



**AgEcon** SEARCH  
RESEARCH IN AGRICULTURAL & APPLIED ECONOMICS

*The World's Largest Open Access Agricultural & Applied Economics Digital Library*

**This document is discoverable and free to researchers across the globe due to the work of AgEcon Search.**

**Help ensure our sustainability.**

Give to AgEcon Search

AgEcon Search  
<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu>  
[aesearch@umn.edu](mailto:aesearch@umn.edu)

*Papers downloaded from **AgEcon Search** may be used for non-commercial purposes and personal study only. No other use, including posting to another Internet site, is permitted without permission from the copyright owner (not AgEcon Search), or as allowed under the provisions of Fair Use, U.S. Copyright Act, Title 17 U.S.C.*

**Katholieke Universiteit Leuven**  
**Faculty of Agricultural and Applied Biological Sciences**



Working Paper  
2003 / 84

**FAIR TRADE: AN ILLUSION?**

Eric TOLLENS

October 2003

This paper (pdf) can be downloaded following the link:  
<http://www.agr.kuleuven.ac.be/aee/clo/wp/tollens2003e.pdf>

Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics  
K.U.Leuven  
Willem de Croylaan 42, B-3001 Leuven – Belgium  
Tel. +32-16-321614, Fax +32-16-321996

Tollens, E. "Fair Trade: An Illusion?" Working Paper, n° 84, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2003.

This paper has been presented at the interdisciplinary course 'Ontwikkeling en Culturen', Maria Theresia College, Kleine Aula, October 21, 2003.

Prof. Eric Tollens,  
Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, K.U.Leuven,  
de Croylaan 42, B-3001 Leuven (Heverlee), Belgium  
Tel.: +32 16 32 16 16, Fax: +32 16 32 19 96,  
Email: eric.tollens@agr.kuleuven.ac.be

*Copyright 2003 by Eric Tollens. All rights reserved. Readers may make verbatim copies of this document for non-commercial purposes by any means, provided that this copyright notice appears on all such copies.*

## 1. Introduction

Fair Trade (FT) is not new or recent. It started some 40 years ago. Already in 1991, Max Havelaar<sup>1</sup> coffee was sold in Belgium, following the Dutch example. In other countries, other names were used such as Transfair, Fairtrade and Rättvisemarkt. Now, 18 coffee brands, representing 30 types (origins) of coffee carry the Max Havelaar label in Belgium. Total Max Havelaar coffee sales in Belgium in 2001 were 582 tons; for bananas, a recently added product, sales were 924 ton in 2001.

FT was started by missionaries and the first FT products were sold in so-called world shops. Disadvantaged producers, and their representatives, out of ideology against the mainstream trade, set up their own marketing channel, in fact a niche market. But this remained very marginal as they could not address the mainstream market. This is how the idea for a label came about, such that labeled products could be sold in shops and supermarkets. The first labeling organization was the Max Havelaar Foundation in the Netherlands. Other labels were created in other countries and in 1994 they decided to collaborate, which gave rise to the Fair Trade Labeling organization (FLO) in 1997.

FT remains a marginal phenomenon in international trade, but growth is 20% or more per year and the list of products included under the FT label grows<sup>2</sup>. The following

---

<sup>1</sup> The name of a book written by Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker) in 1860, a writer who lived in Indonesia during the Dutch colonial days, and who described the exploitation of Indonesian coffee growers by Dutch traders.

<sup>2</sup> Total FT trade in the world in 2000 was 220 million \$ while total world trade was over 5.000 billion \$. One can thus say that FT is only a drop in the ocean.

products are presently sold under the FLO-label: coffee, cocoa, bananas, tea, pineapple, sugar, rice, mango, honey, fruit juices, wine, chocolate. In fact, the list is growing almost every month. Also, most multinationals now have FT products in their product range, except two notable exceptions for coffee: Nestlé and Sara Lee (Douwe Egberts). Most farmer organizations or cooperatives that participate in a FT scheme can only sell a small part of their production under the FT label. Usually this is only 5% or less because demand for FT products in the North is still limited. For coffee in 2002, there were 144 farmer organizations on the waiting list of FLO and 177 active (see further for an explanation of FLO).

Development economists agree that FT is a superior instrument for poverty alleviation over handouts (social assistance) or typical rural development projects, as FT entirely relies on local efforts to succeed.

## **2. FT labeling and certification**

Since FT products need to comply with strict criteria and norms, in 1997 a Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO) was created, headquartered in Bonn, Germany<sup>3</sup>. Today, FLO groups 17 national FT organizations, of which Max Havelaar, and introduced in 2002 a common label or logo (certification mark) to be used by all member organizations in North America, Europe and Japan. FLO aims to improve the position of poor producers and workers in developing countries by setting FT standards and by

---

<sup>3</sup> FLO received the 2002 King Baudouin International Development Prize for their pioneering role in giving disadvantaged products and workers in the developing world the opportunity to participate directly and at fair trade conditions in international trade, through a system of certification, producer support, business facilitation, and consumer education.

controlling producers and traders through a certification and trade-auditing system.

FLO carries out three important activities:

- \* Guaranteeing standards
  - assessing the compliance of producers with FT standards;
  - assuring that FT benefits are used for social and economic development;
  - auditing FLO registered traders in order to make sure that the FT price reaches the producers;
  - assuring that the labels are used only on products coming from FT certified producers.
  
- \* Promoting producer support
  - strengthening their organization and production, e.g. quality upgrading, diversification, organization strengthening through advice and training.
  
- \* Business facilitation
  - FLO's product managers identify business opportunities, contact processors and distributors in the North, and try to enhance FT impact in commercial markets.

FLO standards must be met - by producers, traders, processors, wholesalers and retailers - for a product to qualify for the label. For consumers, it is the guarantee that their actions (purchasing) result in a better deal for poor farmers in the South.

There are two sets of generic producer standards, one for small farmers and one for workers on plantations and in factories. The first set applies to smallholders organized in cooperatives or other organizations with a democratic, participational structure. The second set applies to organized workers, whose employers pay decent wages, guarantee the right to join trade unions and provide good housing where

relevant. On plantations and in factories, minimum health and safety as well as environmental standards must be complied with, and no child or forced labor may occur.

Because Fairtrade is also about development, the generic standards distinguish between minimum requirements which producers must meet to be certified as Fairtrade, and process requirements that encourage producer organization to continuously improve working conditions and product quality, to increase the environmental sustainability of their activities and to invest in the development of the organizations and their producers/workers.

Trading standards stipulate that traders have to:

- pay a price to producers that covers the costs of sustainable production and living;
- pay a premium that producers can invest in development;
- partially pay in advance, when asked by producers;
- sign contracts that allow for long-term planning and sustainable production practices.

Finally, there are a few product-specific FT standards for each product that determine such things as minimum quality, price and processing requirements that have to be complied with. The certification unit at FLO-Bonn operates independently and has 38 inspectors, all people from the South, who oversee the application of FLO-criteria and the use of the label.

### **3. Ethical trading not the same as FT**

Ethical trading is not to be confused with fair trade. For instance, the Ethical Trading Initiative formed in the United Kingdom in October 1998, is a forum of retailers, NGOs, trade unions and other bodies aimed at the development of common approaches to the formulation and implementation of codes of conduct (du Toit, 2001). Members developed a base code broadly based on internationally accepted labor and social standards, and a set of implementation principles setting out best practice in the adoption of the code (ETI, 1998). The base code of the ethical trading initiative includes:

- employment is freely chosen;
- freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining are respected;
- working conditions are safe and hygienic;
- child labor shall not be used;
- living wages are paid;
- working hours are not excessive;
- no discrimination is practiced;
- regular employment is provided;
- no harsh or inhumane treatment is allowed.

Thus, ethical trading is close to corporate schemes aimed at chain management and code harmonization within global commodity chains. In global agro-food trade, this includes CEPAA's SA 8000 scheme for labor standards, the euro-retailer fresh produce working group's protocol sponsoring for Good Agricultural Practices (EUREGAP), the Forest Stewardship Council's Framework for the certification of the sustainability of forest management practices in timber (FSC), and even the Hazard



Analysis and Critical Control Points food safety regime (HACCP). All these involve the development of generic, harmonized guidelines for in-company systems. All of them claim to be global standards and emphasize the importance of reliable and valid monitoring and verification.

#### **4. Economic analysis of FT**

There exists a lot of misconceptions about FT. In Dutch, it is called "eerlijke handel", a very poor translation as "eerlijk" or "honest" refers to an ethical concept of "not cheating". It implies that all regular trade is then dishonest, which of course is not true. The French translation is better "le commerce équitable", or trade with equity. The English term FT is in my view the best, as "fair" implies something which benefits everybody, which is equitable - a level playing field as Americans would say.

It is not easy to find a good definition for FT. In my view, it is trade which guarantees that the weakest link in the marketing chain, usually the farmer, or the plantation worker, receives an equitable or "decent" share of the value of the end product, under all circumstances. Many people would say that FT guarantees the producers a decent living standard, i.e. a price for his product that enables the farmer to cover his basic needs (food, shelter, health, education) and to live decently (and many sociologists-anthropologists will add: and in dignity).

But it is very difficult to define decent living standards and basic human needs, as they are very location specific and need to be judged against some peer group. Moreover, economists will add that nobody has a (divine) right to produce whatever he likes and request a decent living standard in doing so. If something is produced for

which there is no market demand, or which is in oversupply, market signals ("the price") should be such as to discourage the producer from further production. To put it in a concrete, actual example, if coffee prices are very low because of overproduction, then this must induce coffee producers to produce less, and to diversify their production. This is the golden rule in economics where prices are market signals that must coordinate production and consumption (supply and demand). Markets are coordination mechanisms where prices act as signals. If they perform this function well, there is price efficiency in markets as prices then play their proper role. This then explains why in liberalized, free markets, market information must be available to all market participants. Only then can markets work efficiently.

The drama in many agricultural markets, particularly those of perennial or tree crops (palm oil, rubber, cocoa, coffee, tea, many spices, etc.), is that once the crop is planted, which is the major investment, maintenance and production costs (picking of coffee, cocoa, ... and on-farm processing) are relatively low cost and prices have to fall very low in order to discourage production. Farmers will continue producing (harvesting) as long as the price (which constitutes their marginal revenue) covers the marginal cost of production, which in many cases is just picking the fruit from the trees and preparing it for sale (hulling, fermentation, drying, grading, etc.). As these marginal costs can be very low, prices can fall very deeply before they discourage production.

Economists generally have many objections against FT as FT guarantees a "decent" price to the farmer in all circumstances. These objections can be summarized as follows in three arguments:

1. A fixed, guaranteed price, does not induce efficiency, cost savings and adaptations in the market. It maintains inefficient producers in the system when, in fact, they should stop production and leave it to the more efficient producers. This argument is sound, except that poor farmers in a poor country struggling for survival, with no access to modern technology, will always lose the battle for production efficiency<sup>4</sup>. Why should we apply western notions of efficiency and performance to people struggling to survive in their livelihood? Such farmers are usually poorly integrated in the marketing system, and typically markets are very imperfect<sup>5</sup> in such circumstances. FT, in bypassing strict marketing criteria of efficiency and performance, can uplift such farmers and make the transition possible to more efficiency and better market performance. But the lesson is that FT must target the poorest of the poor farmers where social arguments (a decent livelihood) are much more important than purely economic criteria of production efficiency.
2. To the extent that FT is successful in guaranteeing higher prices to farmers, and in reaching many farmers, overproduction, which is the root cause of low producer prices, will persist and low producer prices will remain. Thus, those farmers that cannot sell at FT prices, will be really hurt and will be condemned to receive

---

<sup>4</sup> Most farmers in developing countries produce efficiently with the resources and technology at hand, thus confirming T.W.Schultz (1964) thesis of "efficient, but poor". Only access to improved resources, including credit, and better production technology, will enable them to increase productivity and incomes and to escape "penny capitalism".

<sup>5</sup> Imperfect markets are markets that lack the hardware and/or the software to function properly. In particular, physical infrastructure, rules, norms, regulation and market information are deficient and lead to poor performance.

forever low prices. In this sense, FT ensures permanent low market prices. This reasoning only holds when FT becomes a reasonable share of the total market and thus becomes "mainstream". This is still very hypothetical as FT coffee, the largest product in the FT market with 15.000 t per year (2001) makes up only 0,014% of the total coffee market of 110 million ton. But the lesson is that the FT segment cannot become mainstream.

3. FT is unfair with respect to the farmers that have to sell at normal market prices. FT usually targets small cooperatives or farmer's associations, and farmers that do not belong to these are in fact discriminated against. The same applies to private traders, plantations, and companies that have to compete with the FT traders. This argument is valid and therefore, FT needs to apply strict criteria in targeting the poorest farmers.

The conclusion from the foregoing is that FT can only be economically justified if:

- it targets really poor farmers (the "poorest of the poor");
- operates as a poverty alleviation instrument;
- does not become mainstream and thus remains a relatively small segment of the total trade;
- remains market conform and does not distort regular market channels.

The most important are the poverty targeting criteria and the concept of FT as an instrument of poverty alleviation. Secondly, it should not work against but rather work with the regular trade, wholesalers and retailers. Few if any economists will object to a poverty alleviation instrument in conformity with market principles. Unfortunately, the proponents of FT rarely advance these concepts and principles.

Their actions are often directed against the regular trade, multinationals and the private sector. Also, they often defend the idea that all of the trade with developing countries should become FT.

## **5. Market power and asymmetry in primary commodity markets**

Large multinationals (e.g. in the coffee sector: Nestlé, Proctor and Gamble, Philip Morris, Sara Lee, Unilever, etc.) are often accused of maintaining low prices to farmers in developing countries, while in fact market imbalances - oversupply respective to demand - is the fundamental root cause of persistent low prices. One cannot accuse multinational companies of paying prices in conformity with market conditions. And in many instances, large multinationals in the field pay the best prices for higher quality as compared to small-scale independent traders (from personal experience).

The fundamental imbalance in primary agricultural commodity markets is one of market power, northern rich traders versus poor farmers, and particularly the asymmetry in market information. Buyers are usually much better informed about prevailing market conditions and prices, they hedge their operations on the primary commodity futures markets (thus eliminating price risk) and sell in a consumer market dominated by strong brands and customer loyalty. The oligopolistic position of large multinationals in consumer markets through branding allows them to consistently achieve strong profits and high returns on investment, whatever the prices paid to farmers. One cannot blame them for skilled consumer marketing and brand policy, thus escaping cutthroat competition with private labels and hard discounters (such as Aldi and Lidl in Belgium). Nevertheless, corporate governance dominated by the

three p's (people, profit, planet), upholding stakeholders interests and ethical business principles forces the big firms to go beyond what market forces dictate, and, for instance, to sell FT products alongside regular products. But they only do it because some of their stakeholders, including shareholders, public institutions and NGO's, force them to do so. Sometimes they do it just for window-dressing. And some large multinationals refuse to deal with FT products out of principle (Nestlé, Sara Lee).

In liberalized primary commodity markets, such as those for coffee, cocoa, cotton, it is very important that a performant market information system (MIS) is in place to provide poor farmers with up-to-date market information. Such information, distributed via the media on a daily basis, usually includes the prices paid in the external market, usually the London or New York futures market for primary commodities, and the prices paid to farmers in the local market by buyers. Such MIS now operate in most producing countries, but many suffer from poor financing, inadequate distribution of the information and too much donor dependency.

There is recent evidence that supermarkets benefit unduly from FT products and take their cut of FT products. The Sunday Times (UK, June 29, 2003) reported that some of Britain's biggest supermarkets have been accused of exploiting customers' goodwill by overcharging for FT products. This is easy as the items will always be more expensive than their ordinary equivalents because of the FT scheme. As the price for FT products can be double that of the ordinary equivalents, there is room for generous profits. Sainsbury, Tesco and Asda were all doing it. FLO does not have control over the final price of the product, and this constitutes a loophole that supermarkets are exploiting. They point out that the scheme is still benefiting poor farmers - never

mind that they benefit even more - and that there are more costs associated with stocking and distributing FT products.

## **6. Conclusions**

FT is superior to development aid. But demand for FT products in the North is a major constraining factor. Unfortunately, most of the FT products are generic agricultural products with no brand recognition, where cutthroat price competition by hard discounters is common. It is hoped that the common FT logo that has been introduced will induce buying loyalty and will increase volume of trade.

FT should be seen as an instrument of poverty alleviation and there must be strict criteria for the targeting of the "poorest of the poor". Unfortunately, many FT protagonists do not see it that way and want FT to scale up to mainstream, moving away from the niche towards the mass consumption<sup>6</sup>. In my view, this is an error. If that would happen, FT will fail by its own success, as analyzed in this paper. The poverty targeting criteria of FT products should be made explicit. Obviously, there is no need for targeting in countries like Tanzania, Rwanda or R.D. Congo. But one cannot say the same of FT products from Brazil, Colombia or Costa Rica.

Economists are generally skeptical of schemes that try to "manage" the market - excluding the invisible hand in demand and supply, as is for instance the case in the European Common Agricultural Policy, at great costs to European taxpayers. Also, if

---

<sup>6</sup> Statement by Paola Ghilliani, president FLO-international in the Forum Report, Lingen, Germany, 17-21 September, 2001.

the large multinationals that presently refuse to include FT products in their product range were explained the concept of FT as a targeted poverty alleviation instrument, and not as an instrument to "circumvent market balance between demand and supply"<sup>7</sup>, then chances for their adhesion would be much better. Many economists are convinced (rightly) that market balance in the long run offers the best possibility for smallholders producers in the developing world. But this implies supply management "OPEC style" or controls on the expansion of production. One should not forget that the persistent low coffee prices over the last five years are mainly the result of Vietnam's enormous expansion of low grade Robusta coffee production, from less than 100.000 t/year fifteen years ago to more than one million tons now. Supply management in poor developing countries in a coordinated way is extremely difficult to achieve, and is the main reason why all international commodity agreements have been abolished.

---

<sup>7</sup> Statement by Jacobs Café of Germany, reported in FLO Fairtrade Forum Number 5, November 2001.



## Bibliography<sup>8</sup>

BLOWFIELD, Mick, (1999). "Ethical Trade: A Review of Developments and Issues". *Third World Quarterly* 20 (4, Aug.), pp. 753-770.

Cafédirect. [http://www.cafedirect.co.uk/growers/tanzania\\_coffee.php](http://www.cafedirect.co.uk/growers/tanzania_coffee.php) [21/03/2003].

DELGADO, Christopher, KHERALLAH, Mylène, GABRE-MADHIN, Eleni, MINOT, Nicholas and JOHNSON, Michael (2002). *Reforming Agricultural Markets in Africa*. IFPRI. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 201 p.

du TOIT, Andries (October 2001). *Ethical Trading - A Force for Improvement, or Corporate Whitewash*. ODI. *Natural Resources Perspectives*, Number 71.

EFTA (2002). *EFTA Yearbook: Challenges of Fair Trade 2001-2003*. <http://www.eftafairtrade.org/yearbook.asp> [21/03/2003].

Ethical Trading Initiative (1998). *Purpose, Principles, Programme, Membership Information*. London. ETI.

Fair Trade Organisatie. <http://www.fairtrade.org/> [21/03/2003].

Make Trade Fair & Oxfam (2002). *The Coffee Report - MUGGED: Poverty in your coffee cup*. <http://www.maketradefair.com/> [21/03/2003].

Make Trade Fair & Oxfam (2002). *The Trade Report - Rigged Rules and Double Standards: trade, globalisation, and the fight against poverty*. <http://www.maketradefair.com/> [21/03/2003].

Max Havelaar. <http://www.maxhavelaar.net/> [21/03/2003].

---

<sup>8</sup> I thank Geert Provoost for assistance.

Oxfam: International Commodity Research - Coffee. The Coffee Market - A Background Study, 48 p.

Oxford Policy Management (2000). Fair Trade: Overview, Impact, Challenges. Study to Inform DFID's Support to Fair Trade, 130 p.

Schultz, T.W. (1964). Transforming Traditional Agriculture. Yale University Press, New Haven.

## List of Available Working Papers

- nr. 1 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Criteria ter evaluatie van 'duurzame landbouw'*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 35 p.
- nr. 2 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van herbicide-resistente planten aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 39 p.
- nr. 3 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van bovine somatotropine aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 63 p.
- nr. 4 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van gemanipuleerde planten met biopesticide eigenschappen afkomstig van Bacillus thuringiensis aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 32 p.
- nr. 5 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van haploïde planten aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 17 p.
- nr. 6 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van genetische technieken voor diagnosebepaling, immunologische technieken ter verbetering van de landbouwproductie en transgene dieren en planten als bioreactor aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 28 p.
- nr. 7 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van verbetering van de stikstoffixatie bij planten aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 17 p.
- nr. 8 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van porcine somatotropine aan criteria voor duurzamelandbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, januari 1994, 29 p.
- nr. 9 BEERLANDT, H. en L. DRIESEN, *Evaluatie van tomaten met een langere houdbaarheid aan criteria voor duurzame landbouw*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, februari 1994, 30 p.
- nr. 10 CHRISTIAENSEN, L., *Voedselzekerheid: van concept tot actie: een status questionis*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, april 1994, 106 p.
- nr. 11 CHRISTIAENSEN, L. and J. SWINNEN, *Economic, Institutional and Political Determinants of Agricultural Production Structures in Western Europe*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 1994, 40 p.

- nr. 12 GOOSSENS, F., *Efficiency and Performance of an Informal Food Marketing System, The case of Kinshasa, Zaire*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, July 1995, 41 p.
- nr. 13 GOOSSENS, F., *Failing Innovation in the Zairian Cassava Production System, A comparative historical analysis*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, July 1995, 18 p.
- nr. 14 TOLLENS, E., *Cadre conceptuel concernant l'analyse de la performance économique des marchés*, Projet-FAO "Approvisionnement et Distribution Alimentaires des Villes de l'Afrique Francophone", Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, août 1995, 35 p.  
(Deuxième version, avril 1996, 77 p.)
- nr. 15 TOLLENS, E., *Les marchés de gros dans les grandes villes Africaines, diagnostic, avantages et éléments d'étude et de développement*, Projet-FAO "Approvisionnement et Distribution Alimentaires des Villes de l'Afrique Francophone", Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, août 1995, 23 p.  
(Deuxième version, septembre 1996, 32 p.)
- nr. 16 ENGELEN, G., *Inleiding tot de landbouwvoorlichting* (heruitgave), Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, augustus 1995, 17 p.
- nr. 17 TOLLENS, E., *Agricultural Research and Development towards Sustainable Production Systems: I. Information Sources, Surveys; II. Conceptualisation of the Change Process*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 1, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, August 1995
- nr. 18 TOLLENS, E., *Planning and Appraising Agricultural Development programmes and Projects: I. Farm Planning; II. Aggregation, Sensitivity Analyses and Farm Investment Analysis; III. Guidelines on Informal Surveys and Data Collection*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 2, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 19 TOLLENS, E., *Structural Adjustment and Agricultural Policies: I. Market Theory: the State and the Private Sector; II. Output Markets and Marketing Institutions; III. Input Markets; IV. Case Study: Cameroon*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 1, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 20 TOLLENS, E., *Theory and Macro-Economic Measures of Structural Adjustment – Methods of Evaluation and Linkages to the Agricultural Sector: I. Development Models and the Role of Agriculture*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 2, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995

- nr. 21 TOLLENS, E., *Theory and Macro-Economic Measures of Structural Adjustment – Methods of Evaluation and Linkages to the Agricultural Sector: II. Implementation of Policy Reforms: Case Study of Market Liberalisation in Cameroon for Cocoa and Coffee*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 2, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 22 TOLLENS, E., *Supply Response within the Farming Systems Context: I. Input Supply and Product Markets; II. Agricultural Supply Response Assessment*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 3, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 23 GOOSSENS, F., *Agricultural Marketing and Marketing Analysis: I. Agricultural Marketing Research Frameworks. II. Agricultural Market Performance Criteria and The Role of Government Intervention*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 3, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 24 GOOSSENS, F., *Agricultural Marketing and Marketing Analysis: Demand Analysis*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 3, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1995
- nr. 25 CHRISTIAENSEN, L. en H. BEERLANDT, *Belgische voedselhulp geanalyseerd met betrekking tot voedselzekerheid*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, november 1994, 15 p.
- nr. 26 CHRISTIAENSEN, L. en H. BEERLANDT, *De Belgische ontwikkelingsamenwerking met Rwanda geanalyseerd met betrekking tot voedselzekerheid*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, KU.Leuven, november 1995, 36 p.
- nr. 27 BEERLANDT, H., *Identificatie van de meest kwetsbaren in Monduli distrikt, Arusha regio, Tanzania, A.C.T.-* Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, april 1995, 40 p.
- nr. 28 BEERLANDT, H., TOLLENS, E. and DERCON, S., *Methodology for Addressing Food Security in Development Projects, Identification of the Food Insecure and the Causes of Food Insecurity based on Experiences from the Region of Kigoma, Tanzania*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Centre for Economic Research, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Leuven, December 1995, 19 p.
- nr. 29 BEERLANDT, H., *Koppelen van noodhulp en structurele ontwikkelingssamenwerking: opties voor een Belgisch beleid*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, december 1995, 23 p.

- nr. 30 TOLLENS, E., *La crise agraire au Zaïre: pour quelle politique de développement dans la phase de transition?*, Une contribution au colloque "Le Zaïre en Chantier: Quels Projets de Société", Anvers, 18 février 1993, December 1995, 14 p.
- nr. 31 GOOSSENS, F., *Rôle des systèmes d'alimentation dans la sécurité alimentaire de Kinshasa*, Une contribution au projet GCP/RAF/309, AGSM, FAO, mai 1996, 78 p.
- nr. 32 BEERLANDT, H., DERCON, S., and SERNEELS, I., (Project co-ordinator: E. TOLLENS), *Tanzania, a Food Insecure Country?*, Department of Agricultural Economics, Center for Economic Research, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 1996, 68 p.
- nr. 33 TOLLENS, E., *Food security and nutrition 2. Case study from Tanzania*, Nectar Programme, Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms, module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Septembre 1996, 47 p.
- nr. 34 BEERLANDT, H., en SERNEELS, J., *Voedselzekerheid in de regio Kigoma, Tanzania*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie en Centrum voor Economische Studiën, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, september 1996, 45 p.
- nr. 35 BEERLANDT, H., *Identificatie van verifieerbare indicatoren ter toetsing van de voedselzekerheidssituatie in de regio Arusha, Tanzania*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, november 1996, 60 p.
- nr. 36 GOOSSENS, F., *Commercialisation des vivres locaux en Afrique Subsaharienne, le secteur informel dans un perspectif dynamique*, Une contribution au projet GCP/RAF/309, AGSM, FAO, novembre 1996, 58 p.
- nr. 37 GOOSSENS, F., *The Economics of Livestock Systems: I. Marketing Problems and Channels of Livestock in Subsahara Africa*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 1996.
- nr. 38 GOOSSENS, F., *The Economics of Livestock Systems: II. Price Stabilization in the Livestock Sector*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 1996.
- nr.39 GOOSSENS, F., *The Economics of Livestock Systems: III. Consumer Demand for Livestock Products*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 1996.
- nr. 40 JASPERS, N., *I. La Seguridad Alimenticia en el departamento de Quiché: Identificación e Impacto del Programa de Créditos, II. Informe Sobre Estudio Seguridad Alimenticia*, ACT - Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 1996, 39 p.

- nr. 41 TOLLENS, E., *Social indicators with an illustration from Thailand*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, January 1997, 38 p.
- nr. 42 BEERLANDT, H., en SERNEELS, J., *Handleiding voor een voedselzekerheidsdiagnose*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie en Centrum voor Economische Studiën, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, februari 1997, 131 p.
- nr. 43 BEERLANDT, H., and SERNEELS, J., *Manual for a Food Security Diagnosis*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Center for Economic Research, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, March 1997, 125 p.
- nr. 44 GOOSSENS, F., *Aangepaste vormen van samenwerking als hefboom voor de sociaal-economische promotie van boeren in het zuiden - algemene conclusies*, Seminarie georganiseerd door Ieder Voor Allen, Brussel, 17-18 maart 1997, 8 p.
- nr. 45 GOOSSENS, F., *Commercialisation des vivres locaux en Afrique Subsaharienne - neuf études de cas*, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Mai 1997, 50 p.
- nr. 46 BEERLANDT, H., en SERNEELS, J., *Food Security in the Kigoma Region of Tanzania*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Center for Economic Research, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 1997, 42 p.
- nr. 47 BEERLANDT, H., and SERNEELS, J., *Manuel Pour un Diagnostic de Sécurité Alimentaire*, Département d'Economie Agricole et le Centre d'Etudes Economiques, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Juillet 1997, 134 p.
- nr. 48 GOOSSENS, F., *Rural Services and Infrastructure - Marketing Institutions*, NATURA-NECTAR course: "Agricultural Economics and Policy Reforms", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, June 1997, 20 p.
- nr. 49 TOLLENS, E., *International Trade and Trade Policy in Livestock and Livestock Products*, NATURA-NECTAR COURSE: "Agricultural Economics and Rural Development", module 4, Afdeling Landbouweconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, October 1997, 43 p.
- nr. 50 DESMET, A., *Working towards autonomous development of local farmer organisations: which role for development agencies?*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Center for Economic Research, March 1998, 49 p.
- nr. 51 TOLLENS, E., *Catalogue de titres dans la bibliothèque ALEO sur le Zaïre - Congo*, Département d'Economie Agricole, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Mars 1998, 96 p.

- nr. 52 DEMONT, M., JOUVE, P., STESENS, J., et TOLLENS, E., *Evolution des systèmes agraires dans le Nord de la Côte d'Ivoire: les débats «Boserup versus Malthus» et «compétition versus complémentarité» révisités*, Département d'Economie Agricole et de l'Environnement, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Avril 1999, 43 p.
- nr. 53 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *The Economics of Agricultural Biotechnology: Historical and Analytical Framework*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, October 1999, 47 p.
- nr. 54 DEMONT, M., en TOLLENS, E., *Biologische, biotechnologische en gangbare landbouw: een vergelijkende economische studie*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maart 2000, 53 p.
- nr. 55 DEMONT, M., JOUVE, P., STESENS, J., and TOLLENS, E., *The Evolution of Farming Systems in Northern Côte d'Ivoire: Boserup versus Malthus and Competition versus Complementarity*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, August 2000, 25 p.
- nr. 56 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Economic Impact of Agricultural Biotechnology in the EU: The EUWAB-project*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, January 2001, 16 p.
- nr. 57 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Reshaping the Conventional Welfare Economics Framework for Estimating the Economic Impact of Agricultural Biotechnology in the European Union*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, March 2001, 32 p.
- nr. 58 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Uncertainties of Estimating the Welfare Effects of Agricultural Biotechnology in the European Union*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, April 2001, 81 p.
- nr. 59 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Welfare Effects of Transgenic Sugarbeets in the European Union: A Theoretical Ex-Ante Framework*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, May 2001, 39 p.
- nr. 60 DE VENTER, K., DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Bedrijfseconomische impact van biotechnologie in de Belgische suikerbietenteelt*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Juni 2002, 66 p.
- nr. 61 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *Impact of Agricultural Biotechnology in the European Union's Sugar Industry*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, June 2002, 55 p.



- nr. 62 DEMONT, M., and TOLLENS, E., *The EUWAB-Project: Discussion*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, August 2002, 20 p.
- nr. 63 DEMONT, M., DELOOF, F. en TOLLENS, E., *Impact van biotechnologie in Europa: de eerste vier jaar Bt maïs adoptie in Spanje*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Augustus 2002, 41 p.
- nr. 64 TOLLENS, E., *Food Security: Incidence and Causes of Food Insecurity among Vulnerable Groups and Coping Strategies*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 2002, 30 p.
- nr. 65 TOLLENS, E., *La sécurité alimentaire: Incidence et causes de l'insécurité alimentaire parmi les groupes vulnérables et les stratégies de lutte*, Département d'Economie Agricole et de l'Environnement, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Septembre 2002, 33 p.
- nr. 66 TOLLENS, E., *Food Security in Kinshasa, Coping with Adversity*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 2002, 35 p.
- nr. 67 TOLLENS, E., *The Challenges of Poverty Reduction with Particular Reference to Rural Poverty and Agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, September 2002, 31 p.
- nr. 68 TOLLENS, E., *Het voedselvraagstuk*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, December 2002, 59 p.
- nr. 69 DEMONT, M., WESSELER, J., and TOLLENS, E., *Biodiversity versus Transgenic Sugar Beet: The One Euro Question*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 2002, 33 p.
- nr. 70 TOLLENS, E., and DEMONT, M., *Biotech in Developing Countries: From a Gene Revolution to a Doubly Green Revolution?*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 2002, 8 p.
- nr. 71 TOLLENS, E., *Market Information Systems in Liberalized African Export Markets: The Case of Cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Cameroon*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, November 2002, 19 p.
- nr. 72 TOLLENS, E., *Estimation of Production of Cassava in Bandundu (1987-1988) and Bas Congo (1988-1989) Regions, as Compared to Official R.D. Congo statistics*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, December 2002, 29 p.

- nr. 73 TOLLENS, E., *Biotechnology in the South: Absolute Necessity or Illusion?*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, December 2002, 29 p.
- nr. 74 DEMONT, M., BONNY, S., and TOLLENS, E., *Prospects for GMO's in Europe*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, January 2003.
- nr. 75 FRANCHOIS, L., and MATHIJS, E., *Economic and Energetic Valuation of Farming Systems: A Review*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, February 2003, 36 p.
- nr. 76 VANDERMERSCH, M. en MATHIJS, E., *Performantie en bedrijfsprofiel in de melkveehouderij*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Februari 2003, 33 p.
- nr. 77 TOLLENS, E., *L'état actuel de la sécurité alimentaire en R.D. Congo : Diagnostic et perspectives*, Département d'Economie Agricole et de l'Environnement, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Février 2003, 40p.
- nr. 78 VANDERMERSCH, M., MESKENS, L. en MATHIJS, E., *Structuur van de Belgische melkveehouderij*, Afdeling Landbouw- en Milieueconomie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Februari 2003, 60 p.
- nr. 79 DEMONT, M., HOUEJOKLOUNON, A., HOUNHOUGAN, J., MAHYAO, A., ORKWOR, G., STESENS, J., TOLLENS, E. et TOURE, M., *Etude comparative des systèmes de commercialisation d'igname en Côte-d'Ivoire, au Bénin et au Nigeria*, Département d'Economie Agricole et de l'Environnement, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Juin 2003, 30 p.
- nr. 80 TOLLENS, E., *Current Situation of Food Security in the D.R. Congo: Diagnostic and Perspectives*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, August 2003, 37 p.
- nr. 81 TOLLENS, E., *Poverty and Livelihood Entitlement, How It Relates to Agriculture*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, August 2003, 30 p.
- nr. 82 TOLLENS, E., *Sécurité alimentaire à Kinshasa: un face à face quotidien avec l'adversité*, Département d'Economie Agricole et de l'Environnement, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Septembre 2003, 33 p.
- nr. 83 DEMONT, M. and TOLLENS, E., *Impact of Biotechnology in Europe: The First Four Years of Bt Maize Adoption in Spain*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, October 2003, 28 p.
- nr. 84 TOLLENS, E., *Fair Trade: An Illusion?*, Department of Agricultural and Environmental Economics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, October 2003, 17 p.