could be because of the great variance, but also because attempting to reduce their complex multi-faceted livelihoods to a fixed single figure is not a conceptualisation of livelihoods used by these market traders (Meikle *et al.,* 2001). As Iyenda (2005: 64) found in Kinshasa (DRC) 'poor people engage in more than one income-generating activity, each member of the household exploiting the field he or she knows best in order to increase their [total] level of income'.

Selling used clothing can form the basis for what in impoverished Maputo is a relatively good income for a single young individual, but it is harder for a household head to support a family. As discussed above, this is due to the constant tension between re-investing profits in the business and using the same revenue to support dependents and meet the very real challenges of families in poverty. Owning or renting a *banca*, buying bales and retailing clothing in a formal market is a job which represents a step up for many of the individuals who have been interviewed in comparison to their previous livelihoods. Hanlon and Smart (2008) have documented how many livelihoods in

contemporary Mozambique are more marginal. The large meals with meat or fish components, costing around a dollar a day, are an indicator of the incomes they enjoy and the diets they have. But, there are also numerous examples of hardship and difficulties. For example, the income records illustrate that traders frequently go without a lunchtime meal when sales are few. Maria interviewed on 05/11/09 during a period when business was poor and said that some days when she makes few sales all she can eat is a banana. The boredom and ennui of a day without business are also an emotional toll and a cause of frustration for the traders. As Mario recorded: *'Foi um dia 'very bad' pois nao pude ver a razao de ter vindo ao mercardo'*. (It was a 'very bad' day; I did not see any reason for having been to the market, 10/03/10). Furthermore, vendors explained that people have been forced out of market trading when their capital has been eroded. Most vendors are able to support themselves and if they can effectively maintain their business, extract a small surplus from the market trade. As Table 8.2 demonstrates, many traders have been active in the business for many years. Vendors own consumer goods, most notably mobile phones and regularly spend money on remittance payments, especially as many have family in Inhambane province or pay for school fees, such as Raquel, who supports three children through a fee-paying school by selling children's clothing in Xipamanine (interview 10/02/10).

Through working in the market, traders are able to sustain a small fund of capital, although this asset is frequently risked on the purchase of used clothing bales. Livelihoods are precarious, but it is not taking 'risks' alone which is a source of profit for second-hand clothing vendors in Xipamanine market. Capital is first required; people without capital cannot take the risk on the used-clothing *totobola*. It is not risk that creates capital, but capital that requires risk. Neither is the risk to capital a 'natural' market effect of second-hand clothing trading. As Fine argues, people without capital cannot create profits for themselves through 'abstinence' or 'risk' alone, neither is the structure of the used clothing system of provision dictated by used-clothing 'things'. 'It must always be borne in mind that it is not things, abstract or otherwise, that create economic categories, for example profits or wages but definite social relations between men' (Fine, 1975: 31-32).

Conclusion

Second-hand clothing traders in Xipamanine do not exert influence over the structure of the system of provision as there is not direct co-ordination between retail and other upstream traders in the network beyond a price signal. Clothing that was the first choice of an affluent person is discarded and bought again by someone in poverty. Used clothing vendors mediate between two worlds; connecting the available clothing items to poor people. The examples of the variation in price show that there is interplay between local fashions, clothing trends and the business models and livelihoods of second-hand clothing vendors. These factors determine how clothes are valued. For the impoverished customer, it is poverty and the form of the second-hand garment tailored originally for the global North which shape their pattern of consumption, rather than their aspirations.

When the detailed case study of Xipamanine in this chapter is considered against the other chapters in this thesis, the assumption that selling used clothing can provide a route out of poverty for the poor in Africa made by proponents of the trade in the UK is destabilised (see Field, 2005; Ouvertes Project, 2005; Ragtex, 2011; The Salvation Army, 2009). As Iyenda (2005: 64) found when researching the work of market traders in Africa (also using financial diaries), this type of livelihood does not offer an entrepreneurial route out of impoverishment: 'Comparing monthly income and expenditure showed that people were far from escaping chronic poverty'. Selling second-hand clothing represents a step up in comparison to other types of vending, such as selling vegetables or soap. But, particularly for older traders who had previously been formally employed in modern professions including in the socialist era public sector, they are aware that selling discarded clothing from the global North does not provide an emancipatory route for make a living. Neither has the trade provided opportunities for African 'entrepreneurs' in Mozambique, such as Eduardo, to move beyond the petite-bourgeoisie status, in part because the social relation between managers and assistants in the market do not enable them to organise the labour process to accumulate surplus value. As the previous chapter introduced, the social relations between Indian merchants and Mozambican traders also inhibit capital accumulation for market traders.

Used clothing traders in Xipamanine are like other African used-clothing vendors engaged in the back-end of global trade networks. They are aware of distant opportunities and aspire to a Western model of work and may want to build trade

businesses, but the social realities of their material deprivation separates them from these desires. The vendors were not content with their livelihoods; even Mauricio, who was in his 40s and had a relatively successful business selling fashionable tracksuits, was retaking his high school exams in the hope that academic qualifications would facilitate his opportunities for formal wage employment. Traders looked towards the future and many hoped and continued to apply for jobs, which they believed would provide more advantageous modern working lives outside Xipamanine market (Ferguson, 1999).

This chapter has contributed to the literature on the used-clothing trade through analysing extensively how second-hand clothes are sold in a specific African market. Selling used clothing in Xipamanine allows people to support their families. Vending used clothing is an example of the 'differentiation of social practices and organization [that] has had to compensate for the long-term absence of investment, infrastructure development, formal employment and multiplex economic articulations with the larger world' (Simone, 2005: 1), which are commonplace in urban Africa following economic liberalisation (Cramer, 2001; Ferguson, 2007; Freund, 2007; Simone, 2004). Mozambican vendors' ability to profit from the trade in Xipamanine is inhibited. They have to deal with the uncertainty associated with purchasing low quality stock. They lack transnational connections to the (re)production of used clothing commodities in the global North, contrasting to some of the experiences documented elsewhere (for example Abimbola, forthcoming; Field 2000; Milgram, forthcoming). Sustained valorisation cannot be achieved through the lottery of used clothing bales. By separating the final retail activity from upstream nodes, exporters in the global North and the Indian merchants in Maputo profit from selling undesirable low-grade clothing concealed inside intact bales. These more powerful charities, firms and merchants embedded in the used clothing system of provision control critical assets (e.g. the sorting, export and break-bulk activities). Non-integrated marketplaces such as Xipamanine, provide profitable outlets for used clothes which cannot be retailed elsewhere.

Used clothes are not regarded as 'riches' in Africa as Palmer and Clark (2005: 3) assume. Some items are desired, especially those which are of high physical quality; however, Mozambicans have their own yearnings for both international fashions and local styles, rather than the discarded trends from the global North. Many of the items that reach the Xipamanine market are of low quality, and fashion aspirations in

Mozambique are often completely different to those in the global North, especially when the time-lag between clothing consumption in the global North and secondary consumption in Africa is considered. Market traders mediate between the supply of discarded foreign goods and the poverty and desires of impoverished local customers.

The individual livelihood opportunities of used-clothing vendors in Xipamanine market, which are above the average in Mozambique, have to be set against how money spent on used clothing leaves the national sphere of commodity circulation. Such patterns of integration in the global economy can entrench underdevelopment (Rodney, 1968). This chapter demonstrates how the lives of people engaged in the final retailing of used clothing are different from the models of clothing marketing and consumption in the global North (Palmer, 2005). In many parts of southern Africa, people have felt a sense of loss of membership of world society. Their pathways to modernity have petered out, rather than interconnection they begin to experience disconnect, as they are unable to attain a 'cosmopolitan' lifestyle (Ferguson, 1999: 92; Hart, 2002). These experiences are shared by both clothing vendors and consumers in Maputo, their attachment to the international used clothing trade does not materially connect them to a modern life nor is it a positive outcome of economic liberalisation and part of 'Africa's capitalist revolution' as envisaged by Kapstein (2009). Rather it is a disabling representation of material deprivation and apartness from the emancipatory promises and glamour of mass consumption in the global North.

Chapter 9. Contextualising The Second-hand Clothing Trade in Maputo

Introduction

The businesses of used-clothing traders in Xipamanine are just one example of the many different ways in which the poor make a living in Maputo (Paulo *et al.,* 2011). This chapter provides further analysis of the social context in which second-hand clothing traders work. The economic liberalisation and accelerated concentration of population in urban areas in Mozambique have contributed to the increased informalisaton of the economy and a growth in casual work and street trade (Sheldon, 2002). There is a lack of opportunities for wage earning employment and similar patterns of economic and social change have been observed in urban areas throughout Africa (Bond, 2006; Davis, 2006; Potts, 2000; Simon, 1997a; 1997b; Simone, 2004; 2005). In response to these social circumstances Africans have developed multiplex ways of making a living (Iyenda, 2001; 2005; Lindell, 2008). This includes informal savings schemes which are widely used as financial instruments in the absence of formal banking facilities to support small trading businesses. Informal saving schemes can allow people to mediate insecure earnings and save money to accumulate capital to be reinvested in businesses or to provide emergency funds (Collins *et al.,* 2009). In this chapter it is explored how market traders make different choices to mitigate risks through participating in or avoiding informal savings schemes. The relative trust and cohesion between traders is important in sustaining savings groups and this is discussed with reference to social capital (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Participating in informal financial instruments can also influence how traders decide to price second-hand clothing goods and affects how traders adopt a more or less entrepreneurial approach to market work.

This chapter also explores how selling second-hand clothing is connected to other interrelated ways of making a living in Maputo. Tailors repair and alter used clothing to enhance it's exchange value as well as making new garments from imported textiles. The working lives of second-hand shoe traders in Mercado Compone are also analysed in this chapter, drawing on the third phase of financial diary research, to provide a further example of how used commodities are sold in Mozambique. Second-hand shoe trading is a 'sub-sector' (Wegulo, 2004) of the used-clothing system of provision and it has both similarities and differences which are explored. This includes an analysis of

how the exchange relationships between shoe traders and Indian merchants differ to those of other used-clothing traders.

The average prices of different types of second-hand clothes are documented and contrasted to new clothes in this chapter. Retail prices demonstrate the exchange value of various categories of clothing commodities and this is linked to a discussion of the different ways in which used and new clothes are valued in Mozambique. The businesses of new clothing traders are also analysed using data from the third phases of diary research. As has been illustrated throughout this thesis, but especially in Chapters 4 and 6, there are interconnections between the new and second-hand clothing systems of provision. New clothes are imported to Maputo and the system of provision brings garments with stimulated demand to market (Fine, 2002). The symbolic significance of these commodities and the different ways in which new clothes are retailed and consumed is evaluated.

By considering different types of new and used clothing traders (including the peripatetic *dumba nengue* hawkers discussed in Chapter 7), as well as tailors, alongside the core case study of second-hand clothing traders in Xipamanine, I attempt to alleviate the fragmentation and compartmentalisation of separating different types of working poor (Brenan, 2009). That said, the research of second-hand shoe traders in the Compone Market and new clothing vendors in Xipamanine are not explored with the same analytical depth as the second-hand clothing traders in Xipamanine (analysed in Chapter 8) to 'offer mere completeness' to this multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995: 101). Attempting to document all the processes throughout the linked activities with sufficient explanatory depth is unrealistic for a single thesis. Analysis of these two other types of market trading has both implicitly and explicitly been drawn upon throughout this thesis. Original ethnographic material should be analysed at length and, as Sheldon (2002) found, many aspects of life in Mozambican society have been affected by economic liberalisation which so far remain insufficiently documented. One of the frustrating realities of analysing fieldwork is the difficult process of deciding what to include and exclude in analysis (Hoggart *et al.,* 2002). These two types of trading are therefore analysed to offer empirical insights which expand the relevance of the analysis of the second-hand clothing trade in earlier chapters.

The sale of second-hand clothes, new fashion garments, stylish footwear and used shoes do not occur in social isolation. The distinction between *new* and *used* apparel and shoes

is not always clear. For consumers involved in acts of market exchange the distinction may not be apparent or instrumental in their consumption decisions. The importance of second-hand clothing in Mozambique should not be overemphasised; new clothes are widely sold and worn. Used-clothing traders in all the markets in Maputo listed in Table 3.3 compete for sales with stallholders selling imported new clothes, although these two types of items often meet different market niches. A generalisation which is explored through this chapter is that new clothes are more fashionable and second-hand garments are harder wearing. Second-hand shoes are also a particular case, as they do not compete directly with the types of goods discussed in Chapter 8, except when they are being purchased as symbolic positional goods, rather than for their immediate functional use value. As has been discussed though, such opportunities for differentiated post-modern consumption as self-narration are severely curtailed and unattainable for the majority of Mozambicans (Ferguson, 2007; Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Manwa *et al.*, 2010; de Vetter, 2009).

Financial instruments utilised by market traders

The money earned from the sale of second-hand clothing forms both the capital to sustain trading businesses and provides the income to support traders and their dependents. In this section, the variable social cohesiveness between market traders is explored through the example of rotating savings clubs and how different traders found these schemes advantageous or disadvantages to their individual strategies for capital accumulation. As explained in Chapter 2, this thesis incorporates a political economy analysis of the roles of labour and does not directly use a livelihoods framework or the concept of social capital. Abe (2009: 77) drew upon social capital as the organising framework for her study in rural Mozambique which showed 'how sources of social capital such as trust and norms were formed in Zambézia.' The traders in Xipamanine do not have the same long standing interconnections of a shared local identity; as was noted in Chapter 8, the majority of the traders were migrants, or children of migrants, from Inhambane province. Neither does the market have equivalent roles for leaders born out of the specific and varied social norms which Abe found amongst different communities of rural people in Zambézia. There is consensus in research on the poor in urban Africa that their social capital is 'in flux' as 'the process of urbanisation distances migrants from their historical, inherited networks, such as family, village and ethnic

ties' (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005: 1079). In response to living in a new social context Lyons and Snoxell found that '[t]raders consciously develop their marketplace social capital' (1093). To analyse how these financial instruments which depend on trust and social cohesion are utilised by market traders the work of Collins *et al.* (2009) as well as Marxist discussions of the circulation of capital is drawn upon in this analysis of savings clubs and other informal and formal systems of saving. Little (1999), Tvedten *et al.* (2009) and de Vletter *et al.*'s (2009) research of market trading and micro-economics in Mozambique is also discussed in reference to the social context in which investment decisions are made (see also Lindell, 2010; Nielsen, 2010; Paulo *et al.,* 2011).

Revenue from market trading may be subjected to subsequent 'intermediation being pushed and pulled through financial instruments' (Collins *et al.,* 2009: 197). Traders use various approaches, including two types of informal savings schemes which are known colloquially as *'estique'* systems. Data on these schemes were collected in the financial diary records (see Figure 3.3). The two forms of *estique* are 'rotating saving groups' and 'money guard systems'.[37] *Estique* schemes allow traders to accumulate and manage small stocks of capital, but both depend on trust, either of the fellow group members or of an informal money guard (Manguana, 2010). The use of money guards in this role is similar to the s*usus* of West Africa, although in Mozambique there were no examples of the money guards providing advances or credit to depositors as has been found in Ghana and elsewhere in West Africa (Aryeetey, 1999; Buckley, 1997; Collins *et al.,* 2009). Little (1999: 31) calculated that '55% of petty traders' participate in *estique* schemes and found that participants on average had higher incomes (33,827MT [old Meticals] per week, ($16.90 at 1999 conversion rate)) than those who did not participate in such groups (18,632MT ($9.31)); although that is not to imply a causal link. *Estique* schemes are not just used by traders and de Vetter *et al.* (2009: 59) estimate that 5.7% of the adult population of Mozambique is involved in one of these informal savings systems. Data from Xipamanine second-hand and new clothing traders as well as used-shoe vendors from Compone Market are considered in this discussion.

Some traders also, or alternatively, use formal banking services and the advantages and disadvantages are recorded. In addition to the substantial range of organized informal and formal instruments, some financial transactions were universal amongst the

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[37] De Vetter *et al.* (2009; 21) use a different spelling and categorises these as: '*xitique* (rotating savings groups)' and '*xitique geral* (ambulant deposit takers)'.

interviewed population, including small-scale informal borrowing and lending from and to friends and family on a daily basis, e.g. to provide change for transactions, or cover small scale daily costs such as the *taxa diária* (3-12MT ($0.10-0.41)) or for drinks or lunch (8-50MT ($0.28-1.72)). Large-scale lending to and borrowing from immediate family members both within and beyond the market was also commonplace. Traders discussed that there can be a social cost to borrowing money or being unable to make obligations, which is embarrassing. The importance of such connections between kin are well documented (Aryeetey, 1999; Collins *et al.,* 2009; Tvedten *et al.,* 2009).

Estique savings groups

Maria is a second-hand clothing trader who participates in a weekly rotating savings group. The group has six members and five people contribute 200MT ($6.90) a day and a different person receives the 1000MT ($34.48) pot each day from Monday to Saturday. Maria normally uses the 1000MT ($34.48) to contribute to buying a new bale of second-hand textiles and curtains, although in interview she also reported that 'when I have no money in hand, I can rely on this *estique* to pay rent' (direct quote translated from interview in Portuguese by Ngovene 08/02/10). She does this *estique* saving scheme with neighbouring traders and if one of them does not have 200MT ($6.90) on a given day they borrow from a neighbour and pay double the next day. In her financial diary she demonstrated how she went for four consecutive weeks without missing a payment. There is flexibility in this type of group saving scheme. The financial dairy and supporting interviews demonstrated how this group decided to decrease from 200 to 100MT ($6.90 to 3.45) as their businesses were not going well during late March and early April 2010. They also decided to stop doing the group *estique* for two weeks, but this scheme could be restarted when business picked up. Amélia, who was younger and new to market trading, had joined the same type of *estique* scheme although she paid only 20MT ($0.69) per day, because Amélia was not experienced in the market and therefore it was more challenging for her to generate sales and establish trust with neighbouring traders (interview 22/02/10). Judite participates in a similar scheme where she contributes 100MT ($3.45) a day to a group of 16, with each member receiving 1500MT ($51.72) once every 16 days (interview 08/03/10 and financial diary).

Traders may be involved in multiple types of savings groups. Amélia was also involved in a more complex and substantial rotating *estique* scheme. This was organised by her

mother, Rabeca, who sold new children's clothing and also participated in the financial diary exercise. This *estique* scheme was described in an interview with Rabeca (17/03/10) and I examined Rabeca's written record of transactions, which was used to produce Table 9.1. As Table 9.1 illustrates, this scheme involved five different female participants paying specific (20, 40, 40, 60 and 100MT ($0.69, 1.38, 1.38, 2.07, 2.45)) amounts into the *estique* 'pot' each day. Each group member received, on a pre-negotiated day during the scheme's 13-day duration, the same amount as they paid in total into the group pot. For example, Amélia contributed 40MT ($1.38) per day and received back 520MT ($17.93) on the tenth day and Rabeca paid in 100MT ($2.45) per day and received 1300MT ($44.83) on the eighth day (see Table 9.1). These ladies frequently used such a system and the amount they each chose to contribute to the group and on which day they would receive back their share would be negotiated. This example demonstrates both the complexity and flexibility of informal rotating savings groups. Amélia, who sold second-hand clothing, and Rabeca, who sold new clothing (who had provided the capital to start Amélia's business as discussed in Chapter 8), as well as three of Rabeca's friends who sold other types of goods, were all involved in this group. This show how the business practices and saving schemes used by second-hand clothing traders take place within a broader social environment and should not be examined in isolation.

Table 9.1 Rabeca's *estique* saving group

Member and day to collect	Day of the scheme													Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Alda - 1	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	260
Luida -11	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	520
Rabeca -8	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1300
Amélia -10	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	520
Elisa - 13	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	780
Total deposited by group per day	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	260	3380
Balance in the estique 'pot'	0	260	520	780	1040	1300	1560	520	780	520	260	520	0	
Amount paid out	260	0	0	0	0	0	0	1300	0	520	520	0	780	
Recipient	Alda							Rabeca		Amélia	Luida		Elisa	

Other examples of different types of rotating savings club were not centred on the market. Sergio Silvino (interview 30/07/10) is a very successful and relatively affluent new clothing vendor in Xipamanine market (his business is discussed further below), who is in a group of 12 people who each pay 5200MT ($179.31) in to an *estique* pot every 15 days. They hold a *festa* (party) and 200MT ($6.90) per person is used for *'feijoada, cerveja e refrescos'* (stew of beef, pork and beans, beer and soft drinks). Maria, who was more impoverished, was involved in another scheme outside the market involving her extended family (interview 20/04/10). A group of 10 people in the family each contribute 20MT ($0.69) when they have a *festa* once a month and one person receives the pot (200MT ($6.90)); this included children. For Maria this scheme is closer to being a small bonus of cash for consumption rather than a system for saving

capital, in contrast to the market *estique* saving group in which she also participates. Trust is vital in sustaining all these groups and in the examples of Amélia, Judite, Maria, Rabeca and Sergio Silvino the traders are all linked by family, the familiarity of saving with traders working on neighbouring market stalls or another close social tie. Comparable groups to those documented in Mozambique have been observed elsewhere in Africa, including Ghana, Kenya and Malawi (Buckley, 1998). Membership of savings groups is 'envisaged as primarily an arrangement among peers who enjoy social capital' by Lyons and Snoxell (2005: 1081). Social capital is also created and reinforced through such schemes as 'savings groups are important in building bonding social capital and the role of marketplace social capital in supporting savings and borrowing mechanisms' (2005: 1089). The market and relations with neighbouring traders in Xipamanine and Compone provided opportunities, but also constraints for traders to use informal financial instruments. The scope of these savings group is therefore restricted as, although there is some flexibility in the amount different participants deposit, this is a negotiated process. Some traders therefore prefer to save alone using a more rigid and structured saving process organised by a money guard.

Money guards and subscription *estique*

The other type of *estique* saving scheme popular amongst market traders was the subscription *estique*, whereby a contracted amount is deposited on a daily basis with a money guard who holds tens of people's deposits. Deposits are registered on a record card and are only released at the end of the month when the total deposits collected are returned, minus one day's deposit which serves as the money guard's fee. This in effect is saving at a negative interest rate (discussed further below). A depositor may choose not to make a deposit on any single day, although the money guard always retains one day per month as a set fee and money cannot be reclaimed until the end of the month. Foruanto, who sells shoes at Compone Market, was an example of a trader who made regular payments and his financial diary record demonstrated that he rarely missed depositing his 50MT ($1.72) per day in July 2010 (financial diary 01/0710-25/07/10). In contrast, Paulo used a money guard in March 2010 and although he had contracted to deposit 100MT ($3.45) per day, he made infrequent payments, rather than sticking rigidly to 100MT ($3.45) a day. After missing days he would make payments of 200 or 400MT ($6.90 or 13.79) to cover deficits or on other occasions would make larger

deposits in advance of several days (financial diary 01/03/10-11/04/10). So although this scheme may have the desired effect of instilling discipline at the cost of a day's subscription, as was discussed in interviews, the effectiveness of the instrument was, in Sergio's opinion, linked to the traders' business *'movimento'* (movement, turnover of stock). Amecilia (interview 30/07/10) found making contributions to her 200MT ($6.90) *estique* on days when there was no sales difficult and although it rarely happens, she will sell low-quality used shoes at very low prices to be able to make money to deposit in to the *estique*. This example demonstrates how the saving scheme can have a downward effect on the price of second-hand clothing commodities, demonstrating how the social context in which trade takes place contributes to shaping the system of provision for consumers.

The subscription scheme may appear illogical, as Collins *et al.* (2009: 21) describe: 'Some poor households pay fees for good ways to save – an idea that may be puzzling to those of us used to being paid interest on bank deposits, rather than paying for the service'. From a political economy perspective the depositors are engaging in a Money-Commodity-Money (M-C-M) act of exchange, as the subscription *estique* can be regarded as a financial product or commodity which they are purchasing. On first inspection, this does not make sense as 'the only logical reason to engage in the M-C-M circulation is to have more value at the end than the beginning' (Harvey, 2010a: 88). Less money is available at the end of the circulation than at the beginning. How does one understand the subscription service in which a depositor is actively surrendering money to another person in exchange for a 'commodity' (a contract, materially represented by a completed *estique carta* 'registration card') which they know will have a reduced exchange value? Despite the apparent financial disincentives for partaking in such a programme, it is socially rational.

The availability of fungible money held as cash and the social pressures to spend cash on consumption are an obstacle to the accumulation of usefully large amounts of capital. As discussed in Chapter 7, money is under pressure to be diverted from the business to supporting families and basic needs (Lindell, 2010; Paulo *et al.,* 2011; de Vetter *et al.,* 2009). Patricilia (interview 30/07/10) uses a 50MT ($1.72) daily subscription *estique* and found that it was preferable, because if she leaves money at home it is spent every day her children always beg for things like *'pão'* (bread) or *'Fanta'* (carbonated soft drink), whereas the subscription service enabled her to plan how she would use revenue. One of the incentives for market traders to use the services

of money guards is to build up reserves of money which can be utilised as capital since 'not all money is capital. Capital is money used in a certain way' (Harvey, 2010a: 89), in this case as merchant's capital that is utilised by traders to function in the sphere of circulation (Fine, 1975). As was described in Chapter 8, the second-hand clothing trade has relatively high barriers of entry and it is vital that traders sustain stocks of money to serve as capital to mitigate against the risk of losing capital through purchasing low-quality clothing stock.

The benefits and disadvantages of *estique* systems

Both the rotating groups and the money guard schemes provide benefits for their participants. The money guard system, arguably, requires and instils more self-discipline and thus encourages merchant capital accumulation (de Vetter *et al.,* 2009; Manguana, 2010). This may be advantageous in sustaining businesses, although this can result in money being directed away from the household. The rotating savings groups normally have a shorter periodicity (although some examples dependent on family ties or involving people from outside the markets have a longer periodicity) and greater flexibility. Many traders choose to use either type of *estique* to 'smooth' the effects of low, irregular and unpredictable incomes, especially removing the temptation to spend money on consumables such as snacks as Patricilia noted (see above). Low incomes require more, rather than less, active financial management to ensure costs such as monthly rents are met (Collins *et al.,* 2009). *Estique* schemes in Maputo also allow people to raise usefully large sums of money for large expenditure, for example Paulo received back 3000MT ($103.45) from the *estique* collector in November 2009 and spent 1500MT ($51.72) on five bags of cement for house building, which he would otherwise have found difficult to save for, deposited 1000MT ($34.48) in a formal bank account and used 500MT ($17.24) for *'fin de semana'* (weekend) spending money (interview 08/02/10).

The main disadvantage with the money guard system is the risk of theft; either the money guard being robbed and unable to return the deposits or the money guard fleeing and stealing the deposits. Patricilia lost a month's deposits in 2003 when the money guard left with her money, but has been working with another money guard since 2003 who has been honest (interview 10/06/10). Manuel Boas, who sells new clothing in Xipamanine, does not do the money guard system as the first time he tried subscription

estique the money guard disappeared and he lost his deposits (interview 30/07/10). However one of his neighbours, who also sells new clothing, argued that it is better to run the risk of having money stolen than keeping money at home where you can spend it at anytime.

Buckley (1997: 1085) believes that the rotating savings groups are a beneficial model for the urban poor in Africa. They 'are not only popular, they are also highly efficient. They constitute an arrangement whereby group solidarity (which forms the basis for risk management) is nurtured around a closed circular flow of money where savings match credits without the need for interest rates or tangible collateral and where transaction costs are kept very low.' Buckley's analysis has been interoperated by Lyons and Snoxell (2005) as positive social constellations which are arrangements of peers who enjoy social capital. Similarly, Iyenda (2005: 62) found that 'short- and medium-term credit systems' allowed traders in Kinshasa (DRC) 'to improve the quality of their work and increase their daily profit'. However, being a member of a group is not always beneficial for the individual entrepreneur.

Eduardo, whose successful business was discussed at length in Chapter 8, does not use either type of *estique* system as he has had negative experiences with both (interview 29/05/10). With savings groups there are problems with trust[38] and people not having money. He also considered savings groups to work better for women (unfortunately the sample size is not large enough to test his supposition, although anecdotal evidence suggests the group estique schemes were more popular amongst females. In contrast, Lyons and Snoxell (2005) found that trust was greater between male market traders and savings group members in Kenya). A further disadvantage Eduardo identified is that capital is not readily accessible, especially from money guards, and traders cannot react to the exogenous supply of used-clothing bales brought in by irregular shipments. When there are new bales available at a cheap price in warehouses, as discussed in Chapter 7, traders whose capital is held in an *estique* scheme may not be able to purchase them (see Tables 7.2 and 7.3 for examples of bale prices). Acting as an individual 'entrepreneur' rather than part of a collective mutual group was more advantageous for Eduardo. Eduardo uses a formal bank account at Banco Pro-Credit and *'todos os dias'* (everyday)

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[38] As all the interviews about *estique* savings groups were held in the marketplace at traders' *bancas* and could have been readily overhead by neighbouring stallholders, it must be considered that other traders may have had negative experiences, but these may have been under-reported because they would not disclose these in interviews.

he pays in 100MT ($3.45), which he finds easy to deposit. He makes larger deposits when his business is going well.

By contrast, Ussine uses the money guard to save 50MT ($1.72) per day because it is more convenient (interview 29/07/10). The money guard comes directly to his market stall, whereas depositing money at the bank involves long waits and is not something he regards as practical on a daily basis. He does have a bank account with Millennium BIM, but uses this only for larger deposits. Paulo and Sergio Silvino put the money they receive from subscription *estique* into bank accounts, thereby demonstrating connections between formal and informal sector saving rather than the two existing as separate realms. Collins *et al.* (2009) found many small-sized transactions mean limited scale economies and thus high cost per transaction and that the poor desired more reliable formalized instruments than money guards (see also Iyenda, 2005). The research in Maputo would support these findings.

Some traders discussed how they would use the *estique* payments from either savings groups or money guards to purchase new stock, whereas others thought of it as a salary or wage. Alfonso (interview 03/03/10) did a rotating scheme with fellow traders paying in 1500MT ($51.72) a week and receiving back 6000MT ($206.90) each month and he thought of this money as his salary. Such perceptions are interesting as through using a certain type of informal financial instrument, traders are in their self-conception, considering their work to be closer to that of a wage earning proletariat than an independent petit-bourgeoisie. This also connects to the preference for wage earning labour rather than aspirations for an 'entrepreneurial' role, whereby through 'creative problem-solving, entrepreneurial discovery and improvements in the division of labour' the poor can risk, control and profit from capital (Turok, 2010: 12). Aspirations for modern wage earning jobs are viewed as a desire for secure and guaranteed incomes which offer a means of escaping poverty. In Mozambique 'decently remunerated rural [and urban] wage earning opportunities would be likely to have a dramatic effect in reducing poverty' (Sender *et al.,* 2006: 322). However, capitalist development in Mozambique requires the promotion of 'structures which defend the interests of those who sell their produce and their labour' (Hanlon and Smart, 2008: 195).

Using money guards means that market traders, like wage labourers, are being 'paid' partly in arrears. They are undertaking their labour activity (work on the market) and then deferring getting 'paid' through the return of their *estique* deposits, as the sum is

paid at the end of the subscription period and is not advanced. Collins *et al.* (2009: 115) have suggested that comparable systems may be used on a continuous basis and they begin for the depositor to become a cycle of credit and repayment and the 'difference between saving and borrowing is when the large sun is received: at the very start with a loan, or at the very end through saving.' The payments received from the money guard are needed to sustain businesses (or livelihoods) and are less than is advanced by the depositor and the poor can become trapped in a dependent cycle of repayment at what is effectively a very high interest rate. A longitudinal study which extended for longer than the six weeks I was able to undertake would be needed to demonstrate whether this pattern occurs in Maputo. Evidence from my research would suggest that market traders are more pragmatic and have a flexible engagement with money guard schemes, altering the amount they choose to pay-in and opting not to participate in *estique* systems at certain times. Sergio[39] used the 100MT ($3.45) money guard *estique* in November 2009, but had chosen not to when the financial diary exercise was repeated in March 2010 (financial diaries). Sergio discussed how a reduced income had influenced his decision not to participate in the estique in March 2010 (interview 20/04/10), therefore it could be deduced that as Little's (1999) found, above average earnings are need to sustain participation in savings schemes, but a more extensive dataset is required to prove this.

It is important to distinguish that the use of financial instruments is individual and informal and formal systems are used in different combinations by various traders. For example, Amecilia uses a portion of the *estique* deposits she receives from the money guard to pay in 2000MT ($6.90) each month in to a group *estique* with five other people in the market, including her mother and cousin, which pays out 10,000MT ($344.82) twice a year (interview, 30/07/10). Her combination of saving strategies depends upon the social cohesion between the group members and her business practices. Therefore this could be analysed as needing social capital (Abe, 2009; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005), but also requiring a reliable period of trading, which would depend upon obtaining good quality second-hand shoes.

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[39] Note, this is Sergio who sells second-hand clothing rather than Sergio Silvino the new clothing trader.

Tailoring second-hand clothing in Maputo

The livelihoods of tailors in Maputo are interconnected with the second-hand clothing system of provision. The majority of their business transactions involve altering and repairing used garments, although they also make garments from new material. Research of tailoring businesses was carried out principally in Xipamanine Market, where there is an area with approximately 30 tailors located amongst the second-hand clothing stalls. Their work activities depend on seasonal demand; from April to December they work mostly with second-hand clothing, whereas January to March (in line with the Mozambican academic year) they make school uniforms (trousers, shirts and skirts). Uniform items are made new because suitable clothes cannot easily be found in a bale of second-hand clothing (in contrast to other types of children's second-hand clothing) and different Maputo schools have specific coloured uniforms so items are tailored, often to order, rather than purchased as new retail or second-hand commodities. In addition to uniforms, people have items made by tailors for special occasions and ceremonies. Printed *capulanas* (African textiles as manufactured by METL) are bought from shops and market stalls and taken to tailors to be used to make ladies' dresses, church uniforms and political campaign outfits, the later were particularly prevalent in the run-up to the election when fieldwork was undertaken in November 2009. They also make night gowns and new suits out of plain textiles. The price of newly made clothing is usually higher than the cost of altering or repairing second-hand clothing.

The main work activity of tailors is altering second-hand clothes such as reducing the sleeve length of a child's shirt or turning trousers into shorts (Abrahamsson, 1988). There are also more technically demanding jobs; suit jackets can be taken apart and remade, although there are limits to what can be achieved; for instance a two-button suit cannot be transformed into a four-button suit, but a double-breasted suit can become a single-breasted one. Many second-hand clothes, especially those that originated from Canada or the United States, are too big for Mozambican body shapes and are reduced in size, which is far easier than making things bigger. Tailoring is a skilled profession and the tailors are self-employed and generally own their own sewing machines and work independently (see Figure 9.1). Experience is important and there are master tailors who can do complex alterations and garment manufacture, including difficult tasks such as reducing the size of used jackets and making new trousers. Some tailors have been working in Xipamanine for over 16 years, but also there are younger people

who can only do simple jobs such as altering shirts and are learning the skills, which can be as a form of apprentice particularly with an older family member.

Figure 9.1 Tailor in Xipamanine Market

The tailoring processes are overwhelmingly undertaken at the behest of consumers who have purchased second-hand clothing from traders. This is in contrast to the findings of Hansen (2000), who recorded that in Zambia many used clothes are tailored prior to retail to increase the exchange value of garments. This does also occur in Maputo as in the case of Eduardo's business (see Chapter 8). Repairing or altering clothing increases the cost so that consumers prefer to purchase second-hand clothing which is of an appropriate fit and quality or purchase new clothing. The differentiated patterns of re-fashioning used clothing by tailors to express clients' individual social identity as narration of the self, which Hansen documents in Zambia, were not widely observed in Maputo. Cost and the material quality of clothing were the overwhelming determinants of used-clothing consumption. In contrast, new clothing rather than tailored used clothing was more likely to be selected as a fashion purchase by the minority of Mozambicans who have benefitted from recent economic growth. Patterns of highly differentiated consumption of new fashion trends by middle class youths in

Johannesburg are documented by Nuttall (2004: 449), who explores the importance 'In their registers of selfhood' which 'Critics tend to underplay [in] the internal differentiation and contradictory inscriptions of youth-cultural forms in the African city'.

Tailors do not tend to charge set prices for the procedures they undertake. Instead the cost of repairs or alterations for retail customers is normally linked to, and negotiated upon, the purchase price of the used-clothing garment. The tailors judge the value of the used-clothing item and price their work activity accordingly. One of the tailors interviewed (22/07/09) gave an example that it would cost around 100MT ($3.45) to alter for fit trousers which were worth 100MT, whereas a comparable labour process would be quoted at a lower or higher price if the item was judged to have been cheaper or more expensive than 100MT. There is elasticity in the market value of labour tasks, which is negotiated upon the cost of items, and therefore the amount a consumer can afford, rather than an abstract price of labour-power. Despite their petit-bourgeois status, each tailor has no incentive to avoid selling their labour-power in the market (Cohen, 1980), as it was repeatedly observed that there is a relative surplus of tailor labour-power in Xipamanine market and many tailors are unoccupied at a given time. Therefore the price of the recently purchased used-clothing commodity represents an alternative 'value' against which to negotiate the cost of a task of tailoring work rather than the conditions of labour supply and demand in the market. As a cluster of petit-bourgeois tailors, they collectively have an incentive to sustain this pricing regime rather than acting as individual entrepreneurs who try and under-cut one another, as this ensures the mean price charged for tailoring tasks by the population is higher.

Second-hand shoe traders at Compone Market

The working lives of second-hand shoes traders in Compone Market were also investigated during the field research. Major similarities and differences to the second-hand clothing retailers in Xipamanine are discussed in this section for comparative purposes. A more extensive exploration of a specialist African used shoe market in Kenya is provided by Wegulo (2004). He identified that the growth of the 'sub-sector' of second-hand shoes was associated with liberalisation of the Kenyan economy in the 1990s and linked to the collapse of local shoe making. Individual Kenyan market traders and street hawkers needed staring capital to commence retailing used shoes.

These characteristics are shared with the second-hand clothing sector in Maputo and also the sub-sector of used shoe trading. Compone Market is the main market for selling second-hand shoes (Figure 3.2). Several hundred stalls are spread along the length of the Avenída Vladímir Lenine, the road is a busy transport route and often congested. Shoes are displayed hanging up along the roadside (see Figure 9.2) and because shoes can easily be displayed in this manner to attract customers to the market many shoe traders have clustered together in this location. Clustering is mutually beneficial as customers want to compare many of the variable second-hand shoes. It is a smaller and more dispersed market than Xipamanine. In addition to second-hand shoes, there are stalls selling new shoes, new and used clothing, bedding and food. As with Xipamanine Market, the traders pay a *taxa diária* (3MT ($0.10)) to the municipal council and the *bancas* (stalls) are owned or rented (100MT ($3.45) per month was the standard price). Many of the *banca* landlords are local residents who live in adjacent houses. The rents are far lower than Xipamanine, but the market is uncovered and traders are not allowed to build permanent structures so traders do not work when there is rain (see Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.2 Compone Market with shoes on display alongside the road

Figure 9.3 View of Compone Market

As Table 9.2 (pg. 275) demonstrates, shoes are relatively expensive in comparison to most clothing items. There is a need for affordable, good quality shoes in impoverished African societies (Wegulo, 2004). From the donation end of the system of provision it can be observed in the UK that certain charities stimulate the donation of used-shoes, because these are items which can profitably be (re)produced as commodities that are in high demand in the global South. In contrast, demand for used shoes is low in the global North and when charity shops have been visited in the UK, very few shoes have been observed for sale. The children's charity, Variety Club, for example, accepts only shoe donations and no other used clothing and has 7000 specialist donation banks for shoes run in partnership with the European Recycling Company. All of these shoes are exported to developing countries and Variety Club does not retail any used shoes (or clothes) in UK shops (Variety Club, 2011). The Variety Club donation banks and also the JJB/Whizz-kidz trainer recycling scheme (see Chapter 4, Whizz-kidz, 2011) stimulate the donation of a specific type of clothing good, which has a relatively high use value and is in high demand in the global South. Used shoes can be sold as

commodities with relatively high exchange values in comparison to other types of second-hand clothing commodity (see Table 9.2).

In contrast to second-hand garment traders, used-shoe vendors do not tend to specialise in a certain type of shoe, because shoes are imported both as mixed and sorted categories (e.g. black leather shoes, trainers) and also because shortages of shoes occur more frequently than clothes. Therefore traders cannot afford to specialise as they may be left without stock. Demand exceeds supply in the second-hand shoe sector in Mozambique. As with the clothing items, the main precariousness in second-hand shoe trading is the low quality of stock. As Patricilia recorded in her diary, *'o negocio é totobola'* (the business is a lottery, 08/07/10), but shoe traders have less risks in their transactions with Indian merchants than other second-hand clothing traders. Shoes are purchased from the same locations as other types of used-clothing (see Chapter 7) and these traders have to purchase from *Mamães Grandes* when there is a shortage of shoes. Sometimes they purchase low quality stock and rubbish as was discussed in Chapter 7. Patricilia described (interview 30/07/10) how she may take bad quality stock back to an *armazém* and some Indian merchants occasionally allow refunds, but this is rare. In certain *armazéns,* market traders are allowed to see the shoes and pay according to quality and with low quality shoes Patricilia said she can negotiate a lower price and still sell them profitably, as discussed in Chapter 7 used-clothing traders cannot negotiate bale prices on quality. Shoe traders may be allowed to examine stock, in contrast to other second-hand clothing traders, because of better upstream grading of shoes and thus there is a higher quality of goods and less 'hiding' of low-quality stock (Field, 2000: 159). The exact explanation for this difference is not known because the process of used shoe wholesale purchase or other labour processes in this sub-system of provision were not directly researched.

Veronica (interview 11/06/10) has a different business practice and gets her shoes on credit from an *armazém* rather than paying for them in advance, which was not found amongst the Xipamanine Market traders, although was documented in the case of *dumba nengue* street vendors, discussed in Chapter 7. Veronica used to buy the stock, but the business gradually declined, so she started buying the sacks on credit. Indian merchants give her bags of shoes and she returns money to the warehouse after making sales, which can be later that week and does not have to be within the same day as the *dumba nengue* traders had to. She was able to do this because she had an established relationship with the Indian merchants. For the Indian merchants, who may be aware

that used-shoes can normally be retailed with less risk than other types of used-clothing, there is less need to completely separate the retail activity, as in the model of a non-integrated trade pattern discussed in Chapters 5 and 8.

When there is a shortage of shoes at the *armazéns,* Veronica can go two months without shoes and has to switch to another type of trading, like selling tomatoes. Shortages of shoes present challenges for all second-hand shoe traders and Anastancia linked this issue to the lack of quality in shoes (30/07/10). She stated that traders would sometimes try to demand better quality from warehouses, but their bargaining power is limited as Indian merchants know that even if there are no good quality shoes in stock the traders will still have to buy the bad quality stock as they cannot be without shoes to sell. Some traders do have an alternative strategy. Peonndo buys new shoes to mix in with his remaining second-hand shoes when there are no good quality shoes at the *armazéns* (interview 21/06/10). He sometimes buys these from Chinese and Nigerian shops in the Baixa of Maputo or travels to South Africa (see below). Several traders discussed that although customers come to Compone to buy second-hand shoes, when they cannot find second-hand items they can buy new shoes. It was also observed that new shoes could be concealed amongst second-hand shoes as was discussed in Chapter 6. The retail price is roughly equal for new and used shoes, although new shoes are generally more fashionable while used shoes tend to be manufactured to a higher standard.

Second-hand shoe traders experience the same challenges in disciplining labour as other used-clothing traders, which inhibits their opportunities for capital accumulation. Amecilia found that employing an assistant was problematic as when she is absent from the market she does not know what her assistant is charging customer. She gives him a maximum and a minimum to price work within, but Amecilia has concerns that the assistant may quote the cost of items too high – in order to try and keep a margin for himself – and then she misses out on making a sale (interview 30/07/11). As with other types of second-hand clothing livelihoods, selling used shoes at Compone Market provides an income which is above the extreme levels of poverty experienced by most Mozambicans, but it is a constant challenge to provide for dependents (Tvedten *et al.,* 2009). Veronica was one of the more impoverished shoe traders in the financial diary exercise; her earnings are low and she finds it difficult to support her family (financial diary). Patricilia also had found that the business had declined since she started trading over 10 years ago and if she was to try to establish a trading business now it would not

be easy to generate profits that would enable her to build a house, as she had previously done (interview, 11/06/10).

Second-hand and new clothing prices

The research presented above and in Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrates how used clothes and shoes are retailed in Maputo. Through this thesis the inter-connection between the new- and used-clothing systems of provision have been explored, in particular Chapter 4 investigated how new clothing (over)consumption in the global North provides the preconditions for the export of used clothes to Africa (Schor, 2005). In the remainder of this chapter the local similarities and difference between new- and used-clothing retail in Maputo are discussed.

Table 9.2 demonstrates the mean price of different second-hand and new clothing items sold in Xipamanine market. This table was produced using the retail prices research participants recorded in the three phases of financial diary research (for second-hand clothing: November-December 2009 and March-April 2010, and for new clothing June-July 2010). The figures for shoe prices come from Compone market (June-July 2010). Only the retail sale of clothing by market traders and not the specialist sale of high quality clothing or cheap low quality items (see Figure 7.5) are included in this sample. The sample size is included to demonstrate the relative robustness of the data and is not an indicator of the relative proportion of the different types of clothing sold in Xipamanine market.[40] For both new and second-hand clothing the financial diary method gives a more accurate representation of retail prices than asking clothing vendors the prices of commodities in interviews. This is because when traders were interviewed in pilot research, they presumed that I was trying to negotiate a purchase or they chose to quote the ideal price they hope to achieve for a particular item, whereas the data in the financial diaries are actual records of sales achieved.

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[40] The relative frequency of traders selling different types of second-hand clothing is illustrated in Table 8.1.

Table 9.2 Mean prices of second-hand and new clothes sold in Xipamanine Market

Clothing Item	Sample size (n)	Mean price Meticals	Mean price Dollars
Second-hand clothes			
Men's shirts	529	104.7	3.61
Men's trousers, including jeans	140	128.1	4.42
Men's tracksuit bottoms	199	127.3	4.39
Men's tracksuit tops	15	207.0	7.14
Ladies' tops and blouses	1152	53.0	1.83
Skirts	287	80.1	2.76
Ladies' night gowns	282	24.0	0.83
Ladies' shorts	78	83.4	2.88
Boys' and unisex T-shirts	659	66.0	2.28
Boys' shirts	102	60.3	2.08
Boys' trousers	130	72.4	2.50
Girls' dresses	7	53.4	1.84
Girls' tops and blouses	95	57.2	1.97
Bags, including handbags, rucksacks and holdalls (sample included new bags sold amongst used items)	253	98.3	3.39
Shoes, male, female and children's of all shoe types including sandals, boots, trainers and dress shoes (sample included new shoes sold amongst used items)	1697	230.4	7.94
Handkerchiefs	199	8.1	0.28
New clothes			
Men's shirts	38	219.2	7.56
Men's T-shirts	77	179.7	6.20
Men's trousers	392	304.9	10.51
Men's shorts	11	286.4	9.88
Tracksuit trousers	3	250.0	8.62
Coats	5	770.0	26.55
Skirts	121	246.0	8.48
Ladies' tops and blouses	130	215.4	7.43
Ladies' trousers	11	217.0	7.48
Dresses	10	325.0	11.2

Table 9.2 demonstrates the higher retail prices of new clothing commodities, which are discussed further below. Table 9.3 illustrates the relative value of used items compared to new items for four popular clothing items for which there is a large sample size and direct new and used counterparts, which can be compared like for like. This demonstrates that used clothing items are on average 37.7% of the cost of new clothes. Monthly household expenditure on clothing in Mozambique is 303MT ($10.45) in urban areas and 167MT ($5.76) in rural areas (INE 2010, quoted in Paulo *et al.,* 2011: 7). Paulo *et al.*'s (2011: 30) research indicated that this accounted for 27.5% of household expenditure in Maputo. Each household would be able to afford only the equivalent of one average pair of new trousers per month. These data clearly illustrate that used clothing provides a more affordable commodity.

Table 9.3 Used clothing retail price as a percentage of new clothing retail price

Clothing Item	*Used clothing retail price as a percentage of new clothing retail price*
Men's shirts	47.8
Men's trousers	45.9
Skirts	32.6
Ladies' tops and blouses	24.6
Average	37.7

Selling new clothing in Xipamanine Market

The new clothing trade in Maputo was researched through a repeat of the financial diary keeping exercise adapted to correspond to new trader businesses after interviews with vendors. New clothing is widely sold in Maputo by both market traders and in shops including the *Loga das Dames* chain, which has several branches in the city selling fashionable ladies clothing, other boutique shops in the *Polana Shopping* complex and in *PEP* and *Shoprite* – both are South African retail chains which stock relatively cheap low-quality clothing alongside other goods (Miller, 2008b). In Xipamanine market, new clothing *bancas* are located towards the front of the market, with second-hand clothing

located behind them. Despite this locational advantage, new clothing *bancas* are actually cheaper to rent or buy. Ussene discussed how his rent of 300MT ($10.34) was lower than the 500-600MT rents of comparable second-hand clothing stalls, which was triangulated through comparison of financial diaries (interview 29/07/11). This is believed to be because Xipamanine is established as a hub in the used-clothing trade and has experienced the clustering effect of used-clothing stalls. There is an advantage to each trader of being in a mass market because customers want to compare the stock at many stalls due to the great variety of used clothing. In comparison, the demand for locations to retail new clothing is not as great because there is less variability in this clothing type, many stalls sold identical items and clustering is not as advantageous. When new clothing traders (interviews 17/03/10) were asked why people do not start selling second-hand clothing toward the front of the market, one responded in English that 'it is impossible', because the municipality makes the decision as to which areas of Xipamanine are zoned for trading different types of clothing. This example demonstrates how formal the market is as an institution, despite appearing on first inspection to be a chaotic site (see Fitzpatrick, 2010). As Paulo *et al.* (2011: 15) argue trading practices at Xipamanine, Estrela and other urban markets in Maputo are "blurring the distinction between the 'formal' and 'informal' economies of the city."

In general, the new and used clothing traders had little knowledge of each others' business practices. There is a lack of experimentation with the different types of trading, although some traders, including Amélia and her mother, Rabeca, had participated in both types of trading. The experience of a female trader in her 40s (interviewed 17/03/10) is more typical. She started selling new clothing in 1992 as Xipamanine market expanded and economic liberalisation brought a wider range of consumer goods to Mozambique (Little, 1999; Pitcher, 2002) and has never sold second-hand clothing. A general observation is that new clothing traders tend to be more assertive and have a more direct marketing strategy and there is a higher proportion of male new clothing traders. As Sheldon (2002) found when researching markets in Mozambique, males were more likely to sell expensive commodities. Opportunities for females to make a living in urban Mozambique have improved since the early 1980s, but in the new clothing sector which depends on highly competitive and sometimes aggressive marketing of similar commodities fewer women have become involved in this economic activity.

The new clothing trade does – in the opinion of Manuel Boas – enable people to sustain their families (interview 30/07/10). At times of crisis, when there are not that many customers, it is difficult but always manageable. Manuel Boas keeps a separate fund of money for emergencies in a formal bank account and if he has two or three days without selling any clothes, he uses this money. His financial diary illustrated that he deposited 4000MT ($137.93) into his account during the research period (29/06/10) to contribute to this fund. Isabel also found that if she has days where she does not make a sale it is not a big problem as she can cover the daily costs of supporting her family from previous days' sales. Evidence such as this indicates that their livelihoods maybe less precarious than second-hand clothing traders.

Assistants were more widely employed in the new clothing trade and Anselnio who participated in the financial diary was an assistant, although he did not want to discuss his salary and gathering such information is challenging (Iyenda, 2001). Managing assistants can be difficult for new clothing traders and there are some similar problem to those that were observed amongst second-hand clothing sellers. For instance, when traders leave the market to get new stock they cannot monitor their workers and do not know if employees are skipping work. Some of the traders who managed staff complained about their decision making. One complaint was that assistants cannot be allowed to sell one piece cheaply, for example to a client who cannot afford a higher price, with the assumption that others will be sold to make up the difference. However, in general the pricing of commodities by assistants is less problematic than in the second-hand clothing trade, because standardised new items can be priced at specific, set retail prices which are linked to their individual unit wholesale costs. The judgment is less important in establishing an ideal exchange value, which is instead directly established as a multiple of the amount of merchants' capital which has been risked in the purchase of each item.

Sourcing new clothing

The new-clothing traders do not specialise to the same extent as second-hand clothing traders. They typically sold a range of different items together for example, Men's jeans, shirts and T-shirts. Fewer new children's clothes were sold, which may be because good quality children's clothes are prevalent in the second-hand system of provision (Gregson and Crewe, 1998). There is specialisation by gender and a trader

would tend to stock all male or all female clothing. Traders sell different types of garment because new clothing customers like to buy a whole outfit when they buy new clothing and therefore the vendors attempt to retail complementary garments, for instance matching ladies' tops and skirts. Such items can also be sourced together from the same wholesaler, whereas the variable allocation of clothing styles and fashions in the provision of second-hand clothing bales does not allow this marketing strategy.

New clothing is sourced from Johannesburg or Maputo. Some market traders order clothes from specialist traders who travel to South Africa. Vidal (2010: 59) documents how some men make a living trading between Maputo and Johannesburg:

> men who have tired of working in Johannesburg but are unable to make a living exclusively in Maputo... [may] undertake cross-border trade, buying goods in South Africa and selling them to shopkeepers or to their neighbours in Maputo. During the years spent in Johannesburg, they learn about the best places to do business and how to bribe the guards at the border.

Other market traders go to Johannesburg themselves as 'suitcase' traders. Sergio Silvino organises a bus with other traders and also buys for other vendors (interview 30/07/10). Isabel works in partnership with her husband who travels to South Africa to buy clothes. He purchases ladies' tops in bulk for R25 (South African Rands) ($3.04)[41] each; R10 ($1.36) less than the retail price in South Africa and Isabel sells them in Xipamanine for 150MT ($5.17) each. The amount of clothing her husband brings back depends on how much money she has given him and he usually travels once a month. Isabel discussed (interview 17/03/10) how the customs service (*Alfândegas*) at the border know that people like her husband are traders and charge them a small bribe so they can cross the border (see also Söderbaum and Taylor, 2008a). Sergio Silvino reported that the traders pay the customs a charge of 20,000MT ($689.66) collectively and there could be 12 or 15 people on the bus contributing to this charge. The official *impostos* are so high that to undertake the import process legally would cost too much and make it unprofitable. This is comparable to the import of used cars where bribes are paid buy importers to customs officials and without these reduced costs cars could not be sold profitably (Brooks, 2011).

New clothing is also purchased from wholesalers in the Baixa of Maputo. The retail price in the market is similar to the same items which are sold in shops in Maputo. A trader (interview 29/07/11) gave an example of buying clothes at a unit cost of 250MT ($8.62), which shops retail for 300MT ($10.34); he can decide to sell for 280, 300 or

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[41] Exchange rate 1$ = R7.3 (30/07/10) (Oanda, 2011).

320MT ($9.66, 10.34 or 11.03). The final retail price may be negotiated and can be influenced by the clients perceived affluence and the trader's need for money. The wholesalers are all foreign: Chinese, Congolese, Guineans, Nigerians or Somalis who have connections to supplies of new clothing which are produced to meet the stimulated demands of African customers. The traders include *'Guineano'* (Guinean or West African) people who go to China to buy stock (see Alden, 2007; Carmody and Hampwaye, 2010). Examples of clothing which had been imported from South Africa or wholesaled in Maputo were observed and most had 'made in China' (in English) labels, Chinese names such as *Jie Hang Fashion* and *Dengzi* or Chinese script on the labelling. Intimato discussed (interview 30/07/10) how establishing good relationships with suppliers can lead to discounts, perhaps a further 5MT ($0.17) per item, but this does not occur frequently. The size of the order was more important in determining the reduction and a large purchase can increase the discount. The items wholesaled in Maputo mainly come directly from China.

As with used-clothing, the rate at which new stock is purchased from suppliers depends on *movimento* (the movement, turnover of goods). Profitability is affected by the circulation of capital (Harvey, 2006a). This can have a reverse effect on the price of clothing as if a trader is in need of money they will decrease the market price, as was previously illustrated in the example of Mario, who sells second-hand jeans. Ussine sells new shirts and said that his retail prices can vary and sometimes he can gain nothing and sell a shirt at wholesale cost price or for only a small increase in exchange value: 'I buy for 180 ($6.20) and sell 200 ($6.90) only making 20[MT] ($0.69)' (original quote in English, interview 29/07/10) when a client negotiates a price down. He can be forced to sell by social circumstance if he needs money to support his dependents. This is different to the used-clothing example, because within a bale of used-clothing each clothing item does not have a known individual exchange value when the trader purchased it from the wholesaler in bulk, whereas, the pricing of individual standard commodities (e.g. 10 identical shirts for 1800MT ($62.07)) means Ussine is aware that in some transactions he takes part in M-C-M circulation, where the money at the end is equal to or only marginally greater than that at the start of the circuit.

In contrast to Ussine, who was a trader in his 20s, Sergio Silvino was a very successful new clothing trader in his late 40s who does not experience shortages of cash to support his family. Sergio Silvino has mostly high quality stock and has managed to accumulate

capital through the trade and plans to expand and buy a *chapa* (minibus) to enable him to import clothing from South Africa (interview 30/07/10). He is older than most traders and has been selling clothes for 20 years. He benefited from being an early entrant in to the market. As Isabel discussed (interview 30/07/10), the business is getting harder because new-clothing traders face more direct competition from new-clothing shops and the frequency of the restocking trips her husband makes to South Africa has decreased. Sergio Silvino has accumulated skills and expertise, for example he says he is good at adapting his stock to different seasons and he also sells a range of different clothing; men's, women's and children's to spread the risk. Mozambican trade customers from other provinces such as Manica also buy from him. Through working in the market, rather than specialising as an importer he can also act as an ad-hoc supplier of clothing at trade prices to other market traders. During one of the repeat interviews I had with Sergio Silvino, another market trader came to borrow a pair of trousers he wanted to try and sell at his banca, because they matched a customer's desires. Sergio Silvino quoted this trader a price of 250MT ($8.62) and the trader said he was going to try and increase this to a retail price of 300MT ($10.34).

The risks experienced by new-clothing traders are different from those of second-hand clothing traders. There is not a problem with low-quality stock or buying ill-fitting clothing as they select items piece by piece from wholesalers. The only disadvantage with stock was that some items can remain on display for a long time and fade in bright sunlight, losing their colour. Traders may then have to reduce the price of clothing but they are always able to sell it for close to the wholesale price, unlike the rubbish which can be found inside used-clothing bales. New clothing traders have daily variation in the flow of sales as is experienced by second-hand clothing traders, but this is less severe as they do not remain with low quality stock which sells slowly.

New-clothing traders tended to think that second-hand clothing trading is a good business, but thought it was very precarious due to the variation in the bales. It is also interesting to note that used-clothing traders believed that new clothing retail was dangerous because of the risks associated with travelling to South Africa and the chance of theft and the difficulties of negotiating customs tariffs. Thefts from the warehouse were reported among new clothing traders. This was not a problem that used-clothing traders reported. However, stock keeping for used-clothing traders is more challenging because of the variability in items and therefore thefts may be under identified and thus not reported in interviews.

Fashion and style

New-clothing traders have to have the skills to purchase new items which will meet the desires of consumers, especially the stimulated symbolic values. This includes a sense of what styles are current or new and which will enable consumers to choose with 'imitational bias' garments that follow local and international fashion trends (Schiermer, 2010: 97). New clothes are mainly more aspirational in style than used items and include tight fitting ladies tops similar to those retailed and advertised by expensive boutiques in central Maputo, such as *Loga das Dames*. There are also branded counterfeit goods including *Jeep* shirts and *Diesel* jeans and fashions popular in Johannesburg, the regional commercial and cultural hub, also influence trends in Maputo (Söderbaum and Taylor, 2008b; Vidal, 2010). Imported new clothing items sold in Xipamanine are made to narrow cost margins to be sold at affordable prices to poor people and are thus of low quality. Consumers in Xipamanine go for new fashions and styles rather than material quality; their use value is embellished through symbolic appeal. November and December are especially good times for sales as people want to have a new look for the Christmas celebrations and the New Year; customers travel from other provinces and Swaziland to shop in Maputo. Popular styles match locally stimulated demands generated through a new clothing system of provision. Many clothes in Xipamanine, such as imitation Mozambican football shirts, have been brought directly to a specific consumer market as Fine (2002) has explored in the global North.

Stimulated desires in Mozambique are 'models' or 'images' to which people aspire. They may reflect 'the West' and international fashions do frame what people in Maputo want to consume e.g. through popular r'n'b and hip hop music videos, Hollywood movies or the English Premier League, but these are *ideals* and not reflections of the realities of life in the global North. People in Mozambique interpret these images differently to consumers in the global North, who are entangled with different social realities (Lodziak, 2000). People in Maputo may not aspire to dress in second-hand clothes, which correspond(ed) to the norms of dress in the global North and reflect the reality of (a recent) consumer culture; albeit with the time-lag of consumption to disposal and (re)production. Instead new clothes that are sold in Xipamanine and elsewhere in Maputo, which more closely match the stimulated local aspirational images. The new clothes, e.g. football shirts and ladies tops embellished with Western logos and names (Akon, Bob Marley, Cristiano Ronaldo) on sale in Maputo, are closer to these new images than second-hand clothing.

However, the material quality of new clothing sold in Xipamanine is often lower than used clothing (as discussed in Chapter 6 and 8). Although many used clothes are torn or soiled, those items which had had limited wear in the global North were produced for a more affluent class of consumers in Australia, Europe or North America. These consumers were beneficiaries of a new clothing system of provision which brings a diverse range of high quality post-modern consumer goods to market (Fine, 2002; Dwyer and Jackson, 2003; Schiermer, 2010). Ussine described how he himself does not wear new clothes and that higher quality can be found amongst second-hand clothing (interview 29/07/10). He pointed out how the colours run when you wash them and they lose the lustre of being new (although he said he never discussed this with customers). Another trader (interview 16/03/10) explained how he sometimes had South African customers come to Xipamanine to buy *Levi Strauss* shirts and jeans and *Jeep* branded clothing. 'Chinese make things, like this Levi Strauss [pointing at a T-shirt] and they [South Africans] take to South Africa' (original English). The counterfeit items he retails cannot legally be sold in South Africa and originals are too expensive.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided further social and economic analytical context to the working lives of second-hand clothing traders. One of the strategies for coping with the precariousness of selling used clothing is the use of formal and informal savings schemes. The use of such systems is not unique to second-hand clothing traders (indeed new clothing traders are also considered in this analysis) and can be found amongst many of the urban poor in Mozambique, including wage earners (Little, 1999; de Vetter, 2009). Collins *et al.* (2009: 104) have discussed how the poor 'use the short-term financial terms that are available to them to create stores of wealth as a substitute for the long-term financial tools, like pensions, that are not.' Private money is required to respond to shocks of ill health or other household crisis in societies where people are not afforded the social wage (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). The commitment to *estique* instruments instills a degree of discipline in traders who work on the 'blurry' edge between formal and informal livelihoods (Paulo *et al.,* 2009). The livelihoods literature provides examples of the mosaic response to emergencies by the poor in urban and rural areas throughout Africa via related systems such as the *susu* in West Africa and social

capital has been used as an analytical framework to discuss these strategies (e.g. Abe, 2009; Aryeetey, 1999; Iyenda, 2005).

The *estique* schemes are relied upon by many traders, although their use is not universal and depends upon the social context in which people work especially the trust of neighboring traders, family members or money guards. Despite the benefits of flexibility, transaction costs can be very high for poor people, through the negative interest rates charged by money guards and the risks of theft. They can also act as a brake on entrepreneurial activity. Eduardo did not like the restricted access to capital which *estique* systems create and other traders such as Alfonso regarded them as way to substitute for the absence of having a structured pattern of wage earning (interview 03/03/10). This evidence does not suggest that Alfonso wanted to be engaged with the adventurous risk-taking associated with entrepreneurial activity (see Rivoli, 2009; Turok, 2010). The desire for wage earning employment has also been observed in rural Mozambique (Sender *et al.,* 2006) and elsewhere in Africa including Zambia (Brooks, 2010; Ferguson, 1999) and Congo. In Kinshasa, Iyenda (2005: 65) found, when conducting research with street traders, that 'Seventy-four per cent of respondents were ready to stop their activities within the informal sector if they could find secure and well-paid jobs' and the respondents 'were confident that the formal sector remained preferable' as a route out of urban poverty, in comparison to attempting to grow their own businesses.

The money guard fees are an example of how it is 'expensive to be poor' in Maputo (Paulo *et al.,* 2011: 29). Paulo *et al.*'s survey and analysis documents the conditions of poverty in contemporary Mozambique. The 'normal' population of clothing customers did not participate in the main research activities (although customers were interviewed in the pilot and scoping phases and informally engaged in later research activities). However, both new and used clothing traders discussed how most Mozambicans – who are impoverished – choose to purchase cheaper second-hand clothing. There are high levels of inequality in Mozambique and only a small proportion of the population has benefited from recent economic growth (Hanlon and Mosse, 2010; Cunguara and Hanlon, 2010). They account for the majority of consumer spending and may be increasing the relative proportion of new clothing purchases. Carmody and Hampwaye (2010) have argued that imports of new clothing are displacing the sale of second-hand clothing in Zambia, as used-clothing traders cannot compete with new imports, particularly those from China. My observations have not shown this direct displacement

in Mozambique since new and used clothing serve subtly different market niches and do not compete directly on price. New garments are beyond the reach of most of the impoverished population. Price, rather than style, is therefore the main motivation in choosing second-hand clothing. This also explains why there is limited tailoring of clothing to refashion garments to match the clothing desires of local people, which Hansen (2000) has observed in Zambia. In contemporary Maputo, the privileged minority who can afford to practise post-modern narrations of 'selfhood', do so through new clothing purchases, as has been observed in South Africa (see Nuttall, 2004).

There was a widely-held perception amongst second-hand and new-clothing traders that used clothing (including shoes) is of a higher quality than new, because it has been 'proved' and therefore will not fall apart after being washed or worn three or four times (see discussion in Chapter 6). In an inversion of my prior expectations, the material quality of clothing was especially important amongst the more cosmopolitan urban people, whereas it was viewed that 'naïve' rural people were attracted by brightly coloured stylish new items. Traders thought that customers from rural provinces were not as discerning in their clothing choice. People from Maputo do buy stylish new items, but these items would attract careful husbandry amongst the poor and be reserved for parties and celebrations. This mirrors the high value which was historically accorded clothing amongst the poor in the global North explored in Chapter 4 (Davis, 2006; Strasser, 1999). The opportunities for the consumption of new commodities may still be a relative novelty for the rural poor where there has been a slow increase in available consumer goods in the last 15 years following economic liberalisation (Pitcher, 2002), and therefore these consumers are more easily led by the image making through the new clothing system of provision (Ferguson, 1999; 2007; Fine, 2002).

The discussion of clothing style highlighted how brands and logos are important in retailing new commodities in Maputo. This can also be observed in second-hand clothing sales, as Patricilia recorded in her research diary *'Hoje vendiu muito bem porque tinha boas sapatillas de marcas Nike.'* (Today's [shoes] sold very well because the shoes had the Nike marque, 27/07/10). Nike shoes are also prominent in the display in Figure 9.2. These example reiterate the connections between new and used clothing and how the transnational aspirational image making by the fashion industry influences the profitability of the business for traders in the used-clothing system of provision.

The precariousness of shoe traders' businesses was different to other second-hand clothing traders. Shortages of stock were more commonplace because demand exceeds supply. This has been recognised by upstream collectors such as the Variety Club (2011). Shoe traders faced the risk of being without stock, but the quality of the items they purchased was normally sufficient to be able to sell the shoes for a profit. The risk of low-quality shoes was lower and they were less disadvantaged in their social relations with Indian merchants and traders were able to sometimes negotiate a refund on low quality stock. It is important to emphasise that it is social relations between different groups and individuals in this system of provision which determine how people are benefitted or disadvantaged, rather than any special characteristics of shoes as 'things'. Further investigation of this sub-sector of the used clothing system of provision could illuminate these processes, but this lies outside of the scope of this thesis.

Chapter 10. Conclusion: Mozambican Market Traders in the Used-clothing System of Provision

Introduction: addressing the research aims and objectives

From an empirical base, this thesis has responded to what Hansen (2000) identified as a lack of in-depth research into the second-hand clothing trade. The (re)production of second-hand clothing commodities in Britain, the international economic geographies of the used-clothing trade and the labour activities of African market traders have all been charted. Describing such patterns of social and economic activity builds upon previous ethnographic case studies (including Abimbola, forthcoming; Field, 2000; 2008; Gregson *et al.,* 2002; 2007a; 2007b; Hansen, 1994; 1995; 2005; Velia *et al.,* 2006; Wegulo, 2004). But the more fundamental and important contribution of this thesis is to advance systems of provision analysis (Fine, 2002) and provide a theoretical understanding of the connections between consumption, donation and (re)production across the global North and South. This has illuminated how the poor are disadvantaged in their exchange relationships with more powerful groups and individuals in the used-clothing trade. In this chapter, the application of the systems of provision approach and how this provides a greater understanding than commodity studies analysis is further explored.

Through this chapter I also discuss what lessons have been learnt from this study and how the fieldwork could have been undertaken differently or extended. The various place-based research activities and the desktop analysis of published and unpublished sources were not carried out as discrete processes but are analysed together through this thesis in order to understand the geographical connections. The mapping of the history of the used-clothing trade and the tracing of the social and economic geographies of the donation, (re)production and export of used clothing illustrate how labour processes and the material culture which surrounds the involvement of charities and companies, are integral parts of the system of provision. Analysing the different coordinated and non-integrated patterns of the trade of second-hand clothing to Africa demonstrates how exchange relationships are arranged to advantage and disadvantage different groups in the global economy. The economic and cultural landscape in which the used-clothing trade is located has been investigated to contextualise the social and economic impacts of the import of second-hand clothing on African countries. This includes investigating

the relationships between the used-clothing trade and clothing manufacturing in Africa. These different geographies of the used-clothing trade are summarised in this chapter.

Economic liberalisation provided the preconditions for the used-clothing trade to flourish. The political economy analysis in this thesis has illustrated how the free market has not afforded avenues for most of the people working in the used clothing trade or inter-related sectors to escape poverty in Mozambique. The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that only a small proportion of privileged people (especially *Mamães Grandes*, Indian merchants and customs officials) have gained from the used-clothing trade. The greatest weight of research was with impoverished second-hand clothing traders in Maputo. The entanglement of these people, as well as tailors and new clothing traders, in the used-clothing system of provision was investigated extensively through 12 months of ethnographic fieldwork, based on repeat interviews and diary keeping. Their business practices and the precariousness of trading, which is linked to the lottery of used-clothing provision, were evaluated and key findings linked to the cultures of used-clothing trading are identified in this chapter. These conclusions are contrasted to previous research of market trading in Africa, which promote economic liberalisation as a route for development (Field, 2008; Rivoli, 2009).

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the political economy of the second-hand clothing trade. Examining a single economic sector – the interrelated new and used clothing trades – through such geographical analysis can enhance an understanding of how inequality is materially reproduced in different regions. Through focusing on Mozambique, one of the poorest countries in the world, this thesis illustrates how poverty and global inequality are functional to the international capitalist system and provides a lens through which to map the geographies of uneven development (Harvey, 2006a; 2006b).

Second-hand clothing commodities and systems of provision analysis

The transnational second-hand clothing system of provision begins with the conspicuous consumption of garments in the global North and extends to the sale of worn used clothing on African market stalls. Certain charities, firms and individuals have become profitably entrenched in the (re)production, export and import of used-clothing commodities, including well-established charities (e.g. Oxfam and the Salvation Army), commercial operators (e.g. Choice Textiles and Canam) and Indian

merchants in southern Africa (e.g. UMUT in Mozambique and Khalid in Zambia (Durham, 2004)). Such economic actors became embedded as the used-clothing trade developed and now control crucial assets. They were able to take advantage of social and economic changes, including the global expansion of clothing production in the twentieth century and the liberalisation of African economies (Coughlin, 2004; Rivoli, 2009; Schor, 2005; Strasser, 1999). Through this thesis, the social and economic conditions which have contributed to this system developing, such as the structural adjustment of African economies, have been discussed in-depth. Specific socio-political discourse relating to Mozambique and Maputo especially has been examined so that the conditions in which the second-hand clothing trade operates in an African city can be understood (Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Pitcher, 2002; Sheldon, 2002).

I explore how it is labour-power that is required to reproduce exchange-value in used clothing commodities, rather than a reified notion of cultural change, as proposed in Thompson's rubbish theory, which has been previously applied to the second-hand clothing sector (Gregson and Crewe, 2003; Norris, 2005; 2010). This thesis is a SOP study, which is positioned as a corrective to the failings of *commodity studies* and *follow the thing* research. Commodity studies are rooted in structuralist development economics, where the activities of capitalists in the global North are believed to limit the opportunities for economic activity in the global South (Bernstein and Campling, 2006). Follow the thing research neglects political economy and is preoccupied with post-modern narration of the self (see Cook *et al.,* 2004).

Starosta (2010) has made a convincing argument that global value chains and related approaches fail to explain the very nature of the object of their enquiry beyond describing the immediate outer manifestations of trade systems. These limitations can be traced back to their branching out from world systems theory (Bair, 2005), which, like the opposing neo-classical framework, does not explain contemporary conditions of poverty in African markets. Neither the work of Wallerstein (1979), which assume that the role of labour is functionally determined by the actions of dominant classes in a global system of uneven exchange, nor *neo-classical theory*, which positions market traders as rational socially decontextualised individuals, provides an adequate form of political economy analysis (Roitman, 1990). It is not sufficient to say that market forces, such as the availability of donated clothing in the global North which is in demand in Africa, make a trade pattern. Instead, it is intended that by applying a SOP analysis, this thesis speaks to the need for a discussion of 'social formations (which are

constantly redefined by capital, the state and producers themselves)' to understand the role of Africans in the used-clothing trade (Roitman, 1990: 676). These social formations 'determine which choices and alternatives within the productive process are themselves legitimate' (1990: 676). The choices of market traders in Maputo who work in the used-clothing system are defined by social formations including the (re)production of used-clothing commodities as mixed bales, state import policies and transport geographies. Used-clothing traders are not socially decontextualised, rational decision-makers who have entrepreneurial opportunities, especially as their knowledge of the values of the contents of clothing bales is limited to the category of clothing they are purchasing.

Used-clothing values are established both within and between cultures (Hansen, 2000). Market workers in Africa have little knowledge of the origin of used clothing (Field, 2000). The unknown quality and local exchange-value of the clothing purchased within bales by used-clothing market traders contrasts to the new-clothing retail in the global North where firms dictate product information and order clothing deigns which respond to the latest socially manipulated fashion trends (Bair and Gereffi, 2001). The traders who work in Xipamanine market in Maputo negotiate prices primarily depending on the material quality of the second-hand clothes, but they are also socially aware of local stimulated desires and trends and attempt to increase the exchange-value of items which have a high symbolic value.

Market traders do not fully understand the initial cycle of production and consumption of new clothing, the donation and discarding of unwanted clothing, or the labour activities and systems through which used-clothing commodities are (re)produced and traded to Mozambique. Used clothes are mute as to how and by whom they were (re)produced as commodities, which is normal in capitalist market exchange (Hartwick, 1998; Harvey, 2006a; Marx, 1995). Understanding the various social and economic processes that occur at different places in the used-clothing trade is difficult and mapping these activities is required before they can be explained in the manner Roitman (1990) or Starosta (2010) demand. Previous cultural investigations, such as Field (2000) and Hansen (2000), of African used-clothing traders' livelihoods have not taken a political economy approach that considers critically the marginalised roles of these people within a broader trade network. Examining the power relations and governance of different exchange relationships in the used-clothing trade through a systems of

provision approach, which embraces culturalanalysis, has allowed greater insights to be gained.

This study has not offered a perfect cross-section of the trade; there is not a clear line that can be traced between all the stages in the United Kingdom and Mozambique that have been discussed here as there is in Cook *et al.,* (2004; 2006) or Kleine (2008). There are practical difficulties for a researcher in being able to command knowledge of the exact social and economic processes that occur at every node between production and consumption (Coe *et al.,* 2008; Marcus, 1995). In the second-hand clothing trade this is compounded by the concealed commerciality, which is hidden from clothing donors, and the prevalence of illegitimate and illegal practices (Lomotey and Fisher, 2006; Office of Fair Trading, 2004; Shea and Brennan, 2008; Wooldridge, interview 03/12/08). The non-integrated used clothing supply chains (discussed in Chapter 5) are especially difficult to trace as information about the origin of clothing goods is not shared between the parties involved in exchange relationships (Lincoln, interview 10/03/09; repeat market interviews in Maputo).

Although this study may not have traced a complete chain of activities, it has offered a more extensive analysis than commodity studies research, as this systems of provision approach considers processes beyond the directly linked activities of production and consumption. This includes analysing how charity images are used and manipulated (see Figures 4.1, 4.3 and 4.4) and the historical conditions which normalised the charitable giving of used-clothes (Strasser, 1999; discussed in Chapter 4) as well as the liberalisation of African economies. In contrast commodity studies approaches do not investigate directly the material cultures which surround conditions of production, distribution, marketing and consumption (Crewe, 2000; Fine, 2002). Had time and resources permitted, this thesis could have been enhanced by expanding the discussion of the material culture which surrounds used-clothing donation by undertaking further original fieldwork, rather than analysing secondary sources which document how and why people donate unwanted clothing and how the used-clothing trade is perceived in the UK (House of Lords, 2008; Morley *et al.,* 2006; Shea and Brennan, 2008). A larger sample of charities and commercial organisations in the UK would have provided a deeper understanding of their roles in the (re)production of used-clothing commodities. Future work could also explore the new horizons of increasing commerciality, including the connections between the new-clothing trade and textile recycling (see Boffery, 2011; Oxfam, 2011a; Whizz-Kidz, 2011). Another important avenue to explore would

be to test Schor's (2005) findings from the United States which indicate that there is a correlation between new-clothing purchases and used-clothing exports and to investigate if this trend can also be observed in the UK and to explain the relationship. Longitudinal data collection on the export price of used clothing would also provide valuable empirical detail.

Globalisation and the impact of the second-hand clothing trade on new clothing industries

The global value chains analysis of Gibbon and Ponte (2005) and Kaplinsky and Morris (2002) is associated with globalisation and the concurrent marginalisation of African economic development. In my previous research I also characterised the advance of Chinese capital in Africa as being part of a global race to the bottom for labour standards (Brooks, 2010). The anti-globalisation critique needs to be kept in check in academic discourse. Many places in Africa are experiencing the exploitative advance of corporate enterprise (Carmody and Hampwaye, 2010; International Labour Organization, 2005; Morris and Barnes, 2009), but the distribution of these spaces is uneven (Hart, 2002; Sidaway, 2012; Simone, 2004). Poverty is not consistently the result of direct participation in international trade, as Ferguson argues:

> the inconvenient fact is that Africa's hardships have very little to do with being overrun with Western factories and consumer goods. It is hard to find evidence of the depredations of runaway capitalist expansion in countries that are begging in vain for foreign investment of any kind and unable to provide a significant market for the consumer goods stereotypically associated with globalization (2007: 26).

Ferguson's statement requires nuanced discussion in the context of this thesis. Second-hand clothing is an example of a consumer good which has found a significant market in Africa. It is not something which would stereotypically be associated with globalisation, yet through this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate that the international circuits of new and used clothing trace the gradients of inequality between different places in the global economy. Future research which investigates the working lives and consumption choices of Africans in the global economy, especially those who are not directly linked by employment to transnational corporations or the programme work of international NGOs, is needed.

The new-clothing sector in Africa faces many challenges as a result of 'globalization' (Morris and Barnes, 2009: 1). The factors detailed in Morris and Barnes report are symptoms of economic liberalisation and the structural adjustment programmes that have been implemented across Africa (Andræ and Beckman, 1998; Traub-Merz, 2006). The impact of the import of used clothing on local manufacturing is analysed within a consideration of this context in Chapter 6. The discussion of clothing and textiles industries in Mozambique in Chapter 7 would have benefitted from original research on clothing manufacturing in Mozambique, although the primary reason why I did not undertake such fieldwork was that I had previously investigated labour activities in a clothing factory in Zambia, which informed the discussion in Chapter 6 (Brooks, 2010).

The used-clothing trade has been widely criticised by authors who believe that an industrial led modernisation programme could enable Africa to develop (see Jester, 2002; Koyi, 2006; Majtenyi, 2010; McCormick *et al.,* 2004; Slotterback, 2007). In import substitution industrialisation (ISI) clothing production is seen as one of the first stages towards the creation of industrial societies. The protection of African clothing industries from domestic competition with cheap used-clothing imports is seen as vital to enable ISI. In contrast there is also a pro-globalisation perspective which sees the used-clothing trade as a positive free-market 'modernising' process, because this system of provision provides cheap consumer goods and reduces the impact of inflation (Baden and Barber, 2005). Rivoli (2009) is a proponent of the used-clothing trade, who has documented how the same garments which are manufactured in Tanzania for retail in the US are now returning as used-clothing for sale in Dar-es-Salaam. Rivoli frames this positively as an indicator of development which was enabled by the liberalisation of African economies. Both the liberal free-market analysis and the import substitution development strategies associated with modernisation have lost credibility as, throughout the postcolonial period, African national economies have fallen further behind the First World in the free-market economy (Ferguson, 2007; Simon, 1997; 2006). Rivoli believes that the free-market interconnections between the US and Tanzania embodied in the circulation of a T-shirt are lifting people out of poverty. She fails to analyse the inequality embedded in this circuit. The series of exchange relationships which begins with the manufacture of T-shirt in Tanzania and ends with that same item returning as a devalued commodity are unlikely to lead to the type of sustained economic growth which can lift people out of poverty. If garment labourers in Tanzania were paid living wages which enabled them to afford to consume essential

goods, such as new T-shirts, rather than unwanted clothing from the global North, then that would provide a route out of poverty. However, pressure to reduce labour costs in liberalised African economies eliminates such opportunities (Brooks, 2010; Gibbon, 2003b; Hart, 2002).

Exchange relations and the culture of second-hand clothing in Maputo

In Maputo, the Indian merchants, through their *armazém* businesses, have social agency and are able to control a profitable node in the used-clothing trade and offset risks to Mozambican traders as well as selling bales of clothing for re-export to Swaziland and Zimbabwe. However, these importers do not control the supply of used-clothing goods. Risk is passed down the network from the charities and commercial operators that collect, sort, and (re)produce used-clothing commodities, onto importers through the packing lists; which require the compulsory purchase of less desirable types of clothing (Clark, interview 13/03/09). The used-clothing commodities Indian merchants receive are determined by the exporters and they are dependent on trade links and shipping routes from the global North and (UMUT supervisor, interview 04/05/10). Profitable businesses are not exclusively concentrated in the global North as place alone does not enable accumulation; rather, gains are concentrated amongst those who have critical assets such as the connections which span the global North and South (e.g. Canam, Lithuanian traders (Office of Fair Trading, 2004), METL, or the Nigerians documented by Abimbola, forthcoming). At the local-scale in Maputo, *Mamães Grandes,* who were early adopters and developed relationships with Indian merchants, gain more from the trade through speculation and their 'assets' of having social contacts with both wholesalers and traders.

Used clothes are sold by individual traders in Maputo as they are elsewhere in Africa (Hansen, 2000; Field, 2000). Market trading may be a step-up from other types of urban livelihoods in Maputo (Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Paulo *et al.,* 2011). However, relative to the larger firms, individual market traders face risks and challenges that are not borne by upstream commercial and charitable organisations. Market trading in Maputo is not structurally integrated with other upstream processes; there is a separation of the risky retail activity from the profitable import of bales of used clothing. This delinking of retail processes by Indian merchants passes risk on to those who work as used-clothing

traders through the lottery (*totobola*) of buying non-returnable used-clothing bales which can contain unsellable clothing rubbish.

When used-clothing traders open a bale, they have no absolute idea of the retail exchange-value of the commodities they have purchased. At the market they have some imaginary, ideal notion of its exchange-value, based on their previous experience and so decide to price it accordingly. They can then tell potential purchasers what they think the exchange-value of their goods should be. But, they have no idea whether they will get that price for it until it is exchanged for money (Harvey, 2010a; Marx 1995). The lack of information about the contents of clothing bales negatively affects their ability to achieve profits. The financial diaries illustrated how *estique* saving schemes offer a means through which people attempt to offset risks (Collins *et al.,* 2009). This thesis could be extended further to have investigated the multi-faceted ways in which people make a living through undertaking livelihoods analysis, although this would have required extensive further fieldwork, especially to examine the households of traders (Abe, 2009; Brickell and Chant, 2009; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005).

Social formations and power dynamics within exchange relationships weaken second-hand clothing traders' ability to bargain for improved terms of trade even though these traders are notionally individual entrepreneurial actors with independent capital rather than wage labourers. Entrepreneurship does not provide a route out of poverty for Mozambican market traders, as Iyenda found in the Congo:

> street enterprises are not a panacea capable of improving people's living standards, and they cannot lift poor people out of chronic poverty. They simply offer short-term, volatile and insecure employment opportunities, often with mediocre profits (2005: 65).

Further research into the trade in other imported commodities in Maputo may lead to examples of entrepreneurial activity which do provide a route out of poverty, but published sources on Mozambique suggest that economic liberalisation has provided few benefits for the vast majority of poor Mozambicans (Cramer, 2001; Hanlon and Smart, 2008; Hanlon, 2009)

The Mozambican writer, Mia Couto (2009: 234), discusses the global 'commercial rationale' as 'a system that makes its choices solely on the grounds of profit and easy success. Africans have become the "others" once again, those who have little to sell, and who can buy even less.' The market traders in Maputo did not have the opportunity for 'easy success' which other actors have enjoyed in the international used-clothing

trade and their roles can be read as orientating them as 'others' who are in persistent poverty. Their agency in the global economy is curtailed, but my critical analysis of the positionality of African used-clothing traders within an uneven system of exchange is not reflected in other studies (e.g. Baden and Barber, 2005; Field, 2008; Rivoli, 2009).

Clark and Palmer (2005) have argued that the used-clothing trade challenges conventional *Orientalist* discourses of the West dominating the 'other' (see Said, 1978). They claim that used-clothing markets do not merely represent a dumping site and that used-clothing is 'a global commodity capable of facilitating metanarratives of modernity and of constructing complex meanings between subject and object' (2005: 99) and cite the work of Milgram (2005) and Hansen (2000; 2005) in support of their argument. Milgram believes it is wrong to assume that this commodity flow is simply another marker of a linear modernisation narrative of northern domination (again, of the 'other'). Instead she argues there are real benefits to the second-hand clothing trade, particularly in the cultural sphere of self-expression that cheap and readily available used clothing facilitates and the employment opportunities it generates (see also Haggblade, 1990). Hansen (2000) also argues that Zambians are not passive recipients of cultural goods and make their own individual marks upon these commodities. My discussion could have been advanced further with some focus groups with poor consumers which investigated their attitudes towards second-hand clothing. Focus groups were not implemented because of the methodological difficulties of conducting focus groups in a second language, especially tracing the nuances of colloquial discussions (Twyman *et al.,* 2009; Watson, 2003).

Research with new- and used-clothing traders demonstrated how most people in Mozambique are too impoverished to be able to afford to buy fashionable clothing and that those who can tend to buy imported new clothing. Hansen (2000) and Milgram (2005) imply that the outflow of second-hand goods from the West does not lead to an inevitable domination of Western values. By emphasising and celebrating how clothing waste from the global North can allow postcolonial subjects to dress modern Clark and Palmer (2005), Hansen and Milgram marginalise the unequal relationships embodied in the second-hand clothing trade. As Fine (2002: 94) argues, anthropological study can succumb to 'the aesthetic illusion' which surrounds the consumption of the poor. They do not adequately reflect that whilst used clothes may allow people to wear modern clothes, they are still left disconnected from the emancipatory world of secure modern livelihoods (Ferguson, 1999; Webster, 2004). As Paulo *et al.* identify in Mozambique,

there is a 'high level of inequality in urban areas – constantly reminding the urban poor of their inferior position in society' which 'adds to the sense of impoverishment and marginalisation' (2011: 6).

Conclusion: Second-hand clothing in the global capitalist system

In the global North, cheap imports of new clothing reduce the value of labour power as the 'Wal-Mart phenomenon' dependent on the

> 'hyperexploitation of labour-power in China keeps the value of labour-power down in the United States through cheap imports. This also explains the resistance, in many quarters of the capitalist class, to putting barriers to entry or tariffs on Chinese goods, because to do so would be to raise the cost of living in the US, leading to demand from works for higher wages' (Harvey 2010a: 105).

In Africa, the 'used-clothing phenomenon' helps to reduce the cost of living for the poor. This is advantageous for the capitalist class. Harvey (2010a: 165) argues that 'we can identify many situations where there have been and still are class strategies worked out through the state apparatus to reduce the value of labour-power'. The enthusiastic liberalisation of the Mozambican economy carried out under the stewardship of the Frelimo ruling party has encouraged the import of cheap second-hand and new clothing as well as other consumer goods (Pitcher, 2002; Hanlon, 2009). This has made consumption more affordable, although the cost of supporting the Mozambican population is subsidised by donor funding and most people still face daily struggles to make a living (Paulo *et al.,* 2011). In Mozambique, the local capitalist class is not dependent on extracting surpluses from a mass labour force with waged jobs. There is an absence of wage earning jobs, especially in rural Mozambique (Sender *et al.,* 2006). As Hanlon and Mosse (2009) have identified, the elite have different strategies for capital accumulation centred on extractive industries, telecommunications, tourism and retail, as well as illegal practices such as the appropriation of donor funding, corruption in the customs service and the drugs trade (see also Brooks, 2011). Keeping the cost of living lower for the poor and providing opportunities to consume is what Sumich (2008) identifies as an attempt by the elite to try to modernize the poor but, as Hanlon and Smart (2008) have identified, opportunities to consume will not alone lift people out of poverty.

Critical political economy analysis such as this is missing in policy making. The 'challenges raised by the contemporary politics of global inequality' (Ferguson 1999:

252) are also not recognized by neo-classical economists who believe that economic liberalisation has provided entrepreneurial opportunities for Africa's poor (e.g. Kapstein, 2009; Turok, 2010). Rivoli (2009: 227) believes that '[p]overty is the weather in Tanzania. It is just there… every day of their very short lives... Poor just is.' Poverty is not 'just there' or like 'the weather'; impoverishment has a history and is an outcome of the organization of global society (Arrighi, 2007; Hart, 2002; Harvey, 2006a). There is a need to 'reconfigure the intellectual field in such a way as to restore global inequality to its status as "problem"' and find a new way to combat poverty and inequality which is not 'modernisation-as-development' (Ferguson, 1999: 249; Simon, 1999: 11).

Banning used clothing and the elimination of smuggled imports would not fundamentally change clothing markets in Africa, such as Xipamanine. A counterfactual retail economy in Africa without used clothing would not have a flourishing local garment trade. Free-market trade would continue and it could be readily imagined that imported new clothing will replace used clothing on the *bancas* of Mozambican markets. Internationally, trading second-hand clothing brings cheaper garments to African markets because (re)producing used clothes cost less in labour-time than manufacturing the same new garments. In capitalism there is an incentive for leapfrogging ahead in innovation among individual capitalists to produce a more efficient system of provision. Used clothing represents a very efficient way of supplying clothing to markets in the global South. This leads on to the question of how are the gains from the increasing productivity of the used clothing system of provision shared between classes? In the second-hand clothing trade there are some distributions of profit which are not normally observed in capitalist trade. Charities in the UK gain because of the historic donation of used clothing to charitable causes, but their gains are being marginalised by the increasing commerciality of the trade (British Heart Foundation, 2011). The major benefits are accrued to the exporting and importing organisations which straddle the global North and some such as Canam, METL or Ragtex. The managers and owners of these companies represent the class which amasses riches from rags. This thesis has focused on the retailers of second-hand clothing in Mozambique and these people gain relatively little from the used-clothing trade and are in fact left in persistent poverty.

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Appendix I. Overview interviews in Maputo (continued over next two pages)

Location	Interview Date	Gender and number of interviewees	Item	Notes
Compone				
	08.07.09	M	Shoes	Male Mid 20s
	08.07.09	F, M	Shoes	Female vendor and husband interviewed together
	08.07.09	F, F	Shoes	2 women
	08.07.09	M	Shoes	Male, with other lads sitting round
	08.07.09	M	Shoes	Male interviewed, with reluctant woman
	08.07.09	F	Shoes	Brief interview
	08.07.09	F, F, F	Shoes	3 women
	08.07.09	M, M	Shoes	Mainly trainers
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	Interviewed in Shangana
	09.07.09	M	Shoes	Lad whose been selling for 3 months
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	Reluctant conversation with a female trader
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	Interview in Shangana, woman who had recently re-started selling
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	Lady buying shoes to sell elsewhere at Namaacha
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	Older, middle aged trader
	09.07.09	M	Shoes	Started work on Saturday
	09.07.09	F	Shoes	
Mercado de Xiquelene				
	14.07.09	M,M	Mixed clothing	*Entregar* sellers interviewed outside main market site. (Further interviews in Mercado do Xiquelene to build on the earlier pilot research were not undertaken after market authorities denied permission to continue research).

Location	Interview Date	Gender and number of interviewees	Item	Notes
Mercado do Xipamanine				
	16.07.09	M	Curtains	
	16.07.09	M	Male shorts	
	16.07.09	F	Ladies' tops	
	16.07.09	M	Jeans	Selects high quality jeans from other *bancas*
	16.07.09	M	Jeans	
	17.07.09	M	Mixed clothing	*Entregar* trader selling outside, along the Eastern edge of Xipamanine market
	17.07.09	M	Woollen hats	
	17.07.09	F	Duvet, bedsheets	
	17.07.09	M	Trousers	
	17.07.09	M,M,M	N/A	3 *Dumba nengue* hawkers loitering waiting for stock
	17.07.09	F,F	Women's tops	
	22.07.09	M	Tailor	
	22.07.09	M	Tailor	
	22.07.09	F	Range of items	*Dumba nengue* hawker from Catembe
	22.07.09	M	Underwear	Children's and ladies' underwear and bras
	22.07.09	M	Range of items	*Entregar* sellers outside main Xipamanine Market area
	22.07.09	F	Curtains, towels	Street sellers in poor location outside of Xipamanine Market
Baixa				
	23.07.09	M	Suit jackets	*Dumba nengue* hawker selling high quality suit jacket
	23.07.09	M	Jeans	*Dumba nengue* hawker interview
	23.07.09	M	Various	*Dumba nengue* hawker, i*nterview interrupted by arrival of police*
	23.07.09	M, M, M	Various - mainly shorts	Prime city centre corner

Location	Interview Date	Gender and number of interviewees	Item	Notes
Jardim dos Madjermanes				
	23.07.09	M	Ladies' tops	
	23.07.09	F,F	Denim jackets	
Mercado Nwa Nha-Kawi e Mercado Fajardo				
	07.08.09	M	Dress seller	Also a tailor
	07.08.09	M	Ladies' trousers	Most of the customers appeared to be men
	07.08.09	F	Children's clothes	
	07.08.09	F	Babies' blankets	BBC – Blankets for Babies (Cotton)

Appendix II. Examples of overview research questions

- What type of second-hand clothes or shoes do you sell?
- Describe how your business operates?
- When and how did you start trading second-hand clothes?
- Have you always sold clothes in this location?
- Do you work for somebody? If not do you have any employees who work for you?
- What is the overseas origin of the clothes?
- Do you buy the clothes in bales? (If not how do you obtain the clothes?)
- If so how often do you buy the bales?
- Whereabouts do you get the bales in Maputo or Mozambique?
- Who do you buy them from?
- What do you do to the clothes? (Do you do anything such as washing or repairing clothes?)
- Where do you sell the clothes?
- How often do you sell them? (What days do you work and for how long?)
- What are the busy times of day?
- Who do you sell them to?
- What happens to the clothes you cannot sell?
- Are you happy with the quality of the clothes you purchase?
- Are they items which are popular and easy to sell?
- What is more important to customers the material quality of clothes or the style?
- Is selling used clothing a good way of making a living compared to other market trading? Or compared to wage earning employment?
- Do you have any dependents and are you able to support them with the income you make for trading second hand clothing?
- Do you compete with people who sell new clothes?
- Is the job becoming more difficult? (for example is there more competition with new clothing traders)

Appendix III. Standard interview questions for market traders

Describe business: *Location, item being sold, workers*

Describe interviewee: *Approximate age and gender*

A - Starting the Business - Owners

1a. For how long have you sold used-clothing?

Por quanto tempo vende a roupa usada?

2a. Why did you start selling used-clothing?

Qual foi o motivo que lhe levou a começar este nogócio da roupa usada?

3a. How did you get money to start the business?

Como é que aranjou o fundo para começar?

4a. Did you have a loan from a money lender, a bank, or did a family member help you?

Terá tido um empréstimo do banco, dum familiar ou outro alguem?

5a. Have you ever sold anything else other than used-clothing?

Terá feito um outro negócio diferente deste antes?/Antes de vender a roupa terá tido uma outra profissão?

B - Starting the Business - Employees

1b. For how long have you sold used-clothing?

Por quanto tempo vende a roupa usada?

2b. Why did you start selling used-clothing?

Como é que aranjou este emprego?

3b. Are you paid a salary? Or per item?

Como é que é pago? Tem salário ou tem dependido do trabalho diário, semanal ou mensal?

4b. How does this compare to the national minimum wage?

Comparando o seu salário com o dos vendedores do Mercado ou lojas, acha que o seu salário é sustentável ou estável para a sua família?

5b. Have you always sold in this location?

Trabalhou sempre para o mesmo patrão?

6b. What did you do before?

O que é que fazia dantes?

How does the business work?

7. Have you always sold in this location?

Tem vendido sempre neste lugar?

8. Have you always sold this type of item?

Tem vendido sempre este tipo de roupa?

9. Do you pay a tax for the location you sell at?

Tem pago uma taxa, seja diária, semanal ou diária para o local da venda?

10. What is the price range of items you sell?

Como é que os preços da roupa variam?/Qual é variação dos preços da roupa?/Qual é o preço típico da roupa?

11. Where do you buy your stock from?

Onde é que compra a fardo?/Qual é o preço típico do fardo?

12. How often do you buy new stock?

Quão frequente compra a nova mercadoria?

13. Do you have problems buying new stock?

Tem encarrado obstáculos na obtenção da nova mercadoria?

14. Do you know where the stock comes from? (How it arrives in Mozambique and what countries it comes from)

Sabe dizer qual é a origem da roupa? (sabe dizer como é que chega a Moçambique?)

15. What do you think of the quality of the stock?

Qual é a sua opinião sobre a qualidade da roupa?

16. Is the quality getting better or worse?

Falando da qualidade, acha que esta está melhorando ou piorando?

17. How does the quality and cost compare to new clothing items?

Como é que compara a qualidade da roupa usada com a da roupa nova? /Como é que compara o custo da roupa usada com o da roupa nova?

Livelihood

18. How is the business going at this present moment?

Na sua opinião, como é que o negócio está a decorrer neste momento?

19. Will you keep selling used-clothing, do you think about selling new clothing or other items?

Irá continuar a vender a roupa, ou acha que pode iniciar com a venda da roupa nova ou outro tipo de negócio?

20. What do you think about you earnings? How do the earnings compare to new clothing traders or other types of market work, is this business sustainable?

O que é que acha sobre o rendimento do negóio? Comparando com os vendodores de roupa nova e outras mercadorias, acha que este negócio é viável?

21. Do you earn enough to provide for your family?

Consegue render o suficiente para a sua família?

22. What changes have you seen in the second hand clothing trade? Are there differences in the quality of clothing or the preferences of customers?

Que mudanças tem verificado no negócio da roupa usada?/ Qual é e sua opinião, acha que há mais vendedores de roupra, se há diferença de qualidade da roupa, há mais prefência dos clientes em relação a roupa nova ou tem mais vendedores de fardos? Ou tudo continua na mesma?

23. Do you like clothing? Have an interest in fashion?

Faz este este negócio como meio de sobrevivência ou porque gosta de roupa? Terá algum interesse na moda?

Customers

24. Who buys the used clothing?

Que tipo de clientes compram a roupa usada? Como é que avalia os seus clientes?

25. Do you have regular customers?

Tem tido clientes sempre? Tem clientes específicos que sempre compram?

26. Is there anyone who buys large quantities of used clothing for resale?

Tem tido clientes que compram em grandes quantidades para revender noutros lugares?

27. What items sell well and why?

Que tipo de roupa têm mais saida porqué?

28. Is the quality or the style-fashion of items more important to customers?

Será que a qualidade e o estilo da roupa têm tido mais importância para os clientes?

29. Do you do anything to process the items, e.g. wash repairs, alter?

Tem feito alguma coisa para desenvolver a qualidade da roupa, como por exemplo, lavar, engomar ou alterar o feitio?

30. What days are busy?

Quais são os dias com mais movimento?

Problems

31. What are the problems with the business?

Quais são os problemas encarrados no negócio? Falando da competição, qualidade, custo de fardo e mais?

32. How could the business improve?

Na sua opinião, o que é que pode ser feito para desenvolver mais o negócio?

Appendix IV. Xipamanine market in-depth interviews (continued on next page)

Interview date	Gender	Clothing Item	Participated in Financial Diaries
13.10.09	M	Bras	
13.10.09	F	Children's clothes	Agreed, but did not complete proformas
13.10.09	M, M	Tracksuits	Yes – 2 males working together
13.10.09	M	Jeans	Refused
20.10.09	M	Ladies' tops	
20.10.09	M	Leather jackets	Unavailable
20.10.09	F	Dresses	
20.10.09	M	Children's jeans	
21.10.09	F	Ladies' tops	Yes
21.10.09	M	Ladies'/girls' jeans	
21.10.09	M	Male Polo Shirts	
23.10.09	M	Jeans	Yes
23.10.09	M	Men's Shirts	Yes
23.10.09	F	Ladies' trousers	
30.10.09	F	Children's clothes	Yes
30.10.09	M	Ladies' tops	
03.11.09	M	Ladies' shorts	Yes
05.11.09	F	Bags, new and used	Yes
05.11.09	M	Bed sheets	

Interview date	Gender	Clothing Item	Participated in Financial Diaries
05.11.09	F	Textiles, bed sheets, curtains	Yes
06.11.09	F	Ladies tops and new clothing	
06.11.09	M	Children's T-shirts	Yes
06.11.09	M	Jeans	Yes
06.11.09	F	Bags, new and used	Yes

Appendix V. Sales proforma for financial diary phase 1. (Modified to fit page)

Controlo de vendas / *Sales record*

Semana 1 / *Week 1*

Nome do vendedor: / *Name of vendor*	
Tipo de roupa que vende: / *Type of clothing sold*	
Custo típico: / *typical costs*	
Dias da semana / *Days of the week*	Vendas / *sales*
Segunda Feira / *Monday*	
Terça Feira /*Tuesday*	

Appendix VI. Expenditure proforma for financial diary phase 1. (Modified to fit page)

Controlo de custos diários / Expenditure record

Semana 1 / *Week 1*

Nome do vendedor: / *Name of vendor*	
Tipo de roupa que vende: / *Type of clothing sold*	
Taxas, rendas e impostos / *Fees, rent and charges* Taxa diária: /*Daily fee* Taxa seminal: /*Weekly fee* Taxa mensal: /*Monthly fee* Renda mensal: /*Monthly rent* Outras: /*Others*	
Dias da semana / *Days of the week*	
Segunda Feira / *Monday*	