

# Helping or hindering?

## Controversies around the international second-hand clothing trade

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Fig. 1. Changa changa (baby clothes) seller at Chawama market, Lusaka, Zambia.



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2002

The international second-hand clothing trade has a long history, yet it is only very recently that its changing cultural and economic nexus has become the focus of substantive work, at the point of either collection or consumption (see, for example, Haggblade 1990, Hansen 1994, Milgram 2004, Norris 2003). Although second-hand clothes have been around in much of Africa since the early colonial period, I found almost no social science scholarship on this trade when I began examining it in relationship to Zambia in the early 1990s. Were it not for articles in news media from the last two decades, I would never have been able to trace recent shifts in this trade, both at its source in the West and its end-point in Zambia (Hansen 2000).

The international second-hand clothing trade is a commodity trade subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand in domestic and foreign markets. Yet the news stories about this trade that I came across rarely changed. Shrouding the export of second-hand clothing in a rhetoric of giving and helping, news accounts hide the economic process – including the cultural construction of demand – from view. Above all, the news story tends to hand down moral judgment about everyone involved: people in the West who donate clothing to charitable groups, the not-for-profit organizations which resell the major part of their huge donated clothing stock, and the commercial textile recyclers, graders, exporters and importers who earn their living from marketing clothing that was initially donated. And at the receiving end, ordinary people in poor countries like Zambia are chided for buying imported second-hand clothing instead of supporting domestic textile and garment industries.

International and local concerns about second-hand clothing imports to the Third World cannot be ignored. They matter, but perhaps not in the way that has been most vocally argued. This article briefly examines some of the arguments about the negative effects of such imports. I describe the organization of the global trade, discuss some recent anthropological studies, and turn to Zambia for an account of the trade's impact on local livelihoods.

### The second-hand clothing trade

In the West today, the second-hand clothing trade in both domestic and foreign markets is dominated by not-for-profit organizations and textile recycling/grading firms. Charitable organizations are the largest single source of the garments that fuel the international trade in second-hand clothing, through sales of a large proportion – between 40 and 75 per cent, depending on whom you talk to – of their clothing donations. The textile recyclers and graders purchase used clothing in bulk from the enormous volumes gathered by the charitable organizations, and they also buy surplus clothing from resale stores.

The bulk of this clothing is destined for a new life in the second-hand clothing export market. Poor-quality, worn and damaged garments are processed into fibres or wiping rags for industrial use. At their warehouses and sorting plants, the clothing recyclers sort clothing by garment type, fabric and quality. Special period clothing is set aside to be purchased by domestic and foreign buyers on the lookout for stylish garments for the changing vintage market. The remainder is usually compressed into standard 50-kg bales, although some firms compress bales of much greater weight, usually containing unsorted clothing. The lowest-quality clothing goes to Africa and medium-quality to Latin America, while Japan receives a large proportion of top-quality items.

The economic power and global scope of the second-hand clothing trade have increased enormously since the early 1990s, in the wake of the liberalization of many Third World economies, and following the sudden rise in demand from former Eastern bloc countries. Between 1980 and 2001 the worldwide trade grew more than sevenfold (from a value of US\$207 million to \$1,498 million [United Nations 1996, 2003]).<sup>1</sup> The United States is the world's largest exporter in terms of both volume and value,<sup>2</sup> followed in 2001 by Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium-Luxembourg and the Netherlands (United Nations 2003). United States' exports more than doubled between 1990 and 1997, from a value of US\$174 million to \$390 million (United Nations 1996, 1999), declining by 2001 to \$268 million (UN 2003).

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Figs 2 and 3. Clothing collection bins in Evanston, Illinois, placed by the Gaia Movement. The Gaia Movement is an offshoot of Humana, UFF, a Scandinavian NGO whose projects in Europe and many Third World countries have been the subject of legal challenges in the United Kingdom, Belgium, and Denmark.



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2001

KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2001

The countries of sub-Saharan Africa form the world's largest second-hand clothing destination, receiving close to 30 per cent of total world exports in 2001, with a value of US\$405 million, up from \$117 million in 1990 (United Nations 1996, 2003). Almost 25 per cent of world exports in 2001 went to Asia, where Malaysia, Singapore, Pakistan and Hong Kong are large net importers (United Nations 2003). Other major importers include Syria and Jordan in the Middle East, and a number of countries in Latin America. The export trade is not exclusively targeted at the Third World: sizeable exports go to Japan, Belgium-Luxembourg and the Netherlands, which all import and re-export this commodity. In fact Europe, including Eastern Europe and the former USSR, imports about 31 per cent, slightly more than Africa's share of world totals (United Nations 2003).

Many large importers of second-hand clothing in South and Southeast Asia, such as Pakistan and Hong Kong, are also textile and garment exporters, putting an interesting spin on arguments about the negative effects of used clothing imports on domestic textile and garment industries. This is also the case with some African countries, for example Kenya and Uganda, which are large importers of second-hand clothing but also have textile and garment manufacturing firms that export to the United States under the duty-/quota-free provisions of the African Growth and Opportunity Act.<sup>3</sup>

### Second-hand clothing in the news

Ministries of trade and commerce, customs departments, textile and garment workers' unions and manufacturers' associations from Poland through Pakistan to the

Philippines take issue with second-hand clothing imports. Some of their objections involve hygiene and public health issues, for example the Latvian ban, in 2001, on imports of second-hand clothing and footwear from countries in Europe affected by foot-and-mouth disease (Baltic News Service 2001). The government of Tanzania recently banned the import of used underwear, in order to prevent 'skin problems and even venereal diseases' (Agence France Presse 2003), insisting that it would check consignments to ensure that the 'offending garments' were not imported (*New York Times* 2004).

By far the most frequently raised issue is the adverse effect of used clothing imports on domestic textile and garment industries. Second-hand clothing imports are banned in Indonesia because of the threat they pose to local garment production (Indonesian National News Agency 2002). Poland's growing demand for, and re-export of, second-hand clothes to the former Soviet republics led clothing manufacturers to attribute their industry's decline to this trade (*Warsaw Voice* 2002). Second-hand clothing disrupts the retail, clothing and garment industry according to the Clothing and Allied Workers Union in Lesotho (*Africa News* 15 May 2002), where many Southeast Asian-owned factories manufacture garments for export, several of them under AGOA provisions. Philippine law forbids the import of used clothing that the ministry of industry and trade views as a threat to textile industries (*BusinessWorld*, 19 March 2003).

Most strikingly, allegations about the dumping effects of imported used clothing demonstrate widespread ignorance about the economic dynamics of the trade. And even in the absence of medical evidence, popular suspicion in some

Fig. 4 (left). Conveyor belt and sorting bins at second-hand clothing sorting plant, New York.

Fig 5 (right). 500-kilogram bales of unsorted clothing in ragmaker's warehouse, Chicago.



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2003

KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2003





Fig. 6. Selection of vintage clothing at second-hand clothing sorting plant, New York.

1. The chief source, United Nations commodity trade statistics on used clothing based on reports from individual countries, is incomplete and must be approached with caution. There is a widespread tendency to underestimate used clothing consignments in terms of both volume and value. Country-specific statistics on imports are not very accurate because of illegal practices, including cross-border smuggling. While there are no United Nations statistics on used clothing donated for charitable export in international crisis situations, a proportion of these clothes is sold on arrival in commercial markets.

2. A specialist from the US Commerce Department suggested that the official figure for second-hand clothing exports represents only what is shipped in compressed bales, and that the total export, including garments used as filler or smuggled, is twice as large (Hansen 2000).

3. The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) came into effect in 2000, to cover an eight-year period. AGOA imports accounted for half of all US imports from sub-Saharan Africa in 2002, three-quarters of which were petroleum products. Textiles and clothing accounted for less than one per cent of AGOA exports, a tiny percentage of overall garment imports into the US (Feldman 2003).

countries – especially in this time of HIV/AIDS – that used clothing spreads disease feeds into discourses about clothing and bodies. I heard many poorly informed economic arguments about this trade in Zambia during the time when second-hand clothing imports were growing rapidly in the early 1990s. One clothing manufacturer, for instance, complained that the import was ‘killing local industry’. Like many others, he pleaded with the government to ‘create a level playing field’, either by banning or increasing tariffs on a commodity entering the country as ‘donated’ clothing (Hansen 2000: 235). A union representative from Lesotho expressed a similar misconception when he explained that ‘in most cases, this clothing leaves its overseas destinies [*sic*] to be donated to the poor and destitute in the developing countries, but end up in market stalls’ (*Africa News* 15 May 2002).

Many countries forbid the import of second-hand clothing, while others restrict the volume or limit it to charitable purposes rather than resale. Regardless of import rules, and because borders are porous, smuggling and other illegal practices accompany the trade. Illegal imports of second-hand clothing and shoes into the Philippines are alleged to hide drugs (*BusinessWorld* 7 September 2001). In Pakistan, where used clothing imports are legal, under-invoicing and imports of new clothes from Southeast Asia make it impossible for local garment manufacturers to compete, as brand-new goods enter the country with customs declarations as second-hand clothes (Pakistan Newswire 2001). The Nigerian customs service has seized containers of prohibited goods, including second-hand clothes, entering with false cus-

toms declarations (*Africa News* 1 September 2003).

Journalists in the West string such news into a largely negative story. But these accounts can be qualified with reference to aggregate worldwide trade figures as well as to specific country situations. A recent study questioned the claim that imported second-hand garments flood the clothing markets in developing countries, highlighting the very small proportion of total world trade in textiles and garments made up by second-hand clothing, and pointing out that, as we noted above, imports are not targeted solely at the Third World (Bigsten and Wicks 1996). Such observations do not by themselves tell us much, but they do invite closer investigation at continental, regional and national levels. The salient questions become empirical, hinging on the relationship of domestic textile and garment industries and informal-sector tailoring to permitted and illegal imports of textiles, new garments and used clothing. Widely varying customs and tariff regulations affect supply of these commodities, which is ultimately shaped by local cultural issues around demand.

Some of these dynamics are illustrated in a study by Steven Haggblade, a development economist who studied Rwanda in the 1980s, before the civil wars, when the country was the world’s fifth largest net importer by value of second-hand clothing, and the largest in sub-Saharan Africa (Haggblade 1990). Rwanda is a special case, as it had no textile and garment manufacturing industry. The 88 per cent employment loss in informal-sector tailoring was compensated by better paid work in distributing second-hand clothing. The second-hand clothing trade created jobs in handling, cleaning, repairing and restyling. Value-added comparisons suggested that the used clothing trade increased national income, providing higher returns to labour than tailoring. The trade also generated government revenue from import tariffs and market fees. Last but not least, low-income rural and urban consumers were able to buy not only more, but better-quality clothes. These observations, according to Haggblade, provide ‘grounds for cautious optimism that used clothing imports [in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa without large domestic textile industries] may offer a modest but rare policy lever for directly increasing not only national income but also incomes of the rural poor’ (1990: 517). Haggblade suggests that while income growth in the Third World over the long term might reduce the demand for second-hand clothing, in the short term these imports might constitute an important element of clothing markets in situations marked by skewed income distributions and economic decline.

### Imported second-hand clothing in local contexts

Anthropologists have made passing reference to the recent flourishing of second-hand clothing markets. In the Andes, for example, second-hand garments are among the many styles of ‘ethnic cross-dressing’ exhibited by distinct local groups today on different occasions (see Zorn forthcoming). A favourite pastime of young Tonga Islanders in the Pacific is attending Saturday-morning flea markets to buy clothes, shoes and cosmetics. Most of the clothes are second-hand, shipped to the islands in containers by relatives who live in Britain and the United States. The flea market creates business enterprise and offers young shoppers the excitement of developing their own style, distinct from the dominant Christian-influenced dress conventions (Addo 2003).

While anthropologists have noted the presence of imported second-hand clothing, they have mostly stopped short of examining it in the larger context of its sourcing, distribution and consumption. Recent works begin to do just that, casting a new light on the process which contrasts with the repeated negative accounts in the popular media.



Fig. 7. Compression of 500-kilogram bale of second-hand clothing at sorting plant near Utrecht, the Netherlands.





Fig. 8 (left). Shopping for second-hand clothing at the weekly Saturday market, Banaue, Ifugao province, northern Philippines.

Fig. 9 (right). Totting up accounts in second-hand clothing shop in Banaue, Ifugao province, northern Philippines.



Fig. 10. Baby blanket in fluffed acrylic wool made from poor-quality wool rags and nylon, Panipat, Punjab, India.

Fig. 11. Woman's silk outfit made from recycled saris by Pummy Traders, Delhi, India.



The Philippines forbid the import of second-hand clothing, yet the trade has grown in the wake of the shift to democratic government in 1986. Second-hand clothing from North America, Europe, Australia and Japan is shipped in containers to Manila and Cebu, where the bales are retailed illegally. Some used clothing is shipped via Hong Kong, which sources used clothing both internationally and from local charitable organizations. Much of this clothing reaches the Philippines in individually addressed boxes, known as *balikbayan* (a term used for returning contract workers), of standard size for airline check-in, each of which contains the duty-free allowance of personal effects contract workers may bring with them on their return.

The number of second-hand clothing stores in northern Luzon grew dramatically between the mid- and late 1990s, when B. Lynne Milgram noticed the attraction of *ukay-ukay* or *wagwag* (meaning to dig or to shake and sell), as both a small-scale business enterprise for women and a source of trendy clothing (Milgram forthcoming). As a collection and distribution hub, Banguio City in northern Luzon is an important retail centre. The second-hand clothing trade is largely in women's hands, and Milgram explains that it provides women with new opportunities for self-employment. The traders organize their enterprises through personalized relations, often based on kin, social networks and associations that they draw on locally, and similarly personalized contacts with wholesalers and importers. The women's active work, harnessing economic capital from this international trade to support the household, offers a stark contrast to the image of the powerless Filipina woman as foreign contract worker in domestic service across Southeast Asia and beyond, her overseas employment a major source of revenue for the Philippines' declining economy.

Controlling an important part of the dress market, women traders in second-hand clothing offer customers an attractive alternative to new factory-produced garments. Combining second-hand garments into dress styles that display knowledge of wider clothing practice or alter their meanings, traders and consumers refashion this imported commodity to express their personal and community identities (Milgram forthcoming). The trade resonates widely with popular culture. Although the Federation of

Philippine Industries complains that used clothing creates tough competition for local textile and garment industries, the mayor of Banguio City sponsored a 'wagwagian festival' as part of the city's 92nd anniversary in September 2001 (*BusinessWorld* 7 September 2001).

India forbids the import of second-hand clothing – yet it permits the import of wool fibres, including 'mutilated hosiery', a trade term for woollen garments shredded by machine in the West prior to export. The production of shoddy, a process developed in Britain in the 18th century that turned clothes into fibres which were then spun into recycled yarn, shifted to Italy, to the region outside of Florence, in the late 19th century when Prato became the world's wool regeneration centre. Today most of this recycling is done in northern India, on old machinery exported from Italy.

Tracing the flow between India and the West, Lucy Norris studies two processes: the import of Western rags that constitute the raw material from which new 'Indian' products are manufactured, and the recycling of Indian clothing (Norris 2003). She examines how imported 'mutilated' fabrics, after they have been sorted by colour, shredded, carded and spun, reappear as threads for blankets, knitting yarn, and woollen fabrics for local consumption and export. Domestic recycling of Indian clothing involves barter, hand-me-downs, donations and resale. Consumers donate their still wearable clothing to the poor or barter it for household goods. Saris with intricate borders are transformed into new garments and household items for niche markets in the West, while the remains of cotton clothing are shipped abroad as industrial wiping rags.

The raw material of imported and domestic second-hand clothing gets a new life through recycling and a variety of processes that create employment at many levels of the Indian economy. By establishing links between specific global economic domains and clothing recycling in India, Norris's work casts an illuminating light on the growth of an informal economy that turns used garments into industrial rags, reassembles fabrics for interior decoration and manufactures 'Indian' fashions for tourists. In the process, an export supply chain has emerged, formalizing what had begun as an informal trade (Norris 2003). The work of both Milgram and Norris shifts the debate from asserting





Fig. 12 (left). Manufacturers' labels, charity shop tags and trimmings – leftovers from the cutting up of wool garments, Panipat, Punjab, India.

Fig. 13 (right). Man's silk outfit made from recycled saris by Pummy Traders, Delhi, India.



straightforward causal connections between second-hand clothing imports and the decline of the local textile and garment industry to address broader questions about how local traders and consumers create a place for themselves in today's interconnected global economy.

#### 'Killing' local industry in Zambia?

In a couple of recent media accounts about Zambia, second-hand clothing imports are used as an example of the negative effects of the neo-liberal market, alleged to be killing the local textile and garment industry (*Washington Post* 2002), or as a metaphor for the adverse effects of the policies of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and 'America' on the lives of the country's many poor people (Bloemen 2001). As I explain below, such accounts fail to take into account local perceptions about the availability of second-hand clothing as an improvement of livelihoods. A real exception to such accounts from small-town Zambia highlights local views on

second-hand clothing: because 'no two items look alike', it enables people to dress smartly (*Guardian* 2004).

Zambia has permitted the import of second-hand clothing since the mid- to late 1980s, when the centrally controlled economy began to open up. The term *salaula* (meaning, in the Bemba language, to select from a pile in the manner of rummaging) came into use at that time. Imports grew rapidly in the early 1990s, and came to form the largest share of both urban and rural markets. According to a clothing consumption survey I conducted in 1995 in the capital, Lusaka, three-quarters of the urban population bought the vast majority of garments for their households from second-hand clothing markets (Hansen 2000).

It is easy, but too facile, to blame *salaula* for the dismal performance of Zambia's textile and clothing industry. Numerous textile and garment manufacturers closed down in the early 1990s, not because of *salaula* imports but because they were already moribund. When government



Fig. 14. Open-air trading in second-hand clothing at Kamwala market, with Lusaka's skyline in the background. This section of the market was demolished in April 1999.



Fig. 15. Fifty-kilogram bales of second-hand clothing imported from the United Kingdom at wholesaler's warehouse, Lusaka, Zambia.



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2002

protection gave way to free-market principles in the transition to multi-party politics in 1991, the industry was in a precarious state. Its heavy dependence on imported raw materials, its capital intensity, inappropriate technology, poor management and lack of skilled labour, especially in textile printing, resulted in gross under-utilization of capacity. The new government was slow to improve circumstances for the industry. High interest rates, lack of domestic credit and high import tariffs on new machinery and raw materials such as dyes, chemicals and artificial fibres made it difficult for the industry to rehabilitate its outmoded equipment and manufacture goods at a price consumers could afford – not to mention of a quality and style they were willing to purchase. The firms that survived rationalized production towards niche markets such as industrial clothing and protective wear. On the verge of collapse, the two major textile plants were taken over by Chinese investors in the late 1990s.

With the open economy offering readily available affordable, high-quality, good-looking printed textiles imported from South and Southeast Asia, the textile plants ceased printing *chitenge* (colourful cloth widely used for wraps and women's dresses) for the local market,

concentrating instead on production of loom-state cloth for export mainly to the European market. In the mid-1990s, manufacturers complained not only about *salaula* but about 'cheap imports' in general, alleging unfair subsidies and dumping by Southeast Asian manufacturers. Imported goods and extensive smuggling led to the closure of local firms producing tyres, industrial chemicals and toiletries, among other items. While the growing import of *salaula* in the first half of the 1990s served as an easy scapegoat for the decline of Zambia's textile and garment factories, the experience of other industries in recent years reveals general problems facing the manufacturing sector in the era of economic liberalization.

Zambia is one of the world's least developed countries, in United Nations terms. Development economists would be inclined to view the growth of the second-hand clothing market in Zambia as a response to economic decline. While this observation is accurate, there is much more involved here than cheap clothing. Such an account fails to do justice to the opportunities this vast import trade offers for income generation in distribution, retail and associated activities, as well as for consumers to construct identity through dress.

My research in Lusaka's large markets, in some provincial towns and at rural sites where people are wage-employed clearly demonstrates the economic importance of *salaula* retailing in Zambia's declining economy (Hansen 2000). The reduction in public- and private-sector employment and the decline in manufacturing jobs have drawn old and young job-seekers of both sexes to second-hand clothing distribution and allied activities. Urban *salaula* traders employ workers or pay for the upkeep of young relatives to help them run their business. When constructing market stalls, they purchase timber and plastic sheeting from other traders. They buy metal clothes hangers from small-scale entrepreneurs, and snacks, water and beverages from itinerant vendors. Young men carrying *salaula* bales on their heads or hauling them in 'Zam-cabs' (wheelbarrows) move goods from wholesale outlets to markets or bus stations for transport to peri-urban townships and more distant locations.

The displacement of employment from tailoring to second-hand clothing distribution that Haggblade observed in Rwanda has not occurred in the same way in Zambia. While *salaula* has put some small-scale tailors out of work, it has kept many others busy with repairs and alterations, including the transformation of *salaula* into differently styled garments. Above all, the growth of the *salaula* market has challenged tailors to move into specialized production of garments and styles not readily found in *salaula*: women's *chitenge* cloth ensembles, two-piece office outfits, large sizes, inexpensive trousers, girls' party dresses, and many more – styles that they find it easy to produce because of the ready availability of a wide range of fabrics whose import was restricted in the days of the centralized economy.

When I completed this research in 1998, the *salaula* trade appeared to have settled in Zambia. Imports had stabilized, no longer increasing from year to year. Government efforts to create a level playing field for industry had led to increased import tariffs rather than prohibition. The textile plants began to print *chitenge* cloth again. Efforts were being made to improve the collection of daily stall fees in established markets, including from *salaula* traders who comprise the single largest market segment across the country. *Salaula* was rarely a subject of debate in the local media.

Conducting research in Lusaka on an unrelated subject every year since 2000, I still take time to follow developments in the second-hand clothing trade. In retailing and distribution in 2003, stallholders at Soweto market,



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 2002

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Fig. 16. Women's underwear and men's shirts for sale at the second-hand clothing market in Chawama, Lusaka, Zambia.



Fig. 17. Tailor making sweatshirts from scraps of unmatched used sweatpants. Soweto market, Lusaka, Zambia.

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*Washington Post* 2002. The dumping ground. 21 April.

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Fig. 18. Second-hand clothing trader making mats from fabric scraps.



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 1997

Lusaka's largest, employed proportionately more workers than in the 1990s. In a snap survey of every tenth stallholder, my assistant and I found workers and helpers everywhere, with some traders employing several workers. Some stallholders, especially men, have consolidated, combining numerous stalls where they sell different types of garments, displayed in the manner of a department store floor. And while Zambian consumers today have access to many more imported garments, especially inexpensive new clothes from Southeast Asia, than when I began my study in 1992, they all go to *salaula* markets for value for money, everyday fashions and more. In the view of consumers, garments from *salaula* are 'incomparable' and 'not common'.

Clearly, much more is involved in the growth of second-hand clothing imports in a country like Zambia, and probably elsewhere, than the purchase of inexpensive garments to cover basic clothing needs. Clothing is central to the sense of well-being among all sectors of the population. Zambia's rural areas, where basic necessities were scarce throughout the 1980s, were described in 1992 with some enthusiasm: 'there is even *salaula* now' (Hansen 1994: 521). People in Zambia approach second-hand clothing as a highly desirable consumer good, and incorporate the garments they carefully select into their dress universe on the basis of local norms of judgment and style. In short, second-hand clothing practices involve clothing-conscious consumers in efforts to change their lives for the better.

### Where are the consumers?

While the transition from a centrally controlled to an open economy was shaped by Zambia's particular political, economic and cultural background, that country's experience with second-hand clothing imports highlights issues that are pertinent elsewhere. At the level of production, we see a moribund textile and garment industry unable to compete with clothing imports, including *salaula* and low-priced garments from Asia. When the industry upgrades to target the export market, as with the Zambian case of EU export subsidy on loom-state cloth, or with countries like Uganda, Kenya and Lesotho which export clothing under AGOA provisions to the United States, the end consumer is non-local — as are the investors who receive government infrastructure support, tax breaks and other privileges to set up export ventures (many come from Asian countries

with limited quotas on textile and garment exports to the United States). But EU and AGOA export programmes are temporary. And while they employ local workers, especially women, they do so on terms that have fuelled labour disputes over working conditions, much as in factories in Mexico and Southeast Asia's free trade zones. Wages everywhere are low, and it is not in the least surprising that countries with export-oriented production such as Malaysia, Pakistan and Kenya also import second-hand clothing. The revision to the popular media's account of the dangers used clothing imports pose to local industries that I offer here suggests that, by and large, domestic textile and garment manufacturing firms and second-hand clothing imports do not target the same consumers.

The single most striking point about accounts of the negative effects of the second-hand clothing trade appearing in local and Western news media is their lack of curiosity about the clothes themselves and how consumers deal with them. In effect, in these accounts the clothes are entirely incidental. Aside from their utilitarian value for money, what in fact accounts for the attractions of imported second-hand clothing? The points of view of local consumers command our attention, if we are to understand why clothing, in particular, is central to discussions about democratization and liberalization. ●



KAREN TRANBERG HANSEN 1997