



The Atlas on Regional Integration is an ECOWAS — SWAC/OECD initiative, financed by the development co-operation agencies of France, Switzerland and Luxembourg. Divided into four series (population, land, economy, environment), the Atlas chapters are being produced during 2006-2007 and will be available on-line on the site www.atlas-westafrica.org

COTTON

I. West Africa in the International Market

1.1 Global Overview of Supply and Demand

Since 1960, world production of cotton fibre has doubled, from 10.2 to 20.3 million tons, representing a moderate average annual growth of 1.7%. Although there are numerous cotton-producing countries, global production is largely dominated by China (28%), followed by the United States (17%) and India (12%). These three countries alone account for nearly 60% of total global production of cotton fibre in 2004/05, compared to 47% 30 years ago. In this international environment, West Africa¹ occupies a modest place: the region ranks fifth in the world and contributes only 5% of global production. It has, however, made remarkable progress by increasing its production ten-fold since 1960 to reach a total of more than one million tons of fibre produced per year for the past four years (see Figure 1).

Between 1960 and 2000, global demand for cotton fibre increased at the same pace as population growth, i.e. 1.8% annually. By contrast, during this period, global consumption of artificial fibres increased by 4.7% per year, marking the relative decline of cotton compared to synthetic fibre. Cotton represented 68% of total fibre use in 1960; this percentage followed a downward trend to reach 38% in 2000².

Within the clothing sector, the demand for natural fibres continues to increase and cotton remains the primary natural fibre³ used. For non-clothing use, however, demand for artificial fibres is increasing. In the medium-term, given the economic and demographic projections, global consumption of all textile fibre should increase by roughly 2.3% per year until 2010 to reach 62 million tons. Cotton consumption should increase at a more moderate pace (1.8% per annum), and world demand should rise to 23.6 million tons by 2010⁴.

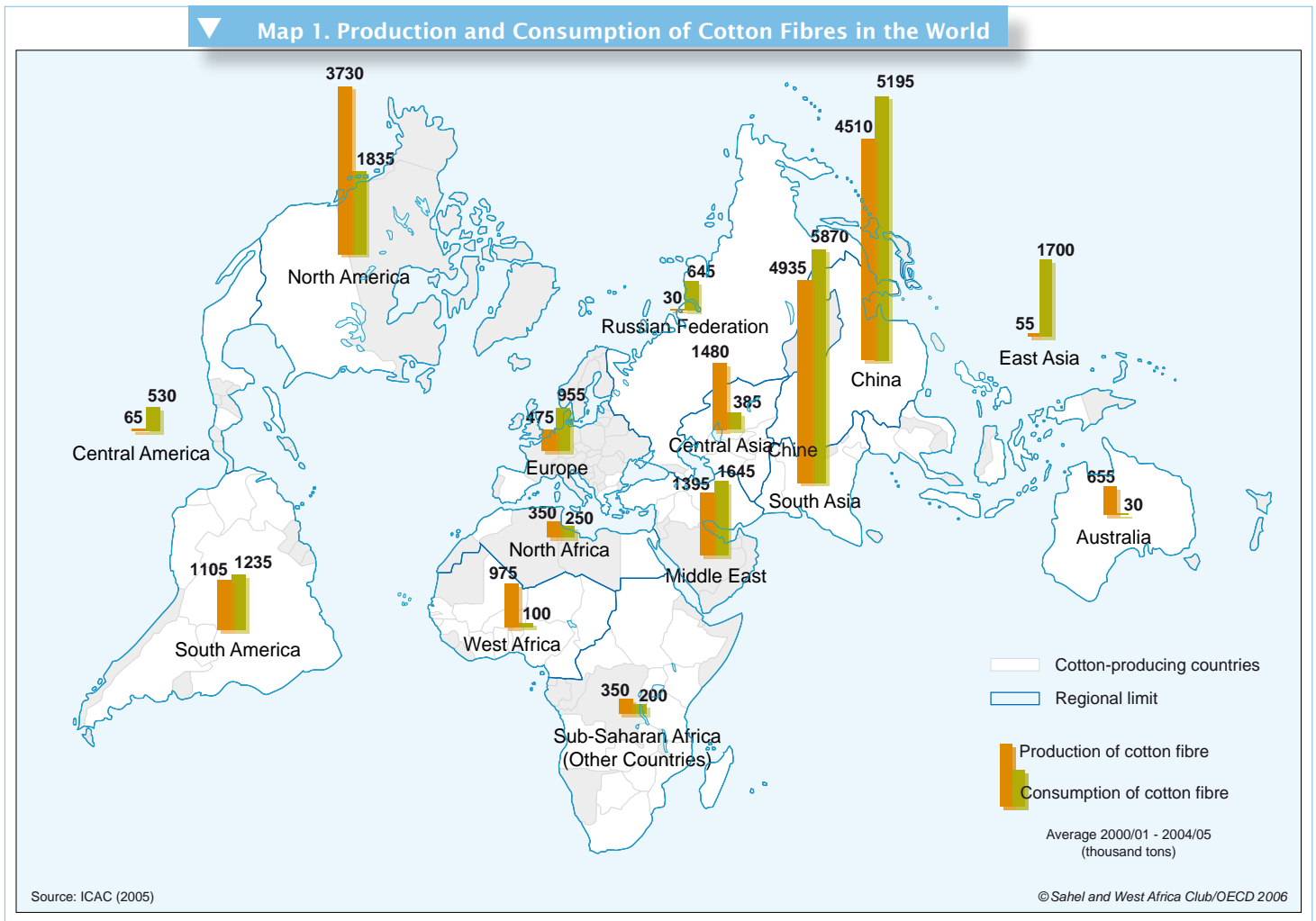
1. West Africa is defined here as the region composed of ECOWAS member countries, Cameroon, Mauritania and Chad.
2. Source: UNCTAD see <http://www.unctad.org/infocomm/anglais/cotton/uses.htm>
3. The three main markets for cotton fibre are: clothing (60%), furnishings (about 33%) and professional clothing (5%). Cotton is also used for manufacturing specific textiles and for medical purposes.
4. ICAC (2004): The World Cotton Market: A Long-term Outlook.



1.2 International Trade

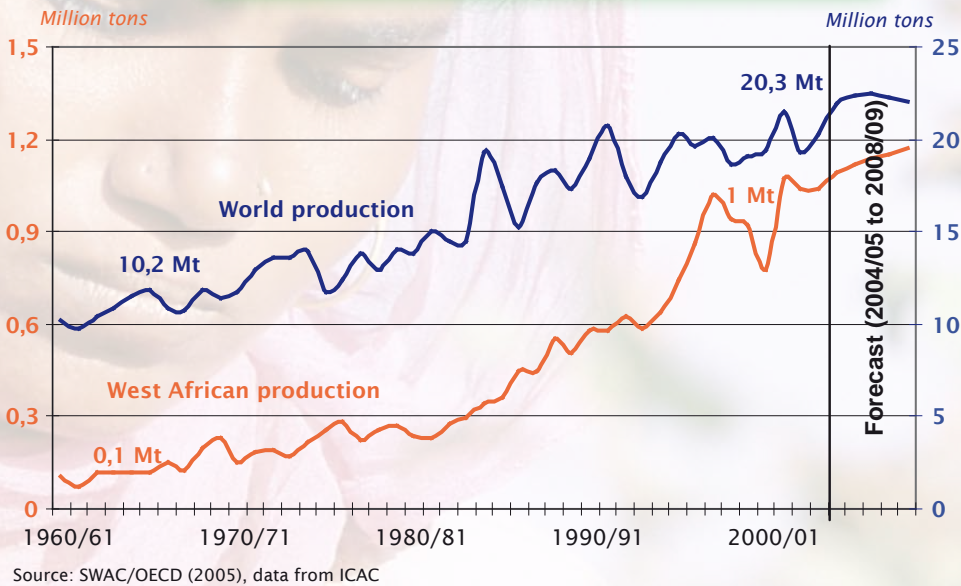
The difference between supply (depending on factors like the environment, agricultural policies, etc.) and demand for cotton (resulting mainly from textile industrial activities) largely explains the international cotton fibre trade. Although China and South-East Asian countries produce 50% of world cotton, they are today net importers of fibres due to their high industrial capacity and competitiveness in the textile/clothing sector (currently, nearly 45% of textiles and clothing are exported from this region - including intra-regional European trade). Between 2002 and 2004, China and countries in South-East Asia imported two-thirds of their cotton from the US, Central Asia, West Africa and Australia (see Map 2). In the future, upon the termination of the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC)⁵ exports of cotton fibres should be geared more towards the most competitive textile and garment producers, namely China and India⁶.

5. Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC): WTO Agreement on Textiles and Garments aims at integrating trade in this sector into the GATT regulations framework; expiry date: 1 January 2005. See WTO Glossary: http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/glossary_e/glossary_e.htm
6. OECD (2004): Textile and Clothing. Facing the Changes.



The United States, which consumes 8% of the world's cotton fibres and produces 17%, ranks as the leading cotton exporter on the international market. Given the weak industrial capacities of Africa, Central Asia and Australia, these areas also play an important role in the natural fibre export.

Figure 1. Global and West African Production of Cotton Fibre (1960/61–2008/09)



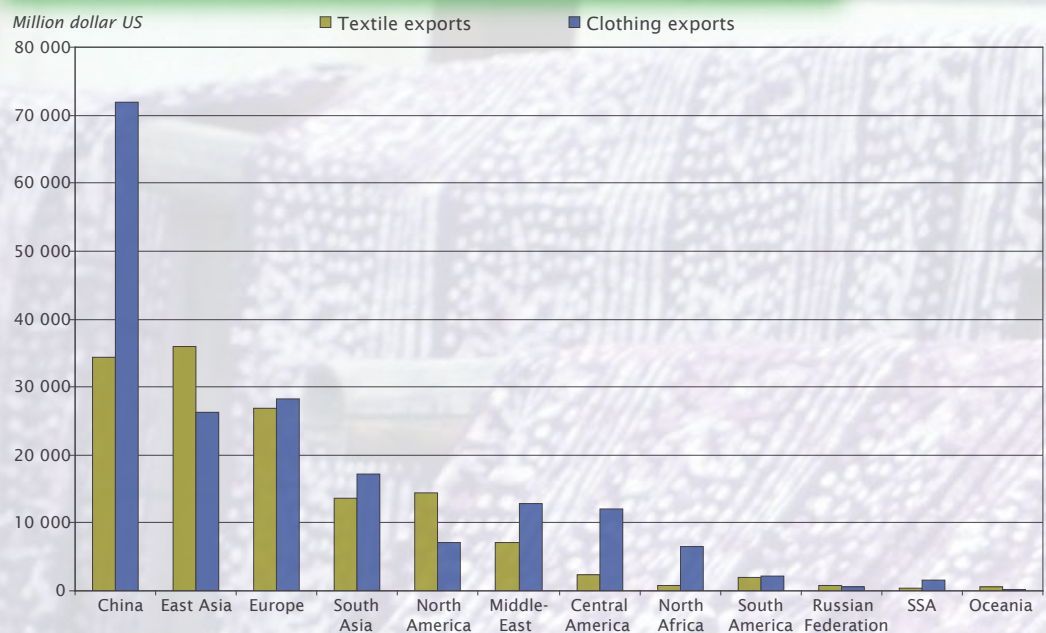
1.3 West Africa: A Major Player on the International Market

None of the West African countries is today playing a major role in the international cotton trade. However, considered as a regional entity, West Africa is the world's third largest exporter (averaging nearly one million tons over the 2000/01–2004/05 period, or 13% of global production), behind the USA (2.5 million tons, or 37%) and Central Asia (1.2 million tons, or 17%).

Cotton exports from West African countries developed quickly. The annual growth rate of West African cotton exports, which developed much more rapidly than in other regions of the world, was close to 6% in 1960. Only Australia registered a higher trend in cotton exports, with an annual average rate of nearly 11% during the same period.

Nevertheless, a short-term analysis of the international market trend presents a somewhat different picture. Over the past five years, South America, the USA and Africa are the most active regions on the international market (see Figure 3). Brazil quite recently appeared as a dynamic

Figure 2. Extra-regional Export of Textiles and Garments in 2004



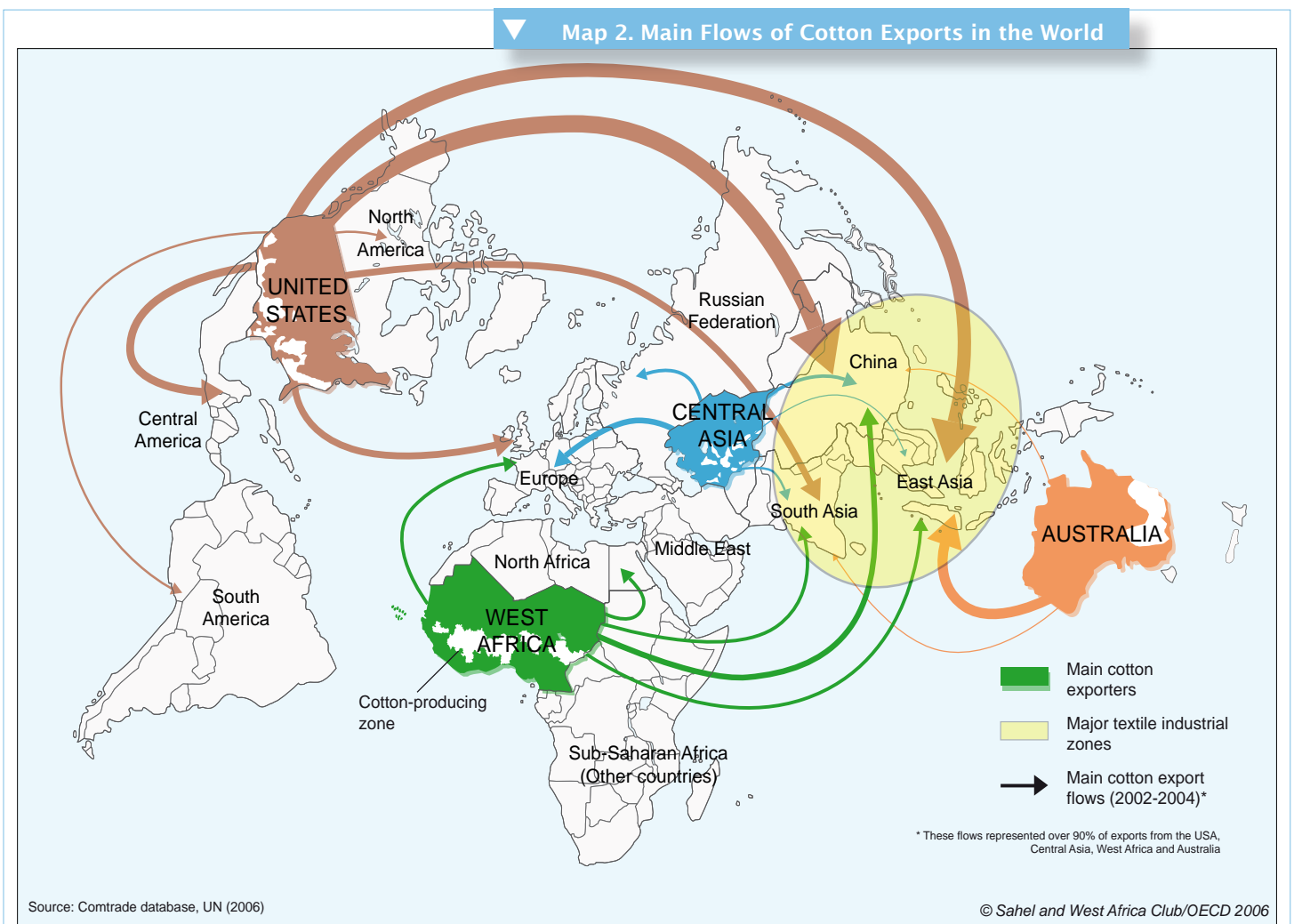
actor. Indeed, this country could catch up with the level of Australian exports in 2006, with a volume of around 450,000 tons⁷. Exports from the USA increased from 1.5 to 2.5 million tons, confirming the country's dominant position. Exports from Central Asia are somewhat on the decline. In the short- and medium-term, the USA, Central Asia and West Africa should maintain their position as leaders on the international market. West Africa could replace Central Asia in second position, which will surely have an impact on cotton supply from China and globally from Asia (see Map 3). For some years now, there has indeed been a reorientation of West African exports to this region.

7. Perrin, Serge, Lagandre, Damien (2005) : Le coton africain face à la concurrence du marché mondial.

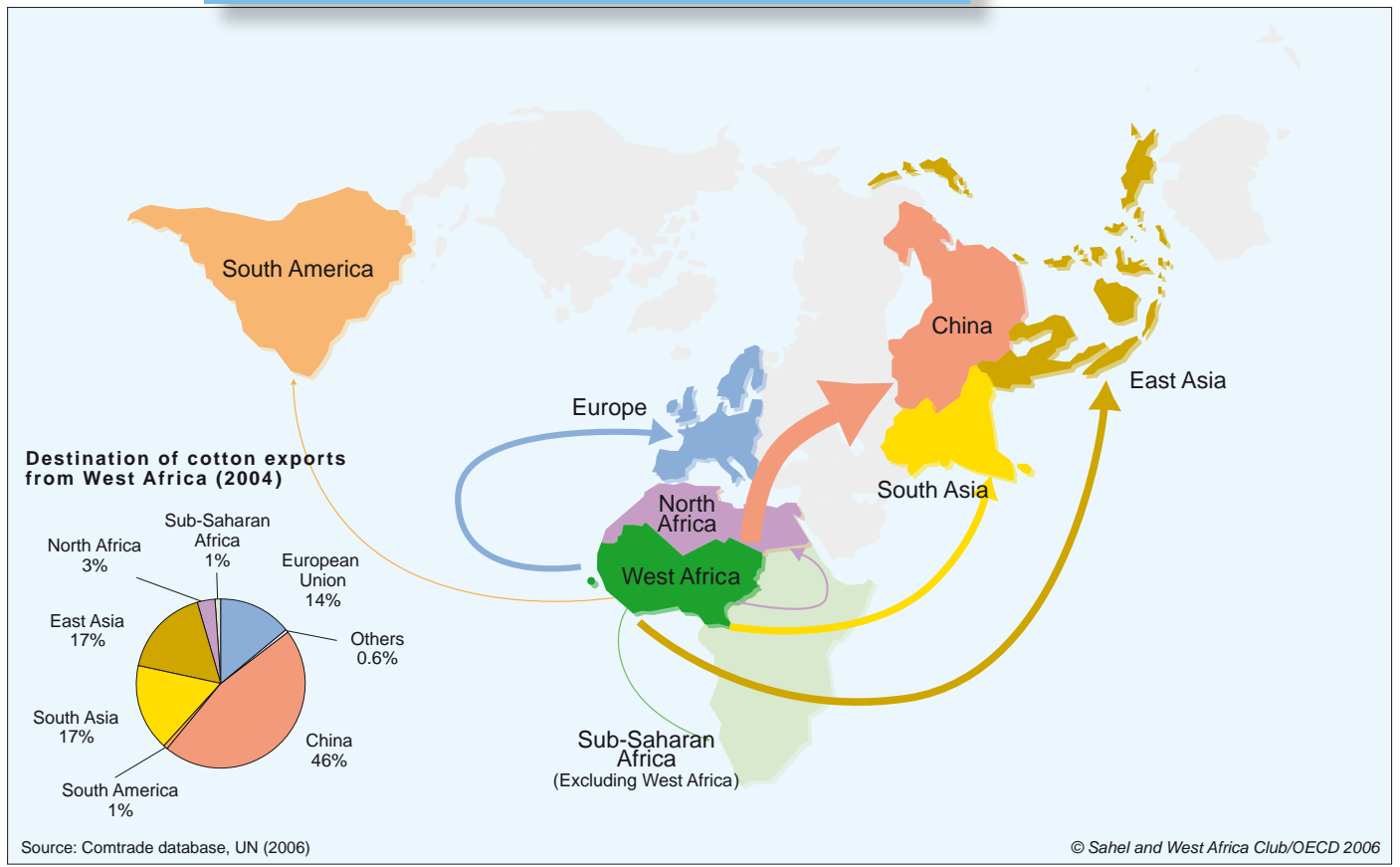
II. West African Cotton

2.1 Continental Overview

Africa produces about 100 species of cotton grains, whose presence dates back to the 10th and 13th centuries. In countries with low rainfall, cotton must be irrigated. This is the case for most of the areas cultivated in Egypt and all those areas cultivated in Morocco. In sub-Saharan Africa, cotton production, mainly rainfed, is concentrated in the tropical zone where dry seasons and humid seasons alternate.

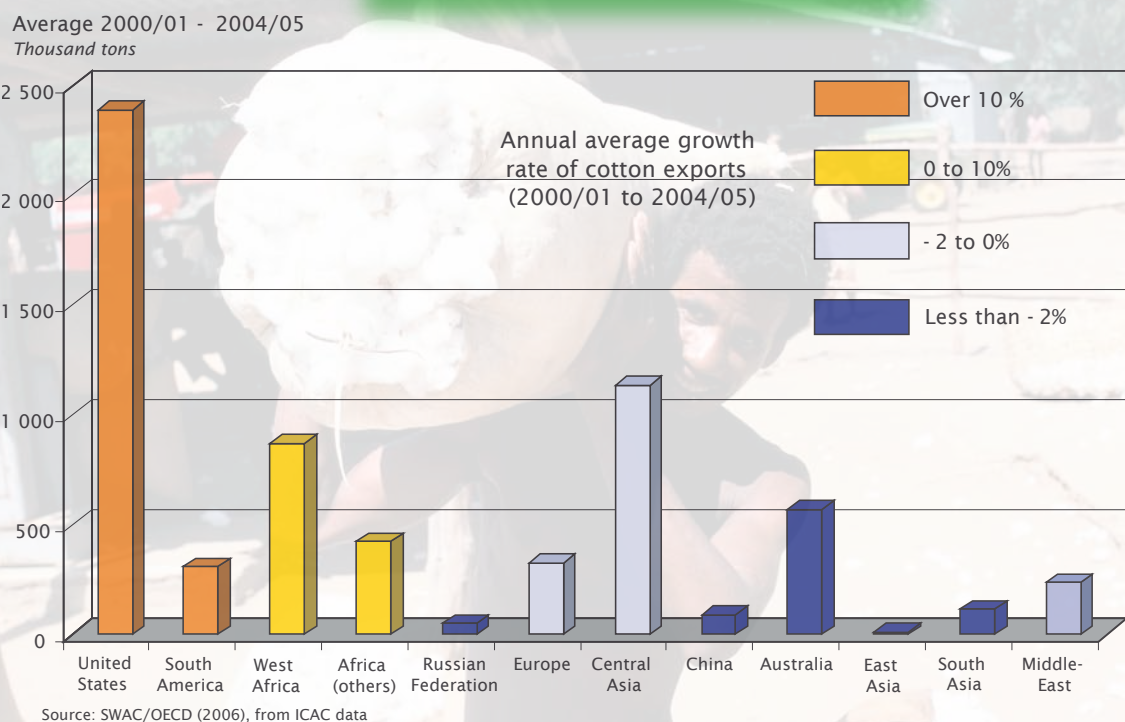


Map 3. Destination of Cotton Exports from West Africa



There are six cotton basins on the continent, the largest being the West African basin, which stretches from Senegambia to South-Eastern Chad and even to the heart of the Central African Republic.

Figure 3. Dynamics of World Cotton Exports



It accounts for nearly two-thirds of Africa's total cotton production.

Out of the 12 leading African cotton-producing countries, eight are in West Africa. The rest of Africa's cotton is distributed among four zones along a North-South strip stretching from the Nile Valley to South Africa. The most important zone is that of the Nile Valley as Egypt has been the leading African producer on average for the past five years.

The contemporary geography of African cotton is quite different from the reality that prevailed in the 1960s. Following independence, West Africa accounted for an average of only 15% of African production compared to nearly 40% for Egypt and 20% for East Africa. Cotton policies implemented from the 1970s within the francophone zone largely explain the development of cotton in this area.

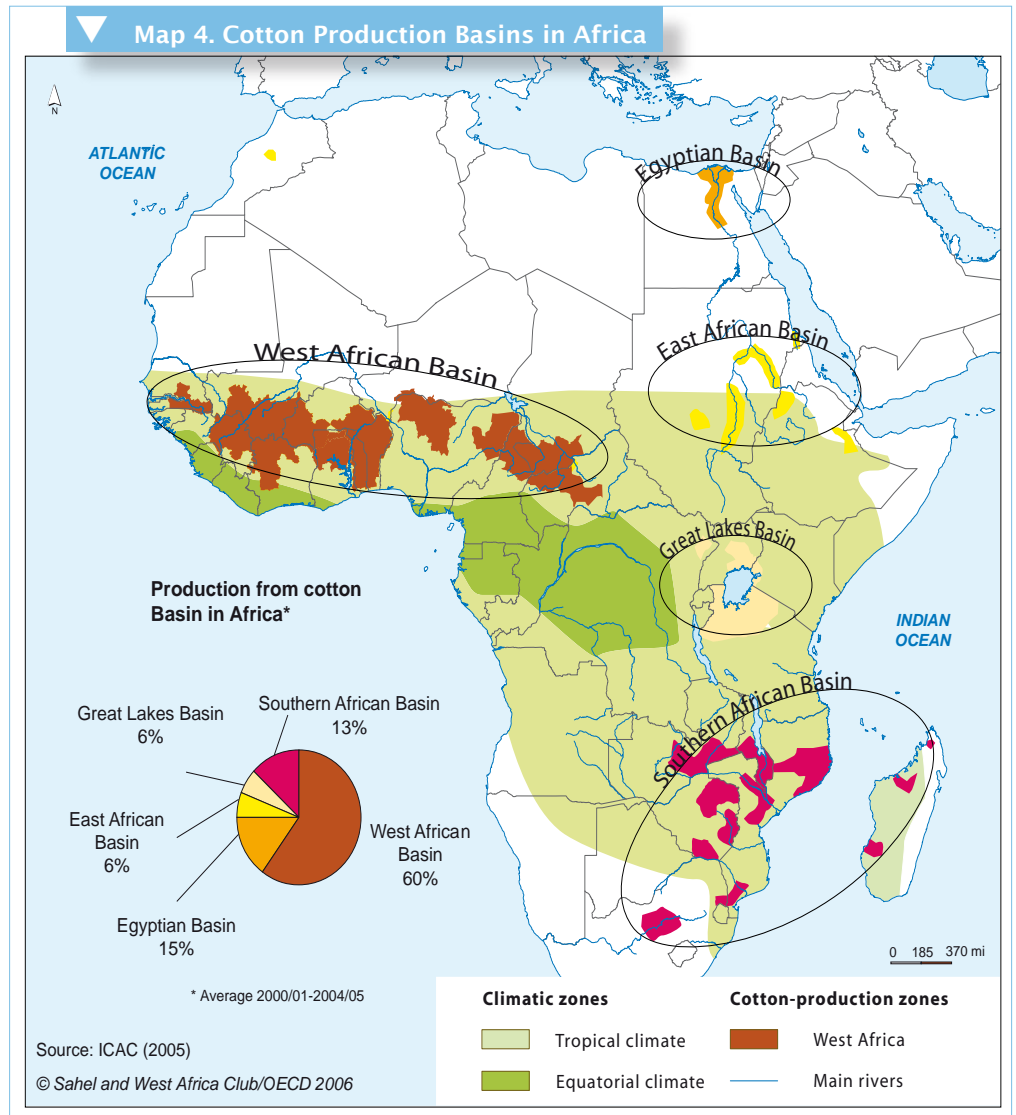
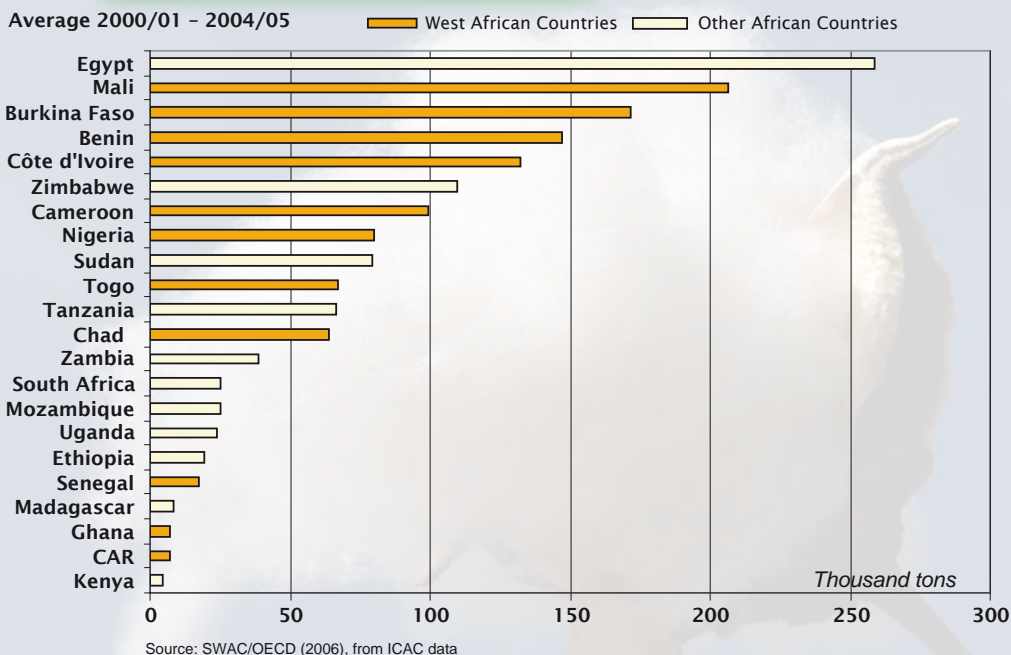
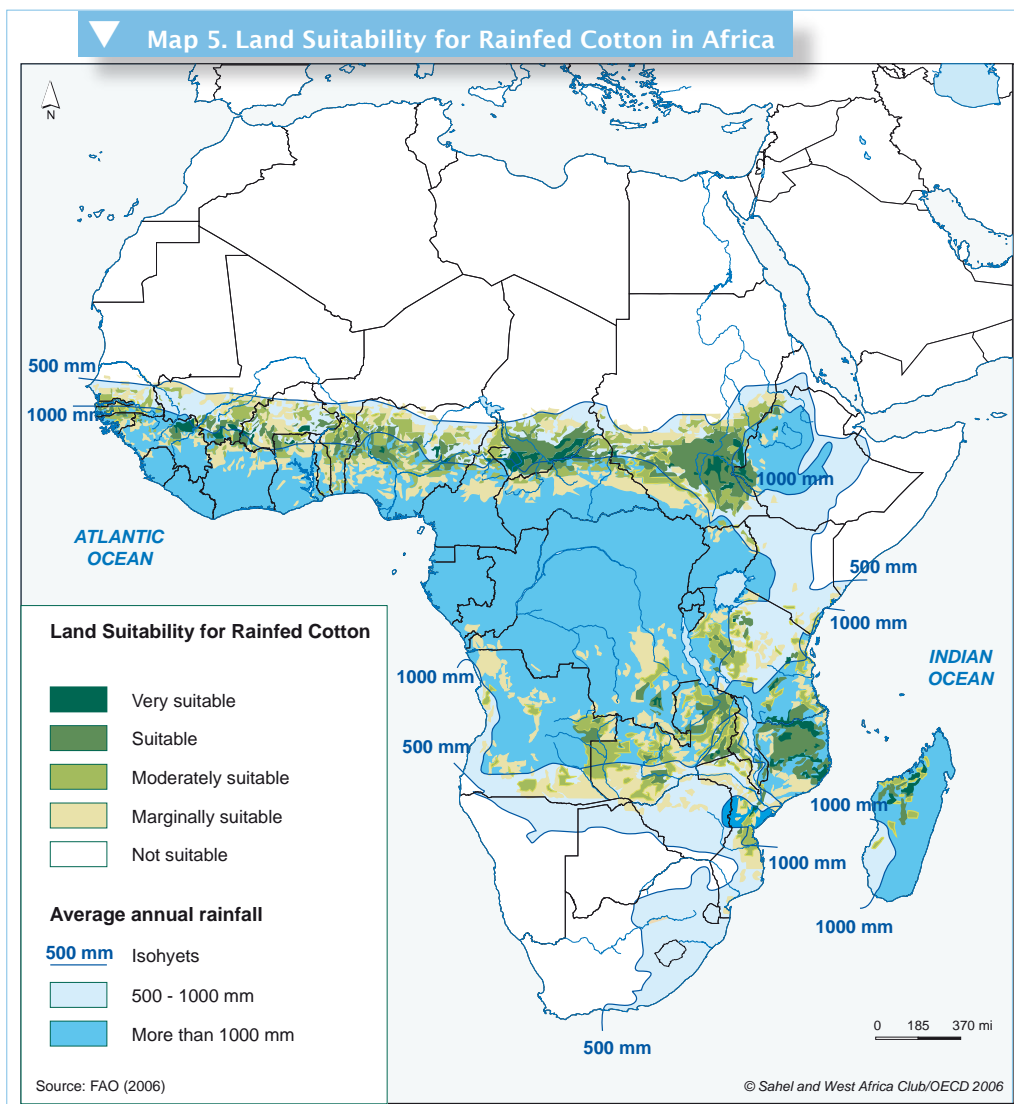


Figure 4. Cotton Production in Africa



Map 5. Land Suitability for Rainfed Cotton in Africa



2.2 Origin and Development of West African Cotton

The second half of the 19th Century was a key period in the history of cotton. The 1850s were initially marked by a doubling of the world cotton price under the combined effects of the rapid development of the textile industry in Europe and major strikes in India (revolt by Indian soldiers serving in companies in the East Indies). Later, the Civil War in the United States (1861-1865) deprived the market of a major source of supply. The end of the hostilities certainly forced prices down but ushered in a new era due to the disappearance of the unpaid labour of slaves. European powers then turned to their African colonies under the pressure of their industrial lobbies. In the early 1860s, an association for the development of cotton production was created in

Box 1. Cotton: A Long Journey from India

It was from India that the art of cotton fabric was exported to the Old World. As early as 445 BC, the Greek Herodotus wrote of India: "there are trees growing in the wild, whose fruit produces better wool, more beautiful than sheep". As early as the 7th Century, Arab conquerors brought the use of cotton to North Africa and Europe. Trade between Europe and India took a new turn, thanks notably to the opening of the routes to India by Vasco da Gama in 1497. With the invention of the weaving trade by Jacquard, cotton was part of the European Industrial Revolution. The ginning and spinning techniques were later improved. In the industrialised countries, cotton clothing, even of the finest cotton became accessible to all. The invention of the saw-gin was at the origin of the cotton production boom in the United States. At the beginning of the 20th Century, 90% of global cotton trade was in the hands of Europeans and raw cotton was mostly supplied by the United States, India and Egypt. Today, cotton is cultivated on all five continents, in some 100 countries.

Text from cotton file produced by Cirad
http://www.cirad.fr/fr/regard_sur/coton.php

Manchester at the initiative of a group of industrialists concerned about the supply difficulties. Very quickly, trials were launched in The Gambia and Sierra Leone, and later in Nigeria. In 1903, the English established in Nigeria the British Cotton Growers Association (BCGA). For its part, the French government first turned to the Senegal Valley, where the Soninkes have a long-standing cotton tradition, then the Casamance; without success. In the 1930s, the construction of the Office du Niger au Mali was initially designed for cotton production. There again, hopes were shattered. Finally, it was the savannahs of French Equatorial Africa (AEF), lying between Cameroon, Chad, and CAR, that constituted the first major cotton basin (see Map 6). Since the 1970s, the latter is still the most important basin in the region (42% of West African production) ahead of the Nigerian basin (38%).

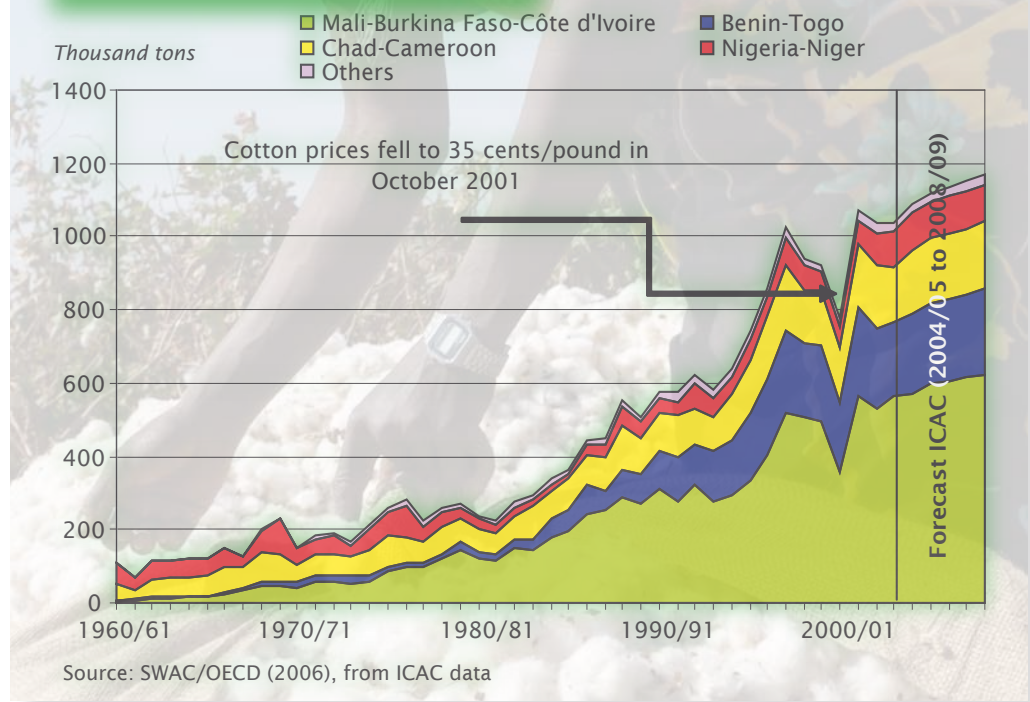
It was only after independence that cotton developed more in the West of Africa (see Map 6) under the effect of voluntary policies greatly inspired by the former colonial powers whose own textile industries continued to flourish until the beginning of the 1980s. These policies rely on parastatal enterprises that provided support to and ensured close supervision of producers in extension services, research, marketing support, etc. (see Box 2).

Over the past 45 years, the areas devoted to cotton production have practically quadrupled, from 800,000 to 3 million hectares. In other words, cotton-growing areas increased from 1.5% to 3.5% of arable land in West Africa. Comparatively, grain crops such as maize, millet and sorghum are cultivated on 9, 16 and 14 million hectares respectively. The extension of cotton-growing areas was accompanied by an underlying increase in output from 400 kg/ha at the beginning of the 1960s to 1 ton/ha today.

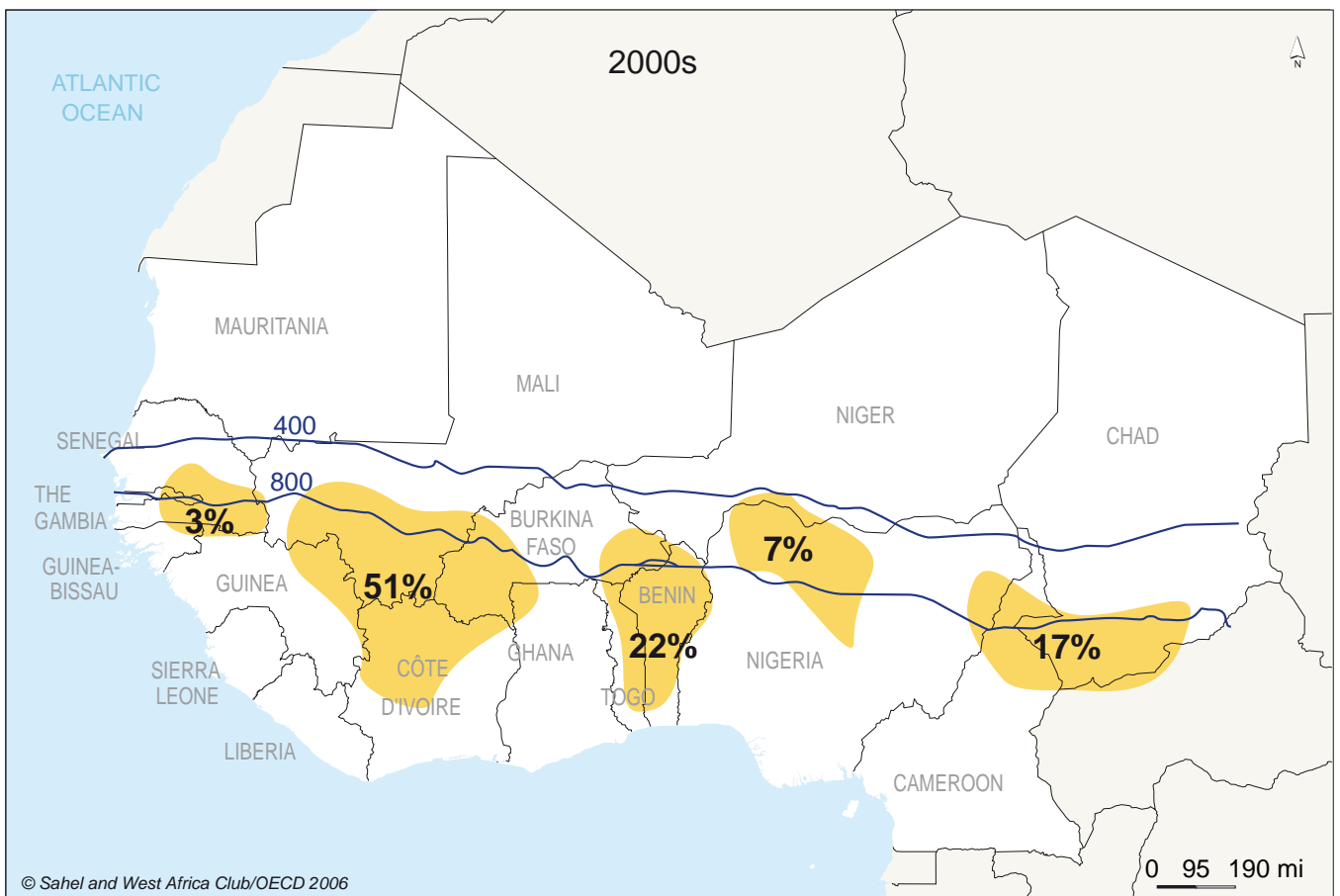
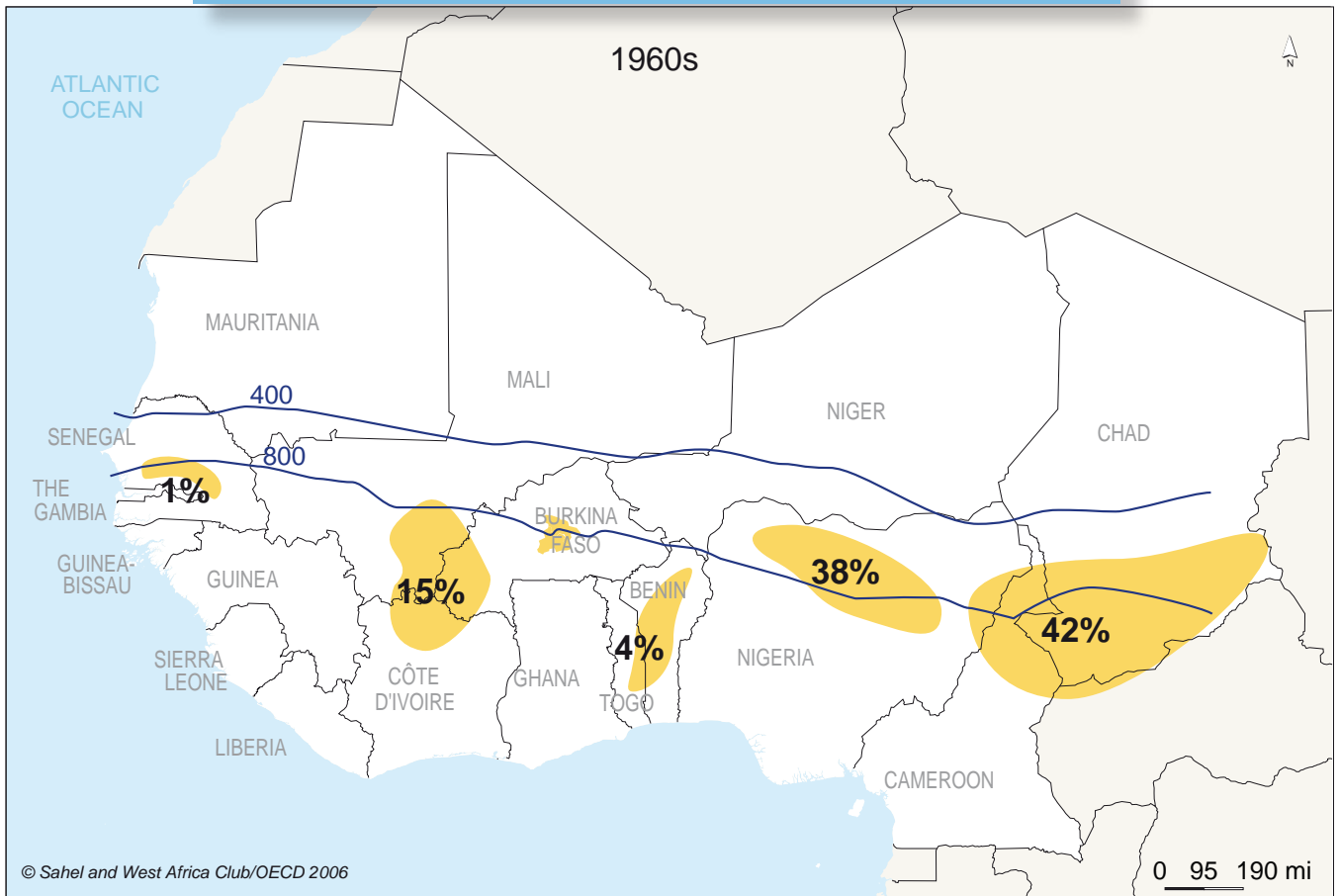
2.3 An Era of Reforms and Liberalisation

Despite this performance, the cotton sector faced periods of major economic and financial crises. It was after these difficulties that structural adjustment policies, heralding the first liberalisation reforms, were initiated. Liberalisation of the cotton sector, observed in most of the countries, was the result of a number of homogeneous trends. On one hand, State corporations have been gradually transferring a number

Figure 5. Trends in Cotton Production in West Africa (1960/61–2008/09)



Map 6. Evolution of Cotton-Production Basins Between 1960 and 2000



of functions (research and development activities, inputs supply, production and primary collection of cotton and ginning activities) to the farmers' unions or other private actors. In the case of Anglophone countries, this process has even been completed⁸. Producers' or farmers' groups are increasingly involved in the overall management of the sectors. On the other hand, these changes do not fundamentally call into question some of the responsibilities of the State, which entail making or influencing decisions taken on price fixing, in particular. These general trends, however, cannot conceal the diverse modes of liberalisation:

- The nature of cotton companies. In some cases, these companies are still in place but have opened their capital to producers or other national and international private stakeholders (e.g. Union Nationale des Producteurs de Coton au Burkina Faso - Unpc-B - in the capital of Sofitex in Burkina Faso; private companies (Aiglon, Dagriss) within the Société Nationale du Coton au Niger; private companies and producers such as Sodefitex in Senegal). In other cases, the public enterprises have been completely dismantled and replaced by new structures: the Nouvelle compagnie cotonnière de Guinée (CGC - whose capital is provided by private stakeholders and producers), was created at the end of the public cotton development project, and, in 2000, signed a 15-year agreement with the State. Irrespective of their nature, however, cotton companies in Francophone countries still have a number of prerogatives in the sector's organisation, despite their dwindling numbers. In Ghana, activities relating to the production and marketing of cotton have been totally privatised and the State-owned cotton company no longer exists. The State is limited to the role of the certification of seedlings and maintenance of rural roads. The same applies to Nigeria, where public authority intervenes in research (the Agricultural Research Institute in Zaria), in the certification and supply of seedlings through the Ministry of Agriculture, and in subsidies for fertilizers.
- The functions of State-owned cotton companies. In some countries, these functions are limited to ginning, while other activities are carried out by private actors or farmers' groups: in Benin, the Sonapra manages 12 ginning factories out of the 20 in operation; in Togo, liberalisation opened the market to three new operators, apart from

Box 2. Cotton Sectors in the Francophone Zone before Liberalisation

The development of cotton in West Africa, notably in the Francophone area, is the result of the establishment and involvement of the CFDT (Compagnie Française pour le développement des Fibres Textiles, a French parastatal company founded in 1949) in the national cotton sectors, with the support of research, particularly by the IRCT (Institut de Recherche du Coton et des Textiles Exotiques founded in 1946). The nationalisation of cotton structures in the 1970s did not challenge the role of the CFDT, which owns shares in national companies: Cotontchad (1971, Chad), Sodecoton (1974, Cameroon), Sodefitex (1974, Senegal), CIDT (1974, Côte d'Ivoire), Sotoco (1974, Togo), Sofitex (1979, Burkina Faso), CMDT (1975, Mali).

The sectoral approach adopted in each of the countries was based on joint modalities for a number of functions: price equalisation, the purchase of cotton seed, the fixing of selling prices of inputs throughout the entire cotton zone, the fixing of a purchase price valid for the entire collection season, and the payment on collection of inputs supplied to farmers by the cotton company without trade margin, obligation and exclusive purchase of the entire harvest by the cotton company.

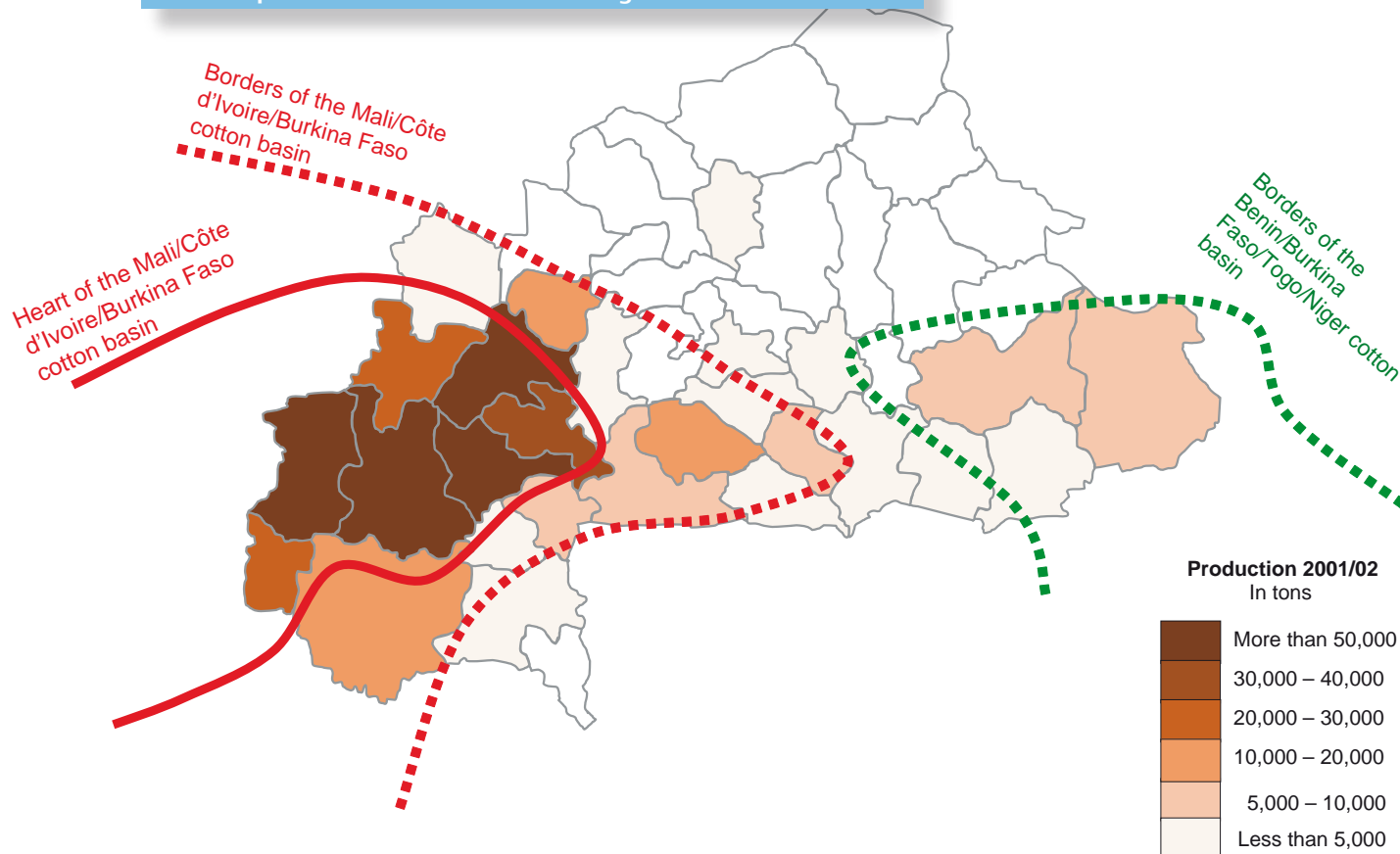
Source : Coton en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre. Situation et perspectives. Ministère français de la coopération et du développement

8. Ghana was the first country to implement liberalisation reforms in 1985, with the privatisation of the Cotton Development Board (CDB), now the Ghana Cotton Company Ltd (GCCL). The State holds 30% of its capital, apart from other shareholders: textile companies, input suppliers and the Agricultural Development Bank.

Sotoco, for ginning and spinning activities. In The Gambia, Gamcot, a private company, manages the collection and ginning of cotton, agricultural supervision, with Sodefitex (Senegal) ensuring the technical and financial aspects. In other countries, including Burkina Faso, liberalisation adhered to the integrated sector principle, where each cotton company is responsible for organising the production, processing and marketing of cotton fibre.

- The restructuring of the sector and creation of new cotton companies were sometimes accompanied by a geographical redefinition of their activities. This is the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, where three companies share the territory: CIDT Nouvelle in the South, Ivoire Coton in the North-West and LCCI in the North-East. In Burkina Faso, if Sofitex has conserved its role in the West, Faso Coton has taken over the Central zone and Socoma the East zone. This configuration could be adopted in Mali from 2008, or for the impending privatisation of Sodecoton (Cameroon) or Cotontchad (Chad).

Map 7. Focus on Cotton-Producing Zones in Burkina Faso



Source: Economic and Social Importance of Cotton in West Africa: Role of Cotton in Development, Trade and Livelihoods. SWAC/OECD, november 2005

© Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD 2006

Subject to different and sometimes divergent national policies, cotton producers do not share the same access to extension, training, input supply and marketing services, as this will vary depending on which side of the border they are situated. Yet, the cotton-producing basins are situated along the borders (see Maps 7 and 8). Will the process

of liberalising national sectors gradually eliminate these policy disparities? The fact is that these processes today are conducted without consultation between the countries, which adopt different approaches to liberalisation. The implementation of cross-border cooperation strategies and the harmonisation of national policies have become necessary today. It is in this spirit that ECOWAS intends to promote the “development of cross-border cooperation ties among the different national cotton companies in order to harmonise their strategies and methods of intervention, reduce costs of inputs, develop synergies and reduce costs of collection, ginning and transportation to the ports”⁹.

Table 1. Macro-economic Importance of Cotton in West Africa

Average for 2000–2004	Cotton fibre exports (million US\$)	Share in West African cotton exports	Share in the country's agricultural exports	Share in the country's total exports
Benin	142.5	16 %	70 %	30 %
Burkina Faso	154	17 %	75 %	56 %
Cameroon	102.8	11 %	20 %	7 %
Cape-Verde	-	-	-	-
Chad	59.7	7 %	52 %	30 %
Côte d'Ivoire	147.7	17 %	6 %	4 %
The Gambia	0.2	-	-	-
Ghana	5.3	1 %	1 %	1 %
Guinea	0.2	-	-	-
Guinea-Bissau	0.1	-	-	-
Liberia	-	-	-	-
Mali	188.1	21 %	63 %	30 %
Mauritania	-	-	-	-
Niger	0.2	-	-	-
Nigeria	31.8	4 %	7 %	-
Senegal	17.5	2 %	11 %	9 %
Sierra Leone	-	-	-	-
Togo	39.6	4 %	38 %	8 %

Source: Faostat (2006)

III. Regional Stakes of Development

3.1 Regional Basins for National Wealth

Cotton is cultivated in all the sub-humid and semi-arid zones with an annual rainfall of between 500–700 mm and 1,200–1,500 mm. Hence the crop is found in both the Northern zones of the coastal countries (Benin, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Togo) and the Southern zones of the landlocked countries (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad). Cotton is also cultivated in the centre and even the south of Benin and Togo, as it has adapted to the rainfall characteristics of this region (see Map 8).

These environmental determinants make the West African cotton zones basically cross border areas. The most important of them is situated along the border areas of Mali, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Benin and Togo share most of the second basin. The third is centred on Northern Cameroon and Southern Chad. The fourth is basically Nigerian. A fifth basin, though marginal at the regional level, lies between Senegal, Eastern Gambia, part of Northern Guinea and the North-East of Guinea Bissau. Some of these areas are bound by highly powerful socio-cultural links: the Hausa zone between Nigeria and Niger or the Senoufo zone between Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Burkina Faso.

These transnational basins are scattered with ginning factories (there are nearly 100 in West Africa, compared to 1,000 in the United States, whose cotton grain production is four times higher). It is from these factories that cotton is transported by road or rail to the ports

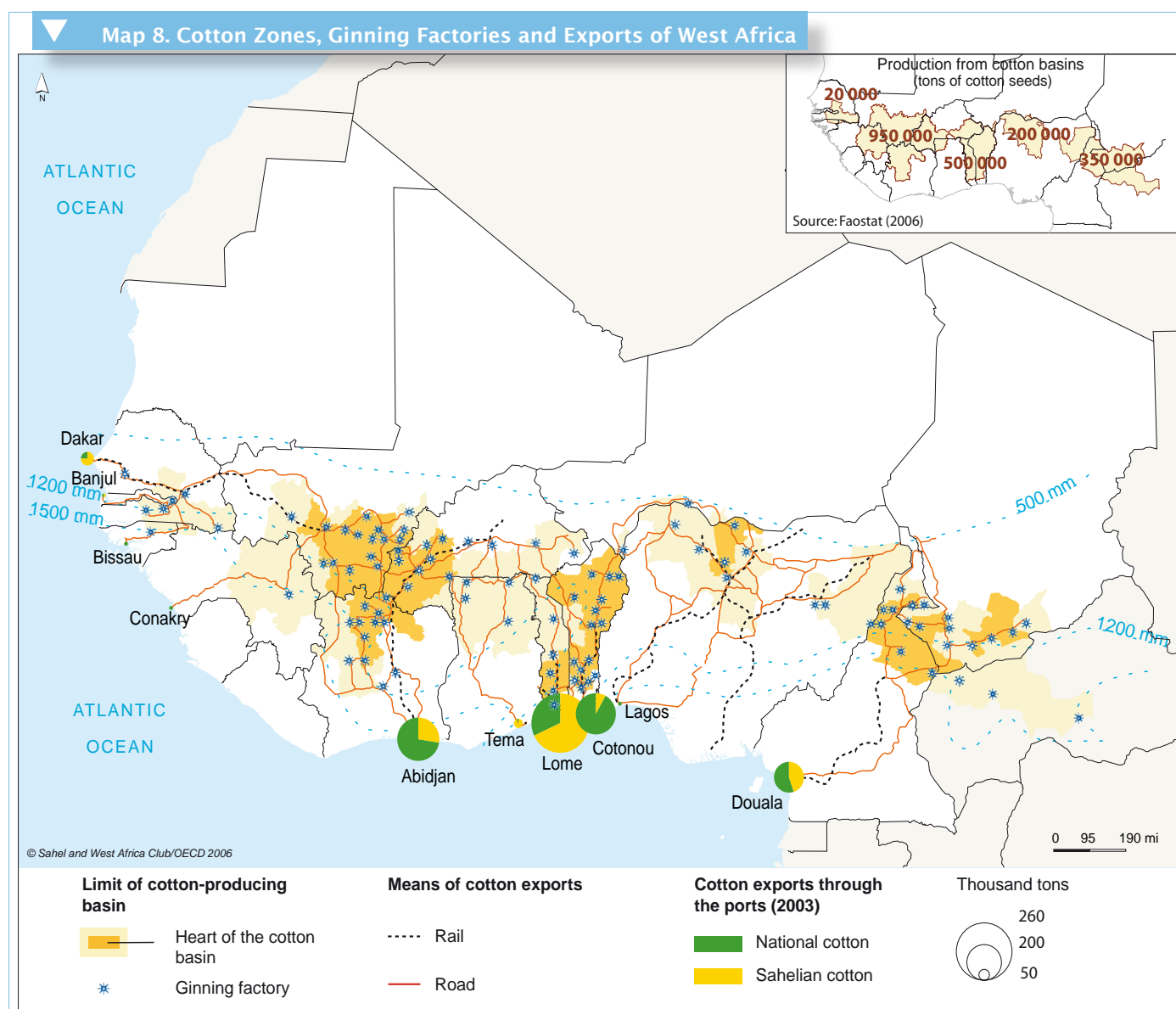
9. ECOWAS (2004): Agricultural Policy Framework for West Africa.

of the coastal countries. Until 1999, most of the Sahelian cotton was exported through the port of Abidjan. The Ivorian crisis has compelled the economic operators to use other transit corridors as in the case of cotton from Burkina Faso, which is directed to the port of Lomé and to a lesser extent, that of Tema.

These exports earn significant external (and budgetary) resources for national economies and have varied impacts, depending on their economic structure (see Table 1).

3.2 From Cotton Production to Development of Grains and Livestock Breeding

It is estimated that two to three million West African households cultivate cotton on part of their farms; the average cotton farm is one to two hectares. In the vast majority of cases, cotton is produced with relatively few resources and family labour, which is not highly paid compared to developed countries. This general observation, however, conceals the heterogeneous nature of the types of farms. While smallholder family



farms, that may be under-equipped or not equipped at all, form the vast majority of farms, slightly larger plantations (two to five hectares) have developed as a result of animal traction. There is also a small number of farms (20–30 ha) that mainly use family workers, but with considerable agricultural equipment for animal traction or motorised cultivation.

Cotton production is never, or almost never, the sole activity practised on a farm, even if it is often the main activity. It has given rise to the development of the practice of mixed cultivation in association with millet, sorghum and, more recently, maize. The succession of cotton and grains on the same plot enables the second crop to benefit from the after-effect of fertilizers carried by the first. This explains to some extent why cotton and grain production levels have followed the same trend since the 1980s (see Figure 6).

In the sparsely populated sub-humid savannahs, the appearance of cash crops has facilitated the development of animal draught cultivation, as these activities make it possible to earn the necessary income to purchase the materials and animals. In the case of cotton pioneers, animal draught cultivation was used to limit weed invasion through tilling before sowing and through mechanical weeding¹⁰. However, all cotton-growing zones in the region are not uniformly affected by this phenomenon; as the rates of recorded use of animal draught differs at the centre of the main West African cotton basin: nearly 60% of the cotton farms in Burkina Faso, 85% in Mali¹¹.

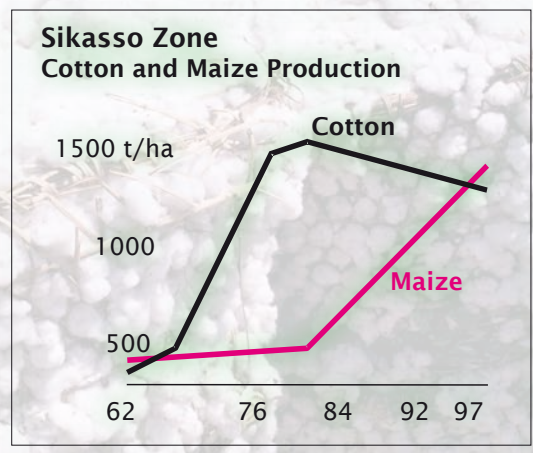
3.3 The Textile Industry

West Africa's cotton production is generally under-exploited¹²; most of the fibre produced is exported to the international market. However, the situation is quite different in Francophone countries than in Anglophone countries. In Francophone countries more than 90% of the cotton produced is exported in the form of fibres whereas in Anglophone countries 90% and 65% of Nigerian and Ghanaian cotton respectively were consumed locally by the textile industry from 1993/94 to 2003/04, for example.

Box 3. The Sikasso Region in Mali: from Cash Crop Agriculture to Commercial Agriculture

Cotton cultivation is a very old activity in Mali. It was imposed as an export crop by the colonial administration. One agency (CMDT) took over the cultivation, collection and ginning activities. CMDT compels farmers to increase their output (from 200 kg to 1,600 kg), by limiting the areas cultivated and fertilizer use. The farmers quickly understood that the fertilizer financed by cotton can also be used for food cultivation (they sometimes “divert” part of the fertilizer to this end). Cotton revenues are first invested in the increase of the herd as a form of savings; then the revenues are used to purchase draught animals and ploughs. When the pressure from CMDT eases, farmers use animal-drawn ploughs to increase the cultivated area. At the same time, given the growth in urban, local and regional demand for food, grains, particularly maize, have become traded crops.

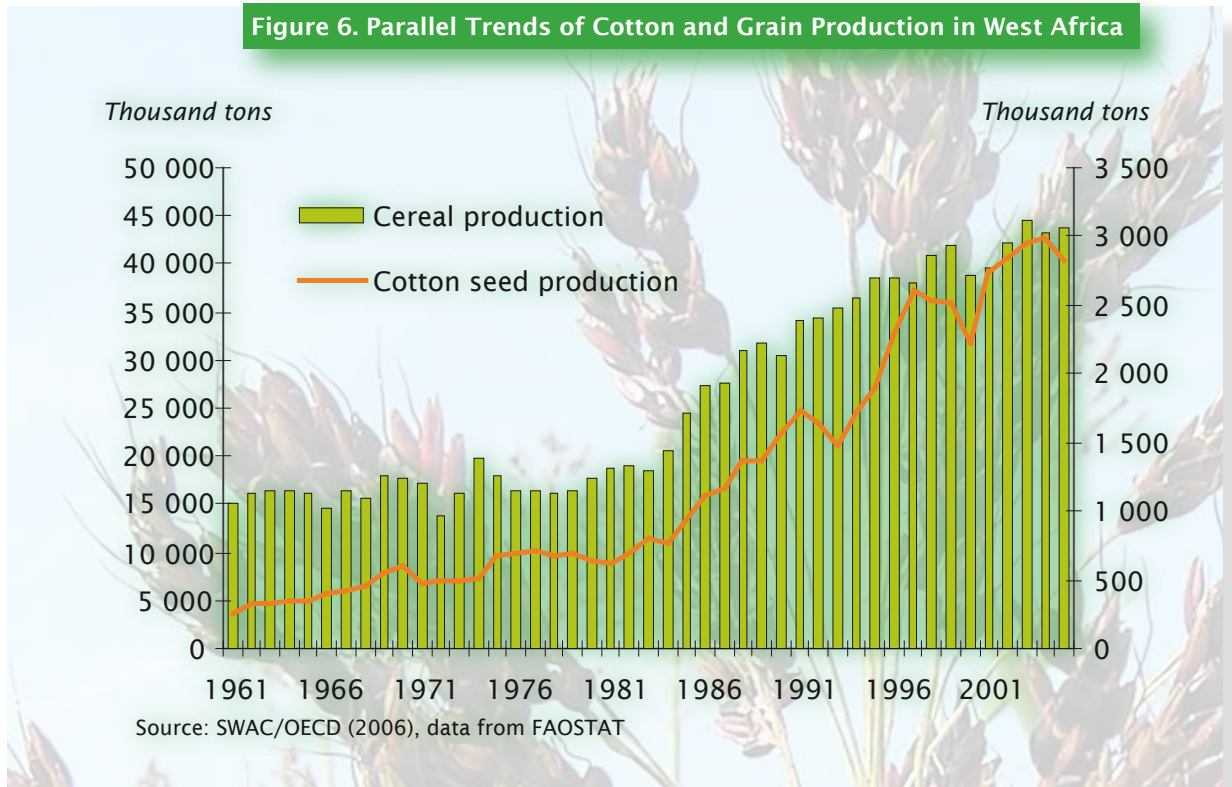
Between 1984 and 1997 in the Sikasso region, the average area cultivated by each farmer increased from one to three or four hectares. From 1977– 1997, maize production increased from 10,000 to 70,000 tons. At the same time, cotton farming areas increased from 15,000 to 78,000 hectares with a decline in output. On a farm of 85 hectares, the distribution between cotton and grains is set at around 30 hectares for cotton/55 hectares for grain. An initial system of land repartition for crop rotation and the use of livestock for agricultural practices has taken the place of traditional shifting cultivation. The next challenge to be addressed is the disappearance of fallow lands and the need for soil regeneration.



Source: ECOLOC Study, Sikasso (Mali), Club du Sahel / OECD, July 1998

10. CIRAD (2005): L'association agriculture élevage: une stratégie de développement durable en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre.
11. DAGRIS (2002): Les filières partenaires.
12. If the textile industry alone is discussed here, it should be noted that cotton grain is largely processed in West Africa, particularly to extract the oil for human consumption and the cotton seed cake for cattle feed; these activities will be discussed in another chapter of the Atlas. With an output of 3.9 million tons, cotton oil is ranked fifth in terms of global cooking oil consumption. Oil cake ranks second in animal feed consumption, behind soya.

Figure 6. Parallel Trends of Cotton and Grain Production in West Africa



Map 9. Animal Traction and Cotton-Producing Zones in West Africa

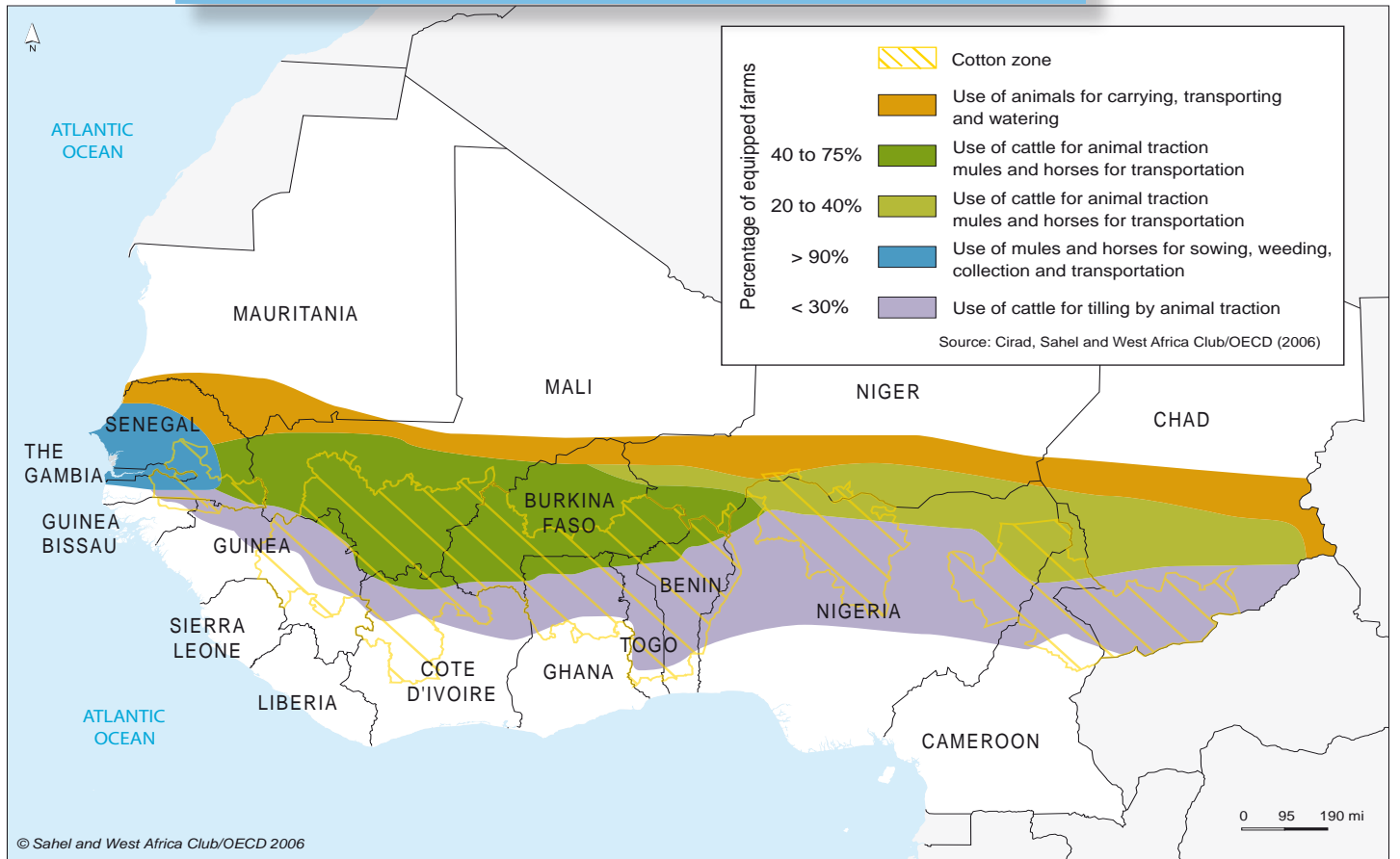
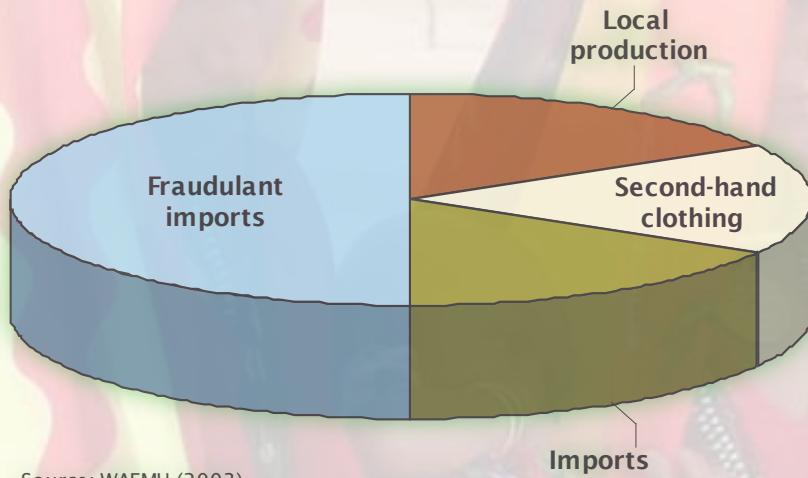


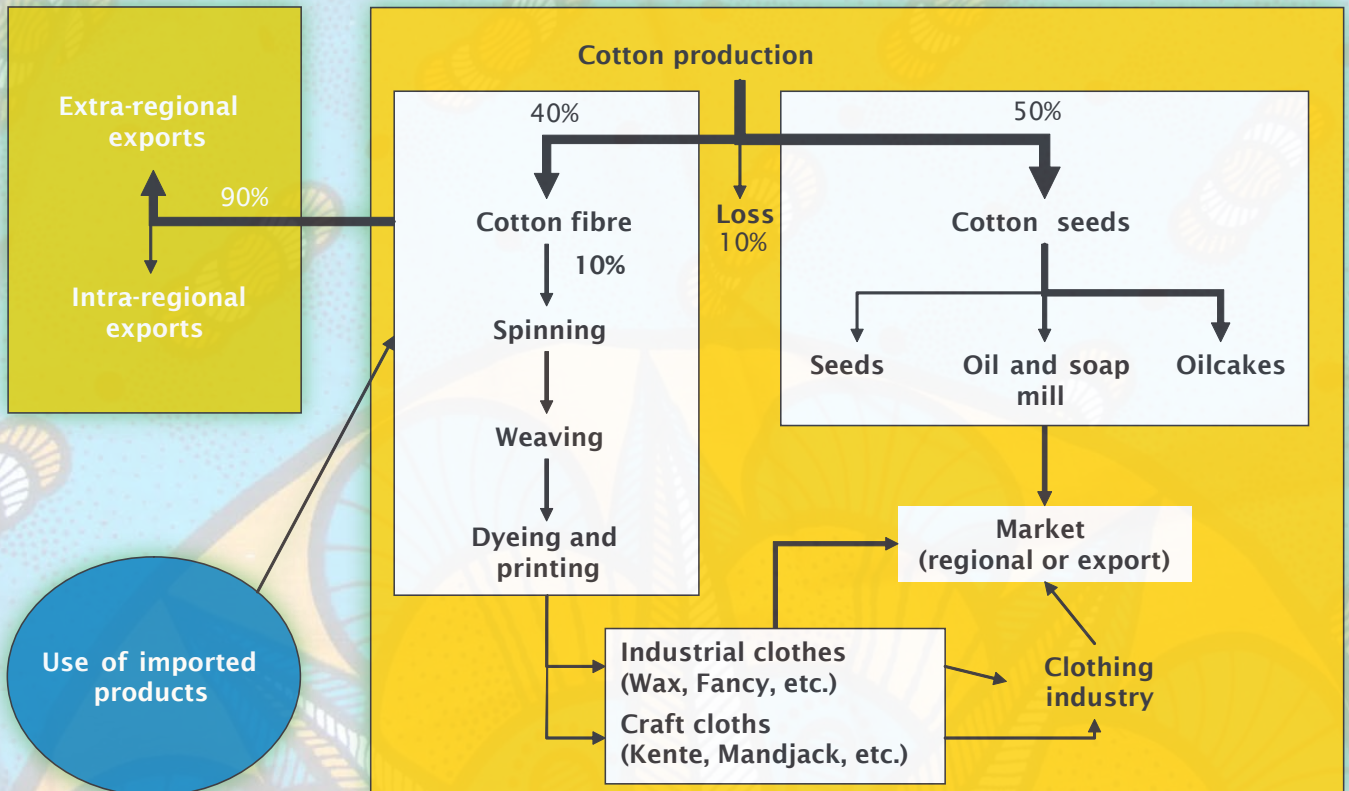
Figure 7. Estimated Distribution of WAEMU Textile Market



Source: WAEMU (2003)

While the first industrial plants were set up from the 1950s, it was only during the 1965–1985 period that West Africa witnessed the birth and development of the textile industry under the effect of voluntary policies

Figure 8. The Cotton Industry in West Africa



Source: SWAC/OECD 2006

Table 2. List of Industrial Units involved in the Cotton Sector in West Africa (2006 or the most recent year)

	Ginning Factories			Oil Factories	Textiles
	Number of factories	Ginning Capacity (Tons)	Cotton Grain Production (2000-05)	Industrial Units	
Benin	20	650,000	415,000	2	4 (incl. 1 inoperative)
Burkina Faso	15	535,000	432,000	1	2
Cameroon	9	300,000	219,000	1	5
Chad	10	230,000	198,000	1	1 (closed)
Côte d'Ivoire	12	420,000	346,000	1	12 (incl. 8 inoperative)
The Gambia	1	10,000	5,000	-	-
Ghana	n.a.	n.a.	20,000	n.a.	5
Guinea	1	n.a.	49,000	-	1
Guinea Bissau	1	n.a.	4,000	-	-
Mali	17	600,000	515,000	3	2
Niger	2	60,000	10,000	-	2 (incl. 1 inoperative)
Nigeria	2	n.a.	378,000	n.a.	About 100 (incl. 60-80 inoperative)
Senegal	5	65,000	41,000	n.a.	12 (incl. 4 inoperative)
Togo	6	200,000	162,000	1	4 (incl. 2 inoperative)

Source: Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD (2006)

implemented by the State. This “boom” period was followed by difficult years marked by the crisis in public enterprises, structural adjustments, devaluation of the CFA franc as well as competition from second-hand clothing imported from developed countries and Asian textiles (see Figure 7). This situation triggered a de-industrialisation process within the WAEMU zone. There were 41 industrial plants in 1980 as compared to about twenty operating today. In Nigeria, the sector professionals were equally concerned about the situation. While in 1999, there were about 100 factories based mainly in Lagos and Kaduna, today only about 20 or 40 are still operating, according to sources. There are two contradictory trends for the future: firstly, the AGOA¹³ agreements and the implementation of a regional policy capitalising on the textile chain within the WAEMU would improve industrial activities in the region¹⁴. Secondly, however, the end of the ATC Agreements should intensify competition from countries like India and China, unless a regional trade policy coherent with the industrial strategy is promoted.

Beyond the industrial level, the artisanal textile and traditional clothing sector (weaving, dyeing, manufacturing and selling of materials, etc.) is the second largest employer in West Africa, after agriculture. Between 65 and 70% of Malian artisans, 50 % of Burkinabe artisans and 30 to 40 % of Ghanaian artisans are operating in the traditional textile sector¹⁵.

13. AGOA: African Growth Opportunity Act. Promulgated on 18 May 2000 by President Bill Clinton, this law enables sub-Saharan African countries to export to the United States, duty and quota free, products that meet defined eligibility rules of which 14 West African countries are today eligible.
14. The WAEMU's textile development strategy provides for “a dynamic regional textile industry, for processing 25% of local cotton production, creating 50,000 industrial jobs”. See the study on the identification and promotion of regional industrial units in the WAEMU cotton sector (March 2003)
15. Igue J. (2004) : Le secteur textile traditionnel en Afrique de l'Ouest..



IV. A Doubly Regional Future

The position of West Africa on the international market and the development prospects of the cotton sector at the regional and international levels depend on a number of internal and external factors (emergence of new producing countries, development of biotechnological cotton, competition from synthetic fibres, euro/dollar exchange rates, oil prices, etc.). Among these factors, the fight against agricultural subsidies constituted a major and highly-publicised challenge for West African cotton. The results obtained from the Doha Round Negotiations on cotton are relatively encouraging. West African countries, in collaboration with representatives of NGOs and professional organisations, have proven their ability to influence decisions made by international bodies. According to an official WTO communiqué issued during the Hong Kong Ministerial Conference in December 2005:

- All forms of export subsidies for cotton will be eliminated by developed countries in 2006;
- On market access, developed countries will give duty and quota free access for cotton exports from the least developed countries (LDCs) from the commencement of the implementation period;
- Members agree that the objective is that, as an outcome of the negotiations, trade distorting domestic subsidies for cotton production be reduced more ambitiously than under whatever general formula is agreed and that it should be implemented over a shorter period of time than generally applicable. We commit ourselves to give priority in the negotiations to reach such an outcome.

16. According to current projections, Chinese cotton demand and imports should remain high until 2010. West Africa seems to have accounted for this change: 46% of its cotton was exported to China in 2004, contributing to nearly 20% of the total cotton imports of China. Can this situation be sustained? Will West Africa benefit from this new situation?

The main lesson from the process carried out within the WTO is that it is absolutely necessary to reach a regional understanding. This cooperation, which directly involved four West African cotton-producing countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali), should be extended to other West African producing countries. Speaking as one, these countries would be in a position to defend the interests of this third world exporter, namely West Africa. The future, therefore, belongs to a Common Cotton Policy facing the challenges of the international market, particularly China¹⁶; and also in the face of the challenge of the “rebirth” of the textile industry in the region.

The future of West African cotton will also depend on its cost/quality ratio, on the sustainability of its systems and the capacity of West African cotton sectors to organise themselves to meet growing demand. An approach to these challenges at the level of the cotton zone, i.e. cross-border basin, deserves particular attention, in that regard. The future of West African cotton may, therefore, be perceived as “doubly regional”; that is, as regional at the “macro” level so that West Africa can capitalise on its position internationally, as well as regional at the more “micro” level of the cross-border production basins.

Bibliography

- AFD (2006) *La fin des quotas textiles*. La lettre des économistes de l'AFD, n°11, janvier 2006, Paris.
- Baffes John (2004) *Cotton. Market setting, trade policies, and issues*. World Bank Policy Research, Working paper 3218, February 2004, Washington DC.
- CEDEAO (2004) *Cadre de politique agricole pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest. ECOWAP*. Document de référence pour la première phase de consultations nationales. Juillet 2004.
- Cheng Fang, Bruce A. Babcock (2003) *China's cotton policy and the impact of China's WTO accession and Bt cotton adoption on the Chinese and U.S. cotton sectors*. Working paper 03-WP-322, Center for agricultural and rural development, Iowa State University, January 2003, Iowa.
- Club du Sahel (1998) *L'économie locale de Sikasso, Mali*. Etude de cas du programme « Relance des activités locales en Afrique de l'Ouest ». Club du Sahel/OCDE, juillet 1998, Paris.
- CIRAD (2006) *Dossier Coton*. See: http://www.cirad.fr/fr/regard_sur/coton.php
- CIRDES (2003) *Traction animale et stratégies d'acteurs : quelle recherche, quels services face au désengagement des États ?* Atelier international d'échange, 17-21 novembre 2003, Bobo Dioulasso.
- Dahou K., Dahou T. et Gueye C. (2002) *Espaces frontaliers et intégration régionale. Le cas de SKBo*. Enda Tiers Monde, Dakar.
- Dagris (2005) *Production cotonnière africaine – Campagne 2004/05*. Note de conjoncture n°8, novembre 2005, Paris.
- FAO (2003) *Medium-term Prospects for Agricultural Commodities, Committee on Commodity Problems*, 64th Session, 18-21 March 2003, Rome.
- Estur Gérard (2005) *Situation et perspectives du marché mondial du coton*. CCIC, 8 avril 2005, Washington.
- Estur Gérard (2005) *The competitiveness of African Cotton on the World Market*. ICAC, January 2005, Washington.
- Fok Michel (2005) *Coton africain et marché mondial : une distorsion peut en cacher une autre plus importante*. Colloque Agence universitaire de la francophonie. Filières d'exportation de produits agricoles du Sud : réformes institutionnelles, négociations internationales et impacts socio-démographiques, 6 et 7 avril 2005, Bamako.
- Goreux Louis, Macrae John (2003) *Réformes des filières cotonnières en Afrique subsaharienne*. Juillet 2003, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, juillet 2003, Paris.
- Harsmar M. (2004) *Indigenous institutions – Constraint or refuge? The case of agricultural dynamism at the Mossi Plateau in Burkina Faso*. Unpublished report. Sweden.

- Igue John** (2003) *Le secteur informel en Afrique de l'Ouest : Le cas du tissu traditionnel. Dans L'Afrique de l'Ouest dans la compétition mondiale. Quels atouts possibles ?* J. Damon et J.O. Igue (eds) Karthala/CSAO-OCDE.
- Lagandre Damien** (2005) *Le secteur cotonnier en zone franc, entre succès et dépendance*. AFD, Rapport thématique Jumbo, septembre 2005, Paris.
- MacDonald Stephen, Vollrath Thomas** (2005) *The forces shaping World cotton consumption after the Multifiber Arrangement*. USDA, *Electronic outlook report from the economic research service*, April 2005.
- Ministère de la Coopération et du Développement** (1991) *Le coton en Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre. Situation et perspectives*. Groupe de travail de la Coopération française, Paris.
- Nubukpo Kako** (2004) *L'avenir des filières cotonnières ouest-africaines : quelles perspectives après Cancun ?* Communication à la Commission Economique de la Francophonie, 7 avril 2004, Paris.
- OECD** (2004) *A New World Map in Textiles and Clothing: Adjusting to Change*. Organisation for Economic and Development Cooperation (OECD), Paris.
- Orsena Erik** (2006) *Voyage aux pays du coton. Petit précis de mondialisation*. Fayard édition, Paris.
- Perrin Serge, Lagandre Damien** (2005) *Le coton africain face à la concurrence du marché mondial*. AFD, Rapport thématique Jumbo n°6, septembre 2005, Paris.
See: http://www.unctad.org/sections/dite_fdistat/docs/china_ebrief_en.pdf
- Sahel and West Africa Club** (2005) *Economic and social importance of cotton in West Africa: role of cotton in development, trade and livelihoods*. SWAC/OECD, novembre 2005, Paris.
- Sow Hamed** (1999) *L'industrie textile dans les pays de l'UEMOA*. Centre pour le développement de l'entreprise (CDE). Partenariat n°41, mars-avril 1999.
See: <http://www.cde.int/files/pubs/13/Partenariat41.pdf>
- UEMOA** (2003) *Étude d'identification et de promotion d'unités industrielles régionales dans la filière coton de l'UEMOA*, UEMOA mars 2003.
- UNCTAD** (2005) *Infocomm, market information in the commodities areas. Cotton production*.
See: <http://r0.unctad.org/infocomm/anglais/cotton/market.htm>
- UNCTAD** (2005) *Infocomm, market information in the commodities areas. Uses*.
See: <http://r0.unctad.org/infocomm/anglais/cotton/Uses.htm>
- Valderrama Becerra Carlos A.** (2004) *The world cotton market: a long-term outlook*. ICAC, WTO African Regional Workshop on Cotton, March 23-24, 2004, Cotonou.
- Zoundi J.S., Hussein K., Hitimana L.** (2006) *Libéralisation de la filière coton et innovation agricole en Afrique de l'Ouest*. Dans Cahiers Agriculture, vol. 15, n°1, janvier-février 2006.

Websites

- CIRAD**. Dossier coton : http://www.cirad.fr/fr/regard_sur/coton.php
- Dagris**. Informations sur le coton <http://www.dagris.fr/infocoton.html>
- FAO**. Land and Water Development division : <http://www.fao.org/ag/agl/default.stm>
- FAO**. Global Information and Early Warning System (GIEWS) : <http://www.fao.org/giews/english/spot4/waf/index.htm>
- International Cotton Advisory Committee**. <http://www.icac.org>
- IZF**. <http://www.izf.net>
- Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC/OECD)**. Addressing the cotton crisis in West Africa: http://www.oecd.org/document/2/0,2340,en_2649_34639_30751390_1_1_1_1,00.html
- UNCTAD**. Market Information in the Commodities Area - Cotton: <http://r0.unctad.org/infocomm/anglais/indexen.htm>
- UNSTATS**. Database Comtrade. <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/comtrade/default.aspx>
- USDA**. Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) <http://www.fas.usda.gov>
- WTO**. The Cotton Sub-Committee: http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/cotton_subcommittee_e.htm

