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Mitumba Institute &  
Research Centre

# KENYA'S SECOND-HAND CLOTHING INDUSTRY

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A Report on Boosting Jobs and Growth Through the Mitumba Trade



**The main argument of this report is that the Kenyan Second-Hand Clothing (SHC) industry is a job creation machine.**

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The continuing growth of the mitumba trade will ensure more jobs and improved living standards for millions of ordinary Kenyans. The main argument of this report is that the Kenyan Second-Hand Clothing (SHC) industry is a job creation machine. But more should be done to realise its potential. Because the sector is employment-intensive, the growth of the mitumba trade has the potential to generate a vast range of jobs throughout the supply chain. Creating more jobs and raising living standards are among the most pivotal challenges facing Kenya given the high level of unemployment, especially youth unemployment, made worse by the devastating Covid-19 pandemic. The principal benefits of a strong domestic SHC sector for Kenya are:

- The creation of an estimated two million jobs according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics out of 17.4 million workers employed in Kenya in 2020 (largely in the informal sector). The income of mitumba traders helps to sustain millions of households.
- Providing additional jobs for women as mitumba traders. Offering more jobs to women strengthens household incomes. In Kenya, more than 80 per cent of women are employed in the informal sector<sup>1</sup>. Research by the UN demonstrates how hard women in Kenya were hit by the Covid-19 pandemic, where they were twice as likely to lose their income compared to men<sup>2</sup>. Women need more opportunities to earn the living that the SHC industry provides.



<sup>1</sup><https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/ban-on-mitumba-will-deal-death-blow-to-survival-of-poor-women-332616>

<sup>2</sup><https://data.unwomen.org/publications/covid-19-gender-assessment-kenya>

- Paying an estimated 12 billion Kenyan shillings in tax each year, helping to fund government services and infrastructure.
- Offering low-cost clothing options for the poorest in society, as well as wealthy consumers who want to access environmentally sustainable and fashionable clothing.

At present, however, Kenya is not realising the real potential of the SHC sector. This report contends that the Government of Kenya must do more to protect the mitumba trade, helping and supporting traders across the country. The industry does not fear competition or open markets. Yet currently, the mitumba trade - in contrast to other SME sectors – has less protection and status. Those selling SHC in Kenya tend not to be organized: the Mitumba Association plays a vital role in giving traders a voice. Even so, mitumba traders struggle to have influence. They pay heavy duties to the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA). Import taxes, duties, and Value Added Tax (VAT) on mitumba wear remain high.

In the past, politicians altered the rules for the sector without adequate consultation, as demonstrated by the Covid pandemic. They showed relatively little interest in developing the markets where mitumba is sold. And some even expressed a wish to ban the import of mitumba. In the first wave of the pandemic from March to August 2020, the Kenyan Bureau of Standards (KEBS) imposed a prohibition on the importation of SHC. The disruption created by the pandemic in the sector was already considerable. If the import ban had continued, millions of jobs would have been lost.



**This report contends that the Government of Kenya must do more to protect the mitumba trade, helping and supporting traders across the country.**

## Kenya and other East African Community (EAC) member countries planned to reduce reliance on second-hand clothing by advancing policies to ban or restrict the trade.

In the past, harm was inflicted on the mitumba industry in the belief that there was a trade-off between the success of domestic textile production and the success of the SHC sector. Kenya and other East African Community (EAC) member countries planned to reduce reliance on second-hand clothing by advancing policies to ban or restrict the trade. The aim was to promote domestic textile production. Yet while governments can prohibit the importation of SHC, there is little evidence that such policies benefit the domestic textile industry or the living standards of ordinary workers. All the evidence suggests that protectionism undermines productivity growth and stifles innovation in product markets. In so far as there is a competitive threat to the Kenyan textile industry, it comes from globalisation and the importation of 'fast fashion' products from East Asia. It is the global market for cheap clothing that poses a challenge to the domestic textile sector rather than the SHC industry.

Instead of ignoring the industry while introducing regulatory changes that damage the mitumba trade, the SHC sector needs clear and consistent rules from government. Policy-makers must recognise that expanding the SHC industry will potentially create hundreds of thousands of new jobs, but it requires strategic government support to promote the sector's expansion. Government policies shape the business and entrepreneurial environment in which mitumba traders operate.

The route to job growth lies in fully supporting the sector, including investing in key infrastructure and skills. The development of new sorting centres in Kenya is critical for the SHC industry. Modernised facilities will allow Kenya to satisfy domestic demand while exporting clothes more efficiently to high-demand markets in the United States and Europe. It is particularly important for governments to focus on expanding state-of-the-art sorting centres: 'Sorting facilities will help realise East African nation's goal of becoming among the leading high-value, high-wage, and high-skill economies in Africa', according to Teresia Wairimu, the chair of the Mitumba Association of Kenya.

Within Kenya, the development of mitumba retail markets for consumers will further aid job creation and growth. Improvements to infrastructure are required, not least upgrading the markets



where SHC are sold while enabling the expansion of new retail outlets for such clothing. The Kenyan Government is well placed to make progress, but it is hoped other member-states in the region will follow. The gains for the East African economy in jobs and rising living standards are likely to be significant. Kenya is the regional leader for the SHC industry and will clearly benefit from policies that grow the industry; other countries will gain too. The establishment of Sorting Centre hubs in the region has the potential to create a significant number of additional jobs. Evidence for the success of Sorting Centres in Poland and Pakistan indicates that strengthening the infrastructure for SHC production and distribution will lead to significant economic gains.



This report is organised as follows. Section 1 draws on up-to-date evidence to provide an assessment of the strategic position of the SHC industry in Kenya. Section 2 analyses the potential for future growth by developing mitumba retail markets for consumers, and creating modernised sorting centres in Kenya. The final section of the report outlines how governments can best support the mitumba industry to help create more jobs in the future, concluding with practical recommendations for government policy. In summary, the key recommendations are:

- Give the mitumba industry a voice at the heart of government.
- Consult fully before imposing regulatory changes.
- Reduce duties on SHC imports to their previous level.
- Invest in business infrastructure making mitumba markets cleaner, safer, more accessible and better organised.
- Strengthen training in skills for mitumba workers.
- Above all, the mitumba industry needs support from government, acknowledging its critical role in providing jobs and supporting livelihoods for the people of Kenya.

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**Demand for SHC is rising sharply within developed western countries as environmentally conscious consumers increasingly favour recycled clothing that has a less detrimental impact on the climate.**

## **Section 1: The SHC industry in Kenya**

### **Introduction**

This section of the report begins by briefly outlining the background to the SHC industry in Africa, East Africa and Kenya, and the nature of mitumba markets in this region of the world economy. Demand for SHC is rising sharply within developed western countries as environmentally conscious consumers increasingly favour recycled clothing that has a less detrimental impact on the climate. The scale of international wholesale trade in second-hand garments is estimated to be between two and four million tonnes of used items per year, and has been increasing exponentially despite the disruptive impact of the pandemic. The annual value of the trade was estimated in 2016 to be up to \$3.4 billion but is now approximately \$8 billion.

### **Africa**

In Sub-Saharan Africa, SHC accounts for more than half the clothing trade (Brooks 2015). SHC is now a massive global industry while hugely popular in Africa. The key driver of sectoral growth for SHC is rising consumer demand. The industry's development is shaped by the forces of supply and demand, including strong consumer demand within Africa and around the world. There are several major importers in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) including Ghana, Benin, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Each absorbed between 2 per cent and 4 per cent of world exports of used clothing (Hassan 2014).

Meanwhile, the most important markets for clothing manufactured in Africa are situated in more affluent nations outside the continent. Trade agreements such as the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) have led to increased growth and output, which is welcome. Yet these markets do not necessarily serve the needs of African consumers. Many consumers in Africa continue to have weak purchasing power and need access to clothing provided through the SHC industry (Rivoli 2014).

### **East African Community**

There is strong demand from within East African Community (EAC) countries for affordable and high-quality second-hand clothing products. It is acknowledged that East Africa has one of the largest used clothing markets. Four-fifths of those living here wear second-hand clothing, mainly imported from the USA, Europe, India and



Pakistan. The environmental benefit of such reuse is only now being acknowledged. It is vital to promote a buoyant second-hand clothing sector.

The EAC is a regional partnership of six member-states: Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. The EAC guides the movement of goods, services and people across East Africa. In the past, the EAC has sought to impose a ban on the import of SHC to boost local manufacturing. This decision was never fully enacted due to the threat of retaliation from the United States under the AGOA arrangement. But the EAC did agree to increase the duty on SHC to 35 per cent in an effort to support the regional textile industry.

### Kenya

Kenya is the largest importer of second-hand clothing in East Africa. In 2019, for example, 185,000 tonnes of second-hand clothing were imported into Kenya. In Kenya, 2.5 per cent of all discretionary personal spending is allocated to clothing (an average of KES 4150 per person). SHC is filling a gap not only for 40 per cent of the population who do not have sufficient income to regularly purchase new clothing but for more affluent consumers that prefer SHC. Meanwhile, Kenya imported the highest volume of second-hand clothing - not from the United States or Europe but from China between 2016 and 2020.

### Households and consumers

In Kenya, second-hand clothes are the lifeblood of households. They are worn by almost all consumers regardless of status (Consumer interview, April 2022). Countries will import used clothing for personal use while exporting it to neighbouring countries. Meanwhile, mitumba is not just a clothing culture: it is a major source of income for traders and households (Consumer interview, May 2022).

The sector also supports key supply chains while creating jobs throughout the economy in transportation, financial services, energy generation and food. The number of jobs created in the distribution of SHC, as well as in ancillary jobs derived from the activity in major SHC markets (such as tailors, food vendors, security agents and loaders among others) is remarkable. Estimates from Kenya indicate



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that the SHC industry not only sustains up to two million jobs but supports a value chain that percolates throughout the national economy (Mitumba Association, 2022).

As such, the SHC industry in Kenya is a job creation machine. Entrepreneurs and micro-businesses can enter the market quickly and relatively cheaply. They purchase bundles of clothing for a low price and usually pay less than a Kenyan dollar a day to maintain their pitch at a mitumba market. Traders who start mitumba businesses in Kenya and become successful can then diversify into other sectors, including selling other goods at markets and investing in residential property<sup>3</sup>. The SHC sector provides a ladder of opportunity for those who want to build a better life for themselves and their families.

Not only are millions of jobs created in the sector directly. SHC supports a vast supply chain spanning finance, insurance, transportation, warehousing, research, marketing, and so on. SHC markets such as Gikomba in Nairobi employ around 65,000 workers and support other livelihoods, including those working in food outlets surrounding the market. Meanwhile, more formalised second-hand clothing outlets are also emerging creating further job opportunities in the retail sector.

### ***The textile market in Kenya***

In East Africa, Kenya is the biggest player in the SHC market. There are nearly 8000 SHC retail outlets in Kenya alone. Meanwhile, there are more than 100,000 wholesale merchants supplying clothing stock to locally based retailers buying and selling SHC garments in urban centres and rural areas (Mitumba Association, 2022).

Kenya is also the fourth-largest apparel exporter in Africa (Tyce, 2019) despite there being no ban on second-hand clothing, while the textile sector contributes significantly towards the country's export earnings. Kenya is the largest exporter of apparel under AGOA, with approximately \$600 million in exports in 2017, for example.



<sup>3</sup><https://www.breakingkenyanews.com/2021/09/new-mitumba-markets-give-gikomba-run.html>

These facts challenge the commonly held assumption that there is a trade-off between market strength in SHC and domestic textile manufacturing.

### Conclusion

It is clear that the SHC industry is a major driver of employment and living standards for the Kenyan economy. The sector is a key source of income and jobs due to the employment-intensive nature of the industry. Every job in the SHC sector supports additional jobs in micro-businesses. Many citizens depend for their livelihoods on family members employed in second-hand clothing businesses, while the industry has helped incubate Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs) and encouraged the growth of self-employment. The SHC sector generates tax revenues that are paid to the government, creating additional employment, and significantly increasing consumer purchasing power by providing wages to ordinary Kenyans.



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## Section 2: Potential for Growth

This section of the report addresses the potential for additional growth in the SHC sector to provide even more jobs for the citizens of Kenya. It focuses on two main interventions: the benefits of locating large-scale modernised sorting centres in Kenya given the contribution that they make to a jobs-rich economic recovery. And improving the infrastructure of retail markets for the sale of SHC products to consumers.

### Supporting the SHC sector in Kenya

To increase growth potential, government can do more to support the mitumba trade. Flawed decisions by government will undermine mitumba traders and micro-businesses across the SHC sector. Governments can make it harder for enterprises to operate by constantly changing the rules of how they trade; increasing taxes, red tape and bureaucracy; and making it more difficult for them to grow by failing to improve access to loans and credit. The extent of red tape increases the likelihood of corruption, notably through irregular payments to officials.

In 2016, governments in East Africa raised the duty rate on imported second-hand clothes to 35 per cent. The rationale was that such a measure would help the domestic textile industry, despite the economic evidence that domestic producers in the East African Community (EAC) have been negatively impacted by globalisation rather than the mitumba trade.

### Expanding mitumba markets and retail sales

A major boost to the SHC industry would be provided by making it easier for consumers to shop for and purchase clothing. Vast urban markets such as Gikomba in Nairobi have advantages and are hugely popular with some consumers. Yet they consist of thousands of stalls run by informal traders. The market is often perceived as chaotic and difficult to get around. Although Gikomba is in central Nairobi, markets are often located a considerable distance from the centre of cities with poor transportation links. Recently, several open mitumba markets have been affected by serious fires that destroyed traders' stock. Government support is needed to create more attractive, clean, safe and modern markets. More organised markets would



allow government agencies to monitor the sale and distribution of SHC, closing loopholes and reducing tax evasion. Markets also need to be protected from developers who buy and sell land, potentially threatening the survival of mitumba markets.

Meanwhile, organisations such as Think Twice Kenya are establishing formal SHC retail outlets where consumers can shop in more comfortable surroundings. The Business Manager of the organisation recently stated: 'The idea behind Think Twice is the shopping experience that we offer to customers, by giving a nice environment where it's easy to shop. Once you get to our shops, then you will find the environment that is clean and very friendly. The products are separated into departments, where it will be so easy for you to shop and the prices are clearly indicated'<sup>4</sup>.

All the evidence indicates that mitumba markets such as Gikomba and the new breed of SHC outlets are catering for markedly different segments of the consumer market. The answer is not to undermine or downgrade less formal SHC markets, but to ensure they coexist alongside new SHC shops that are sprouting up all over Kenya.

Another important development in the SHC industry is the emergence of online businesses using platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, given a boost by the Covid pandemic. One trader observed: 'Many people are still working from home and spending substantial time making online purchases. My clients cut across different age demographics and locations'<sup>5</sup>. A new generation of young entrepreneurs in Kenya, many of them university graduates, are developing online mitumba businesses selling direct to consumers. This is another example of the huge employment creation potential of the SHC sector.

### Modernised sorting centres

Boosting the potential for SHC sector growth also means addressing supply-chain infrastructure. A key element of the supply chain for reusable clothing is the role of sorting centres. In two interviews for this report – with a wholesaler and a large vendor of second-hand clothing – the value of having more local Sorting Centres was again emphasised. More of the mitumba production chain needs to be in East Africa.



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<sup>4</sup><https://moolah.co.ke/2022/03/a-different-way-to-sell-mitumba/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.breakingkenyanews.com/2021/09/new-mitumba-markets-give-gikomba-run.html>

**These clothes are often high quality. The sorting centres sell sorted goods at their own shops and export them to African or Asian markets.**

Sorting centres for SHC are a production facility where clothes are sorted into a vast number of categories: SHC bales are sold on the Kenyan market, while other products are deemed suitable for different markets all over the world. The importation of SHC undergoes robust control measures including pre-shipment inspection and fumigation. Sorting centres purchase second-hand clothes directly from Europe and the US. These clothes are often high quality. The sorting centres sell sorted goods at their own shops and export them to African or Asian markets. Only 5 per cent of sorted second-hand goods constitute waste that cannot be recycled.

Operating a sorting centre is an efficient way to create additional jobs. Commercial sorting centres, where second-hand clothes are graded, are currently all located outside Africa. The main hubs are in South Asia, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands and Hungary. This is despite the fact that Africa has one of the largest used clothing markets in the world. A single sorting centre will on average create 400-500 jobs. If all imported second-hand clothes had been sorted in Kenya instead of outside Africa, that would create additional employment opportunities.

This report argues that more sorting centres should be established in Kenya, supplying local markets with good quality second-hand clothing. Sorting centres will supply the wider world by exporting second-hand clothes back to western countries (where the second-hand clothing market is growing quickly), or to other emerging economies in Asia and Latin America.

Companies are exploring how best to appeal to consumers who are environmentally conscious and sustainability-oriented. The emphasis is on materials being collected and reused whenever possible. The global market for the mitumba industry in Kenya to exploit is vast. In Europe and North America, for example, a high volume of SHC is sold locally. The market in the United States has grown twenty-one times faster than retail sales of new clothes over the past three years alone. It is currently worth in the region of \$24 billion and is expected to be valued at \$51 billion by 2025.



## Sorting centres and job opportunities in Kenya

There are a huge variety of relatively skilled well paid jobs and administrative positions at sorting centres. More sorting centres located in Kenya would create the following job opportunities:

**Sorters:** The sorters are the heart of a sorting centre. They sort clothes items by size, colour, and type while at the same time examining them for defects, including holes and stains.

**Quality controllers:** Quality controllers are handpicked among the best of the sorters. Their work is to check the quality of the clothes.

**Forklift drivers:** Forklift drivers offload the containers arriving at the warehouse in large 300-400kg bags. This is a particularly skilled role.

**Floor men:** Floor men move clothes between the main sorting and fine sorting tables, moving the sorted clothes to the packing area or the baling machines.

**Baling machine operators:** Good quality clothes items are baled by operators in small bales for the African market.

**Loaders:** These loaders put the finished products into trucks or containers.

**Production manager:** The production manager has responsibility for all of the production at the sorting centre, a key managerial role requiring high-level skills.

**Administrative staff:** The sorting centre will employ administrative staff, notably bookkeepers, accountants, logistics managers, and salespeople.



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### **Benefits of sorting centres**

There are many benefits of operating sorting centres. A sorting centre will provide jobs with good salaries and bonuses, as well as career opportunities. The Mitumba Association of Kenya estimates that if all the sorting centres the industry needs were located in Kenya, approximately 14,000 additional jobs would be created. These workers will acquire skills that are essential for the operation of the sorting centre and which will enable them to make a decent living. The sorting centre will give substantial value-added to raw materials that would otherwise have gone to waste.

Operating sorting centres in the 'free zone' in Kenya has additional advantages. The free zone along the Nairobi-Mombasa transit corridor is Kenya's main distribution hub with links to sectors throughout the supply chain. These 'special economic zones' earmarked by the Government of Kenya offer tax and duty exemptions that are highly advantageous. That would enable enterprises to rapidly import unprocessed clothes collected in Western European countries such as the UK, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy and France. The sorting centre can then export clothes that are not suitable for the domestic market to other markets across the world, thereby obtaining foreign currency. The sorting centre will ensure a stable supply of good quality second-hand clothes required by the local market. Local sorting centres will reduce costs throughout the supply chain.

Kenya would benefit immeasurably from operating SHC sorting centres. Modernised sorting facilities will allow Kenya to export clothing to markets in the United States and Europe where there are millions of environmentally conscious consumers more antagonistic than ever to 'fast fashion', while satisfying demand from the domestic market.

### **Conclusion**

This section of the report began by assessing the potential for future growth of the SHC industry. The report then addressed the benefits of developing mitumba markets and locating large-scale sorting centres in Kenya and the contribution that they can make to creating jobs and improving living standards.



### Section 3: Conclusion

This report argues that the main task for government is to support the SHC industry and provide a competitive operating environment for the mitumba trade in Kenya. At present, Kenya is not able to fully realise the economic benefits of SHC. The report contends that the Government of Kenya must do more to protect the mitumba sector, supporting traders all over the country. Politicians and policy-makers in the Kenyan Government need to acknowledge the critical importance of the mitumba industry and the benefits it brings to workers and consumers.

Currently, the SHC industry has little protection or status in government despite providing jobs for millions of Kenyans and giving a sustainable livelihood to households. The mitumba trade is in the private sector and does not require costly government intervention or subsidy. But it does need the Government of Kenya to maintain a supportive business environment. Rather than introducing regulatory changes that damage the mitumba trade or ignoring the sector altogether, the SHC industry needs clear and consistent rules from government.

The final section of the report concludes by making concrete policy recommendations by which the long-term contribution of the sector to national wealth, employment and environmental sustainability can be enhanced. The key lesson for policy-makers is that growing the SHC industry requires government backing to promote growth and competitiveness. The SHC sector needs to be protected to maximise the potential for job growth and employment creation while sustaining higher wages and living standards. The report makes the following core recommendations:

1. Give the SHC industry a voice at the heart of government. The Mitumba Association needs to be recognised by the Government of Kenya as a key business stakeholder that should be regularly consulted by policy-makers. The SHC sector needs to be given protection and status within government like other SME industries.



**The key lesson for policy-makers is that growing the SHC industry requires government backing to promote growth and competitiveness.**

**A major advantage of the mitumba trade is that it provides jobs in remote parts of Kenya less well connected to the national economy.**

2. Only change rules and regulations affecting the mitumba trade such as hygiene standards for importation of SHC after detailed consultation with stakeholders and the Mitumba Association. Altering rules too often creates instability and uncertainty that is damaging for the growth of mitumba businesses. Over-reacting to shocks such as the Covid pandemic without properly considering the scientific evidence and imposing unnecessary control measures puts at risk hundreds of thousands of jobs for ordinary Kenyans.
3. Reduce the burden of taxation on the SHC sector across East Africa: the duty rate on imported SHC should be cut to the previous level. Cutting duties on SHC would remove barriers to growth creating more jobs while helping to reduce mitumba prices for consumers who are currently dealing with acute cost of living pressures. Currently, mitumba traders pay heavy duties to the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA). Reducing import taxes, duties, and Value Added Tax (VAT) on mitumba wear by locating new sorting centres in special economic zones outside Kenya's customs territory would further assist the growth of the SHC industry, creating more jobs throughout the value chain. In general, the tax burden on mitumba traders and their micro-businesses need to be kept as low as possible.
4. Improve critical infrastructure. Decaying infrastructure weakens the domestic textiles industry as well as the SHC sector. For the mitumba trade, the major issue is access to well-run, clean, safe and attractive marketplaces to sell to consumers. We argue that more of the SHC production chain should be located in East Africa rather than leaving high-value sorting centres in western countries. Nonetheless, locating more sorting centres in Kenya would require improvements in connectivity and transportation. Progress on initiatives such as expanding ports needs to be maintained. A major advantage of the mitumba trade is that it provides jobs in remote parts of Kenya less well connected to the national economy. Even so, the mitumba trade would gain from the availability of well-maintained roads, ports, airports, bridges, and access to broadband given the growth of online SHC businesses.



5. Provide more support and training for mitumba traders. Kenya already has a strong entrepreneurial spirit but there should be more targeted training, support and toolkits funded by the Kenyan Government that can help SHC micro-businesses grow and create more jobs. SHC traders need to develop skills in everything from bookkeeping to the marketing of their products. The mitumba trade is particularly important for women who play a key role in supporting households and especially children.

Working with government, the mitumba industry in Kenya needs its own long-term growth and development plan. As such, policymakers need to move away from treating the expansion of domestic textile production and the growth of the SHC industry as a zero-sum game where gains for one sector inevitably mean losses for the other. There is no compelling evidence that a strong SHC sector crowds out the development of local textile production.

The scope for the sector's expansion domestically and internationally is enormous. The Government of Kenya needs to focus on support that opens up trade opportunities, benefiting both businesses and consumers. We know that at present, only a quarter of all clothing products around the world are recycled. As such, the potential for growth is vast. Policies that encourage the expansion of SHC businesses for the full processing of clothing and discarded textile materials would help increase the rate of recycling, benefiting job creation, economic growth and environmental sustainability. The mitumba trade will help put Kenya at the forefront of the global battle against climate change.

Within Kenya, governments must act now to ensure there are effective incentives for trade and entrepreneurship in the SHC sector, removing regulatory bureaucracy and red tape, reducing taxes and import duties, and upgrading infrastructure. A competitive and dynamic SHC sector offers a sustainable route to jobs and prosperity for Kenyans while meeting the demands of hard-pressed consumers for lower prices and good value.



**The mitumba trade  
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