

## Annex 2

### Survey Results

Individuals invited to participate: 374

Average item response rate: 22.4 per cent (minimum = 9.6 per cent, maximum = 38.5 per cent). Some questions were completed by more individuals, who nonetheless did not complete the whole survey.

The survey was available in French and English (Q1 allows the choice)

Throughout the survey results, where 'rating averages' are provided, these represent a weighted average of the results, with 1st assigned a weight of 5, 2nd a weight of 4 and so on.

#### **Q1. Please choose a language for the survey (144 answered question)**

English: 107

French: 37

#### **Q2. What country or region do you represent? (93 answered question)**

##### **Negotiators from small countries (30 countries)**

Barbados 1	Jamaica 3	Seychelles 2
Benin 6	Kiribati 2	St Kitts and Nevis 1
Burkina Faso 1	Madagascar 1	St Lucia 2
Burundi 1	Malawi 2	St Vincent & the Grenadines 1
Comoros Union 5	Mali 2	The Bahamas 2
Cook Islands 5	Mauritania 1	Tonga 1
Ethiopia 2	Mauritius 7	Tuvalu 1
Micronesia, Fed. States of 1	Papua New Guinea 1	Uganda 1
Gabon 1	Samoa 2	Zambia 3
Guyana 2	Senegal 1	Zimbabwe 1

##### **Negotiators from regional organisations:**

Africa 1	SADC 2
ACP 1	Pacific 4
Central Africa 2	
West Africa 7	
CARICOM 1	
CARIFORUM 2	
COMESA 1	
ESA 4	
OECS 6	

**Q3. Where do you work? (108 answered question)**

Government in capital: 52 (48%)

Regional organisation: 21 (19%)

Government mission: 5 (5%)

Other: 30 (28%)

**Q4. Are you (or have you been) directly involved in trade negotiations? (110 answered question)**

Yes: 81 (74%)

No: 29 (26%)

**Q5. How successful do you consider your country to be in achieving its objectives in trade negotiations, compared with other small countries? (88 answered question)**

Answer options	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Very successful	4.5	4
Successful	22.7	20
Average	53.4	47
Unsuccessful	13.6	12
Very unsuccessful	5.7	5
	N	88

**Q6. How often are the outcomes that your country is seeking in trade negotiations compatible with those of powerful states? (93 answered question)**

Answer Options	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Nearly always	2.2	2
Often	6.5	6
Sometimes	48.4	45
Seldom	37.6	35
Almost never	5.4	5
	N	93

**Q7. To what extent do you feel your country can influence the outcome when negotiating with the following partners? (93 answered question, not all respondents answered both parts)**

	High influence	Moderate influence	Low influence	No influence	Response count
A large trading partner like the EU or USA	3	22	52	16	93
A trading partner of similar economic size	27	38	18	1	84

**Further analysis of responses (restricted to respondents who identified whether they represent a country or region)**

**A large trading partner like the EU or USA**

	High influence	Moderate influence	Low influence	No influence
Regional representative	0	10	12	1
Country representative	0	9	31	13

**Q8. In your experience, what political and technical factors most increase the ability of small states to have an impact in trade negotiations? Please rank, with '1st' being the most important. (91 answered question)**

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Quantity and quality of human resources	20	11	13	11	9	3.2
Political leadership	17	9	11	5	13	3.2
Effective negotiating strategy	9	27	15	15	4	3.1
Effective government institutions	13	11	17	9	11	3.0
Quality of available information	8	12	8	4	12	3.0
Coalitions with other countries	14	9	10	17	12	2.7
Engagement of civil society and private sector	8	10	12	20	15	2.4

NB: 'Rating average' is a weighted average of the results, with 1st assigned a weight of 5, 2nd a weight of 4 and so on.

**Comments:**

- La collaboration entre les Ministères (Agriculture, Commerce et Finances).
- Tous ces facteurs sont très importants.
- Différencier la politique et la technique.
- Les deux autres critères sont remplis si les cinq avant sont satisfaits
- Mais le facteur le plus important est le poids économique.
- La qualité des ressources humaines est également un facteur très important pour les résultats à atteindre.
- Exposure of the negotiators to negotiating forums.
- These are all very important and it is difficult to rank them. The differences in the level of importance of all of these is miniscule at best.
- Engagement of civil society and the private sector.
- The other two factors are also important.
- Just as the importance of the engagement of civil society and private sector are important, so are the quantity and quality of available information and human resources.
- Should separate quality and quantity of human resources. Quality is more important.
- All of the above impact significantly.
- Political leadership is also crucial, as it determines the policy direction, and the private sector and civil society also need to have a stake as they are largely affected by the outcomes of the negotiations.
- Effective country dialogue to reach a position prior to any negotiation contact.
- Mutual understanding between government and the private sector, i.e going towards the same objective.
- Effective government institutions take care of the quantity and quality of human resources, the quality of information and clear structures for the engagement of stakeholders. Another key issue is that of financial resources, as the institutions are sometimes overstretched given the many trade negotiations.
- A well-trained pool of human resources will know where to look for quality information.
- Since trade negotiations impact on the activities of the private sector, political leadership is not important in itself, but rather in providing the right environment and appropriate financial resources to help the private sector and civil society to engage and participate effectively in the negotiations by providing information, views and other support to official trade negotiators.
- Public sector fully engaged and aware of the impact of negotiations on private sector industry.
- Adequate preparation and wide public discourse.
- An effective negotiating strategy is important, but it will flow from what has been identified.
- An effective strategy and quantity/quality of human resources and level of preparedness are important.
- All the above factors play a role.
- This segment does not allow for proper answering.

### Q9. Which coalition or regional group is most important for your country in trade negotiations? (91 answered question)

Note: Respondents were asked to name the coalition/regional group, and were not given options to select from. Also, the number of survey respondents from each region varied and many of those surveyed were participating in EPA negotiations, where countries have to negotiate in regional groupings. Without a further breakdown of results according to the origin of respondents – and the particular negotiations in which they were involved – the table is not intended to infer the relative importance of different groupings. Instead, its purpose is to provide a snapshot of the diversity of regional and issue-based groups to which countries belong.

Group/region	Number of respondents
ACP Group	1
Africa Group	6
Asia Pacific	2
Cotton-4	2
CARICOM	14
CARIFORUM	6
COMESA	11
ECOWAS	8
ESA	13
G20	1
G77	1
G90	1
Indian Ocean Commission	1
LDC Group	4
None	1
Oceania, New Zealand and Australia	2
OECS	1
Pacific	9
SACU	1
SADC	1
SVE	2
The Horn States	1
UEMOA	1
Do not know	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>

**Q10. What are the main advantages that your country derives from negotiating in this group? Please rank in order of importance, with ‘1st’ being the most important. (90 answered question)**

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Reinforcing regional integration	24	24	20	10	5	3.5
Pooling technical expertise	22	23	22	10	3	3.5
Negotiating as a larger market	21	19	20	16	4	3.3
Increasing political weight	19	14	15	31	4	2.8
Reducing the likelihood of retaliation by powerful states	3	8	4	12	54	1.6

**Comments:**

- Attirer les investissements directs et étrangers tout en rassurant les réformes des règles au niveau national et en se conformant des mesures des règles internationales. Appui aussi au renforcement des capacités technique et financière.
- Apprendre les bonnes pratiques des autres pays.
- Mieux défendre nos intérêts.
- Safeguarding our regional interests, championing our strengths and advocating for the vulnerable in our society as well as development support.
- Customs revenue has been a highly motivating factor.
- My responses are related to WTO negotiations.
- LDCs have common interest in the trade negotiations.
- Still too small to truly be able to negotiate evenly with larger states/unions.
- This applies to negotiation at multilateral level. The ranking would be different for bilateral negotiations.
- Technical expertise assists if the experts are sufficiently prepared.

**Q11. How much influence does your country have within this group, in comparison with other countries? (89 answered question)**

Answer options	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Very high	9.0	8
High	30.3	27
Moderate	44.9	40
Low	12.4	11
Very low	3.4	3
	N	89

**Q12. How many professional staff work full-time on trade negotiations for your country? (79 answered question, not all respondents answered both parts)**

No. of people	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	More than 10	N
Your country's mission in Geneva:	17	8	18	5	3	5	2	1	0	0	1	2	62
Your country's lead ministry on trade:	4	7	11	14	5	5	3	7	4	2	2	14	78

**Q13. For how many years are officials typically assigned to work on trade negotiations? Please leave blank if not applicable. (36 answered question, not all respondents answered both parts)**

Length of time	0–6 months	6–12 months	1–2 years	3–5 years	6–10 years	Over 10 years	Response count
Your country's mission in Geneva:	2	0	4	13	1	0	20
Your country's lead ministry on trade:	3	2	5	8	9	5	32

**Q14. In your experience, what do trade officials usually move on to after being posted to Geneva? (70 answered question)**

Stay in government	31
Mix of government and international organisation	13
Mix of government and private sector	3
Mix of all 3	1
Leave government	15
Not sure/other	7

**Q15. What proportion of staff working on international trade negotiations have an academic degree in any of the following? (85 answered question)**

Answer options	Most	Some	Few	None	N
Economics or law	52	18	13	1	84
Subject related to international politics	6	37	21	7	71
Other academic degree	18	17	31	2	68
No academic degree	1	3	9	34	47

**Q16. What personal qualities do you consider most important for enabling your country’s negotiators to be effective? Please rank, with ‘1st’ being the most important. (90 answered question)**

Answer options	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Experience in trade negotiations	39	24	11	6	3	4.0
Technical knowledge	26	32	20	3	3	3.9
Strategic thinking	15	17	29	7	7	3.3
Work ethic	4	7	4	15	19	2.0
Charisma/personality	3	4	8	20	20	1.8
Language skills	1	3	10	19	11	1.8
Personal conviction	1	3	4	15	16	1.6

**Q17. What sources do you rely on most for information and analysis needed for international trade negotiations? Please rank, with ‘1st’ being the most important. (86 answered question)**

Answer options	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Government ministries	21	17	21	10	9	3.3
Regional organisations	18	27	16	16	3	3.3
International governmental organisations	18	17	21	20	5	3.1
Your country’s mission in Geneva	16	12	9	9	17	2.9
Non-governmental organisations	10	10	11	19	24	2.3

**Q18. How good do you think the quality of information and analysis is that your government produces in preparing for trade negotiations? (86 answered question)**

Answer options	Government does not produce	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor	Response count
Trade flow data	8	24	38	13	2	85
Diplomatic intelligence	12	22	22	14	8	78
Economic impact studies	10	17	26	21	9	83
Legal advice	12	18	27	18	8	83

**Q19. In your experience, how helpful are private consultants and advisers in preparing for trade negotiations? (84 answered question, not all respondents answered both parts)**

Answer options	Country does not use	Very helpful	Helpful	No impact	Unhelpful	Response count
Consultants hired by your government	16	22	36	5	1	80
Consultants provided by donors	2	22	54	1	1	80

**Q20. Why do you think small countries maintain a mission in Geneva? Please rank, with '1st' being the most important. (80 answered question)**

Answer options	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
To keep the government informed on international affairs	26	22	13	10	7	3.5
To influence trade negotiations	27	17	7	10	14	3.3
To improve international perception of their country	16	11	18	11	20	2.8
To maintain relationships with powerful states	6	13	21	23	10	2.5
To secure aid packages	4	15	17	20	20	2.3

**Q21. When staff in your country's missions abroad send reports on trade negotiations back to capital, how often do they receive feedback on those reports? (74 answered question)**

Answer options	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Almost always	17.6	13
Often	20.3	15
Sometimes	40.5	30
Rarely	17.6	13
Almost never	4.1	3
	N	74

**Q22. How effective are formal mechanisms for trade policy co-ordination in your country? (83 answered question, not all answered both parts)**

Answer options	Do not exist	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor	Response count
Among government ministries	3	2	31	28	17	81
With the private sector and civil society	2	3	22	28	24	79

**Q23. How effective is parliament in holding your government to account on trade negotiation outcomes? (81 answered question)**

Answer options	Response (%)	Response (no.)
Not involved	9.9	8
Very effective	3.7	3
Moderately effective	50.6	41
Ineffective	35.8	29
	N	81

**Q24. Which actors most influence your government's trade policy process? Please rank, with '1st' being the most important. (85 answered question)**

Answer options	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Domestic private sector	45	15	15	5	1	4.2
International donors	21	15	13	8	8	3.4
Foreign private sector	7	18	9	8	14	2.8
NGOs	1	17	16	23	10	2.3
Academia and think-tanks	5	10	7	14	24	2.1
Trade unions	2	4	15	15	13	2.1

**Q25. How often do you employ the following kinds of tactics in trade negotiations? (Responses restricted to those currently or previously directly involved in trade negotiations – 64)**

Answer options	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Rating average
Arguments about special and differential treatment	44	12	4	1	3.6
Coalition building	41	15	6	0	3.6
Legal arguments	19	24	13	3	3.0
Working with NGOs	8	25	20	2	2.7
Direct dialogue among heads of state	8	26	15	8	2.6
Involving the development agencies of donor countries	7	25	18	5	2.6
Delay tactics	7	17	25	3	2.6
Adding new issues to the agenda	4	25	24	6	2.5

**Q26. How often do powerful states use the following kinds of tactics when negotiating with your country? (Responses restricted to those currently or previously directly involved in trade negotiations – 65)**

Answer options	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Rating average
Imposing stringent negotiation deadlines	43	16	5	0	3.6
Putting pressure on the executive branch of government	26	25	9	2	3.2
Making threats related to trade	27	23	9	2	3.2
Cutting out negotiators by dealing directly with their superiors	26	22	5	8	3.1
Making threats in issue areas other than trade	18	27	8	6	3.0

**Q27. In trade negotiations, how often are you concerned about each of the following factors? (Responses restricted to those currently or previously directly involved in trade negotiations – 61)**

Answer options	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	Rating average
Withdrawal of trade preferences	35	15	8	2	3.4
Losing aid	25	16	16	4	3.0
Appearing ill-informed	10	27	15	7	2.7
Overstepping the mandate given by your superiors	17	20	9	13	2.7
Offending the country/countries you are negotiating with	9	26	13	12	2.6

**Q28. What changes would enable your country to tackle the constraints it faces in trade negotiations? Please rank, with '1st' being the most important. (80 answered question)**

Answer options	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Rating average
Greater priority given to trade by government	27	20	11	10	0	3.8
Stronger links between development plans and trade	23	9	18	7	8	3.4
Private sector priorities driving negotiating objectives	15	19	14	13	8	3.1
Better government understanding of the needs of small economic actors (SMEs, farmers, etc.)	3	17	12	18	11	2.5
Civil service reform (improved salaries, systems, etc.)	8	7	6	12	21	2.2
Increased donor assistance on trade	4	7	14	14	23	2.1

**Q29. If you could effect any reform in your country to dramatically improve performance in trade negotiations, what would it be? Please also add any other comments on the constraints small states face in trade negotiations. (56 answered question)**

- Training opportunities for trade negotiators.
- Obtain technical assistance to have trade policy adviser(s) located in-country.
- Reform to reduce vulnerabilities to globalisation and focus more on capitalising while mitigating the risks.
- Better legal support on international trade issues for the negotiation teams!! More discussions between government and private sector to figure out future trade opportunities (e.g. new free trade agreements). More time to be spent on alternative solutions when preferential trade options disappear. There is a lot of talk on this, but no initiatives have been seen yet (e.g. from the EU). Please note that my views in this survey relate to the private sector. We are involved in the trade negotiation process, but we do not manage it.
- Systematic linkages with private sector, stronger policy development and analysis domestically, more support for the work of the mission and greater involvement of executive ministries in areas under their remit (i.e. fisheries, services, intellectual property).
- Training of trade negotiators and work-placements in Geneva to enhance the skills of negotiators. CD-Roms with decisions of WTO on trade issues should also be made available to all ministries involved in trade negotiations.
- More collaborative approach between government agencies, development of robust trade policies that link with other legislation and more manpower within the trade areas.
- To gain a better understanding of what our real needs are so we know what is worth fighting for. Also a better assessment of what our future needs may be.
- Human resource development, establishing effective and functioning trade policy co-ordination mechanisms.
- I would lead the country's negotiations. I would not accept lies and misinformation and actually be transparent on all requests. Trade for small island states (SIS) is almost impossible without resources and there is a vital need to show with facts, figures and actual experience that the developed countries are actually imposing a dependency model on the SIS with the trade rules being applied.
- Create a Ministry of Trade to handle all issues relating to domestic and foreign trade. At present trade is handle by three to four different ministries and other organisations.
- Perhaps the establishment of a national consultative mechanism is an area where I can play a critical role. However, adequate funding (and two newly recruited administrative assistants) is desperately needed.
- 1. Institute a legal structure for trade negotiations; 2. Increase accountability of senior government negotiators (e.g. through Parliament); 3. Recruit the most talented government officials for negotiations and ensure they serve for at least five years, especially before being posted to a non-trade mission abroad!!
- Building a team of well-informed negotiators who are knowledgeable and can advance strategic decisions and positions that can better the economies of small countries through trade. However, small economies face supply side constraints to ensure that they are able to compete in the global economy.

- The main change would be that trade be given a higher priority by the government. However, the justification for this is nullified by our declining economic fortunes as liberalisation continues. It has become increasingly difficult to convince governments in this region that it is in their interest to invest resources in the negotiation of trade agreements either in bilaterals or in the WTO.
- Negotiation teams need to be developed who are appropriately remunerated and there is adequate budget to attend appropriate meetings. The team members need to be appointed by the state to maintain consistency and not changed for political reasons or nepotism.
- Civil service reform to minimise the appointment of square pegs in round holes, especially persons who are favoured by the ruling party in government and not necessarily those who are technically competent and qualified to do the job. Increased consultations and dialogue with the private sector and civil society in general. Continuous training on trade-related issues to build capacity within the private sector to articulate their own interests. The inclusion of private sector representatives on the trade negotiation team to best articulate their own interests. Better dissemination of trade information and statistics.
- Capacity building and prioritisation of objectives to suit developments needs. Diversification of trade negotiation experts. Increase in team output and effectiveness. Specialisation in all sectors of trade negotiations. Enough disbursement of funds to carry out trade negotiations and active participation in all regional and multilateral trade talks. Involvement of all non-state actors in mainstream trade policy formulation and processes. Involvement of private sector in same above.
- Financial resources and human resources.
- Economic stabilisation underpinned by a democratic political dispensation.
- Government should be more focused and maintain a core team involved in these negotiations.
- Strengthen and empower trade policy institutions, especially in technical areas.
- Effective and inclusive negotiating structures at national and regional levels; and minimising the influence of donor countries in the determination of our negotiating positions.
- Incorporate trade in the national development plan.
- Ensure that regional governments are unified and participate actively in the negotiations. Small states have little or no ability to influence trade policy positions of major, powerful economies, e.g. the EU.
- The most important is to improve co-ordination among the government ministries, private sector and civil society. The process of preparing national positions should be inclusive, though every so often, civil society NGOs have separate agendas and do not toe the agreed line.
- Build the capacity of trade negotiators, increase technical assistance in trade negotiation areas.
- Ensure that personnel directly engaged in negotiations or the background research are fully trained in international trade – intellectual property rights and other related issues such as WTO agreements (ISPM 15, etc.) – and then ensure that there is a formal mechanism for dialogue on all negotiations between the private and public sectors that actually provides enough time for informed discussions, research and impact assessments.

- The major constraint is the difference between the haves and the have-nots. The majority of our members are small island economies with little capacity to influence trade negotiations with larger trading partners such as the EU. Improving the technical expertise and capacity of our members could improve performance in trade negotiations.
- The reform would focus on recruiting more trade negotiators, providing facilities for private sector to participate in trade negotiations, providing financial resources to access information or employ consultants to work on specific issues, and provide regular training to keep up to date on all trade-related issues. Participation in discussions organised by international organisations such as UNCTAD, other UN agencies and international NGOs would help in influencing trade negotiations.
- 1. A properly staffed Trade Policy Unit; 2. Strong national private sector organisations and sectoral (services/industry) associations; 3. Functional national trade policy co-ordination framework involving government/civil society/NGOs; 4. Current and reliable statistical data bases to facilitate technical analyses in formulating national/regional negotiating positions. Donor assistance should be geared towards assisting private sector organisations in establishing and maintaining a trade policy technical secretariat to facilitate capacity building among its membership and meaningful participation by the private sector in national trade policy formulation and implementation.
- Grant negotiating teams a clear mandate and monitor the execution of the overall strategy instead of the constant attempt by governments to micro-manage negotiations.
- Improvement in data gathering and analysis.
- Greater co-operation among small states.
- Do analytical impact studies; state strategic objectives; recruit capable persons.
- Reform economic policies related to investment, trade and private sector development to further support private sector led economic development while improving social development policies. There is also need to reform the public sector with a view to reducing the number of public servants and streamlining the services provided by government for a more efficient and effective private sector. Overarching this is a need for political reform.
- Improve the quantum, quality and variety of expertise available. More effective political understanding of the trade negotiations and implementation processes. Effective private sector organisations to support and input into the process. Allocation of sufficient resources to enable the process. These address the constraints that I see.
- Ensure that a development plan is established; improve co-ordination between the ministries; increase consultations between the public and private sectors; and improve the quantity and quality of information available.
- Improve human resource and institutional capacity in trade negotiations, including research and analysis skills.
- Make the private sector an integral part of the negotiating team, including providing their representatives with diplomatic passports.
- Reform: recruitment policies, especially on selection, training and retention of staff. The presence of advisers has a more dramatic effect, but is not sustainable.

- Trade needs to be made a priority and be integrated with overall planning of the country. Training for the staff and access to information is critical.
- Consider establishing a multi-disciplinary team of experts who can dedicate a good portion of time to preparing for negotiations and consulting stakeholders regularly. Improved remuneration would help keep them motivated.
- Data to back up arguments would improve performance of trade negotiations for my country, particularly on agricultural products, industry and government Treasury.
- Reformier les voies de communication et de prises de décision (mandat des négociateurs ...) entre les capitales et Genève, afin d'accélérer les prises de décisions.
- Motiver les fonctionnaires en les revalorisant. Qu'on garde toujours les responsables des affaires économiques dans les mêmes places et qu'on recrute des cadres avec des profils économiques adaptés.
- Revoir les programmes de formation.
- Faire une priorité les négociations commerciales, afin de relancer la croissance.
- Réforme de l'organisation de l'administration administrative destinée à doter les négociateurs des compétences nécessaires.
- Mettre en place un groupe de négociateurs professionnels publics-privés avec des pouvoirs reconnus par toutes les parties et notamment la légitimité au niveau des autorités publiques.
- Renforcer les compétences techniques des négociateurs par la formation et une participation plus régulière et soutenue aux réunions de négociations.
- Former le maximum possible de négociateurs, améliorer la communication avec tous les acteurs concernés et constituer des groupes solides avec d'autres petits pays. Pour les petits Etats, il faudra améliorer leur participation aux négociations en augmentant le nombre de négociateurs pour éviter les absences enregistrées très souvent et améliorer leur qualité technique.
- Réformes allant dans le sens d'améliorer la capacité d'offre de mon pays par la mise en place de politique permettant de doter le secteur privé de moyens. Renforcer les capacités de négociations des fonctionnaires en charge des questions de négociations commerciales.
- Former de véritables négociateurs.
- Améliorer la capacité d'offre et des acteurs sans laquelle le pays ne peut vraiment tirer de réels profits des avantages commerciaux qui découlent des négociations.
- Renforcement capacités/formation des fonctionnaires aux techniques de négociation; aide aux missions diplomatiques à Genève; personnel, moyens financiers; réformes des structures de l'Etat pour mieux coordonner les actions de politique commerciale.