        - Informal labour
- Once liberalised, cannot go back
- 2000-2008
    - Poverty
    - Food insecurity
    - No financing of former policies like fertilizer seed packages post-drought
    - Welfare improvements unravel
    - Urban infrastructure collapse – cholera 2008
    - Emigration (to SA and Botswana esp.) and even to Mozambique as reversal of past trends
    - People leaving
- Inflation due to

1. 40$ due to food prices increase (subsidies eliminated for fertilizers, yield fallen)
2. Many commercial farmers shift to lucrative tobacco and horticultural crops for export in response to liberalised prices
3. Money instead of productive investment goes to import of elite luxury goods
4. Speculative investment driving up interest rates.

Case study of the textile industry:

- Predicted to grow rapidly after introduction of liberal reforms given their labour intensity
- Labour-intensive, low skill, natural resources and process-based industry
- 1994 collapse
- Textile employment cut by half between 90-95
- As capita income fell down -> second-hand clothes imported by the millions
- Firms couldn't reorient to exports as lack of marketing links, unsuitable technology, styling, quality and problems with financing
- ESAP led to deindustrialisation of garment manufacture precisely the area in which Zimbabwe was meant to have comparative advantage

Zambia:

- Classic case of economic structure distorted by production of a single dominant commodity for export.
- 1960s/70s GDP growth 6% per annum.
    - Growth in manufacturing industry
- Oil price hike followed by collapse in prices of commodities 1975.
    - 90% earnings from copper so heavily affected
- Landlocked position + difficulty with alternative transit route after Rhodesia declared UDI -> excerbated
- Borrowed heavily in what was believed to be temporary fall in commodity prices
    - To maintain infrastructural and productive investment
- Needed stablisation in 1975
- SAP
    - Deepen poverty
    - Raised mortality rates
    - Harmed education
    - Sell off parastatals including copper industry (nationalisation of which had been mark of national pride in the 70s)

Out-migration as a consequences:

Conclusion:

- WB and IMF treat Africa as a whole. Cookie-cutter solutions