

# 6

## Gender and Fair Trade in Cameroon

---

Gérard Tchouassi

### Introduction

Trade is indispensable for the cohesion of any society since it involves the exchange of goods and services between natural persons and corporate bodies. However today, the producer and the consumer are not well informed of the manner in which international trade is conducted: the producer does not know the destination of his product and the consumer does not know the true origin of the product he consumes. Powerful intermediaries such as trademark owners, big industrial corporations, financial bodies as well as large-scale distributors and buyers impose their own rules, methods of production, prices and even their own choice of products on producers and consumers alike. A new and socially responsible international trade model is steadily becoming popular and is generating optimistic debate among community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments, local communities and even international organizations. Fair trade, an alternative to the current trade model, places the wellbeing of producers in the South, rather than the profits of intermediaries, at the centre of international trading transactions (Tadros and Malo 2002).

Trade creates relations among people, enterprises, multinational corporations, bodies and institutions; consequently, it has become a means to exercise power and earn profit through short-term speculation. This form of unfair trade promotes a 'dominant/dominated' type of relationship. It is not trade as such that is a problem; rather it is its use as a tool for economic domination. In this type of trade, profits are transferred downstream. Producers' profit margins are reduced under pressure from industrialists and distributors, a situation that impoverishes producers and excludes them from all economic benefits, disrupts the organization of their work and prevents them from satisfying their basic

needs and those of their families. This type of trade is responsible for the worsening of the terms of trade. While the prices of raw materials are dropping steadily on the world market, the prices of finished products that the producers of these raw materials import from industrialized countries are increasing daily.

Under this system, producers process and manufacture products under inhuman conditions that are similar to slavery. This often has grave consequences for the economic, social and cultural environment. This can easily be observed in local, regional and international trade. Consequently, the aim of the social and mutual entrepreneurship<sup>1</sup> of women, through fair trade for sustainable development, is to enable producers and consumers to sustainably preserve their dignity and autonomy, improve their skills and better organise their activities.

Even though globalization (Touna 1998) is generating a lot of debate, small producers<sup>2</sup> and craftsmen in the South are still subject to intense pressure from harsh trade rules. The prices of raw materials from which workers and producers in the South earn a living are dropping steadily each year on the international market. Markets for food products are very unstable (sharp price fluctuations) and oligopolistic (four multinational companies control 90 per cent of the coffee market). For example, the price of coffee, which stood at •1.69 in March 1998, dropped to •0.55 euros in October 2001. The pressure exerted by intermediaries (multinationals, large-scale buyers, major industrial groups, large-scale distributors, etc.) on producers is increasing: prices as well as production, working and purchasing conditions are imposed on them. This pressure is even worse on small producers who do not have direct access to the world market.

Under such conditions, an isolated small farmer or craftsman in the South cannot sustainably earn a decent living from his work. Worse, he is routinely obliged to work under conditions that are close to slavery, to force his children to work along with him and to forsake his social, economic and cultural environment. To put an end to all these pressures, 'anti-globalization' and 'other world' movements have come together and formed associations as well as social and mutual solidarity undertakings to defend producers and consumers, and to promote fair trade and ethics so as to ensure sustainable development. Sustainable processes (the production of goods and services) and institutions (organizations, associations, communities, etc.) require that certain criteria such as fairness, ethics and gender equality be respected. These processes and institutions must not deplete resources that would eventually be needed by future generations. Capacity building should constantly be provided for the people in these institutions (education, technical training, etc.). Responsibilities and benefits must be shared equitably between men and women in families, communities and associations, etc.

Can one therefore consider fair trade as a means to enable women to participate in world or international trade? In this chapter, we shall start with a review of existing literature on gender and show how the principles and rationale of fair trade can help to improve the participation of the woman in international transactions or her access to world trade. Working from the hypothesis that it is mostly women who set up fair trade enterprises, we will analyse data collected from the field, using a socio-economic approach. In the first part, we shall examine the evolution of the various gender approaches and in the second, take a look at the rationale and principles of fair trade, highlighting the manner in which women can be granted access to international trade.

### Conceptual Analysis of Gender

In the North as well as in the South, there can never be fair trade, and hence sustainable development,<sup>3</sup> if women are not involved or if their role, place, participation and contribution to trade and to the creation of added value and wealth are not taken into account. For this reason, feminist researchers and international organizations, etc. in different countries have developed various approaches. We shall examine concepts, approaches and recent trends in gender theories, moving from biological sex to gender, from concepts such as 'integrating women in development', 'women and development' to 'gender and development'.<sup>4</sup>

From the beginning of the twentieth century, debate on the relationship between sex and gender has reached a peak on several occasions, each of them corresponding to a period in which a particular theoretical model was predominant. Moving from a 'unidirectional' model based on biological factors, researchers developed 'bi' or 'multidimensional' models to explain the increasing complexity of the gender category and its components.<sup>5</sup>

In the 'one-dimensional' model, which predominated right up to the middle of the last century, the man and the woman, the male and the female were considered as belonging to the opposite poles of a continuum. Anything that lay in-between the two was not considered as a true human reality. This model was first founded on notions like 'biological essentialism' (according to which men and women are naturally different) and later, on the 'bipolar' nature of gender that clearly mapped out the respective roles and identities of the two sexes and provided severe sanctions against any person who failed to behave like an 'authentic' man or woman. This model was based on the consistency of the various constitutive elements of gender (personality traits, attitudes, value systems, most common behavioural patterns, etc.).

At the personal and social level, it was believed that there was a clear relationship between the person and what he was expected to be because of his biological sex. Indeed, it was considered that all men were masculine and naturally inclined towards virile activities such as politics, war or other public undertakings. Also, all

women were expected to spontaneously prefer household activities, as confirmed by their ability to bear children, and private income generating activities. These societal attitudes were, in this case, entirely determined by the biological sex, because any behavioural or psychological departure from the established norm identified the sexes and established reciprocal expectations. Any departure from such expectations appeared as a break from of natural laws. This 'one-dimensional' model, which certainly dates back to the Stone Age and even beyond, still has a great influence on the organization of social and economic structures, even in industrial countries<sup>6</sup> which are considered to be very egalitarian societies.

The first 'bi-dimensional' theories, developed in academic institutions in the early 1970s in the wake of liberation movements, adopted the word 'gender' to signify that realities such as masculinity and femininity were independent from biological sex. In fact, at that time, the development policy with regard to women was dominated by the so-called 'social security' approach that was associated to the accelerated growth model. In that model, the role of the woman was mostly limited to reproduction, that is, to her function as mother or wife. Nobody was interested in her as a producer of added value or as a person capable of generating income. In the course of that decade, a major evolution took place under the combined influence of feminist movements in the United States, increased awareness of women's issues in developing countries, the works of Ester Boserup and, above all, the institution of the first United Nations Decade for Women.

The Integration of Women into Development concept was developed in the 1970s and 1980s by the economist, Ester Boserup (1983). This concept highlighted the fact that there was little or no information on, and evaluation of the contribution made by women to, development. It advocated the direct participation of these actors in the development process so as to render the process more efficient, more practical and more realistic. Gender integration is a strategy to attain gender equality. It evaluates the different effects that any planned action has on women and men and incorporates the concerns and experiences of the two sexes into the design, implementation, control and evaluation of projects and programmes so that men and women should benefit equally from them. This way, inequality would not be disrupted. Indeed, gender integration does not exclude the specific activities of women or positive actions (BIT 2000).

The Women and Development or the Role of Women in Development concept, developed in the early eighties, is based on the view that although women participate in the development process, they do so on a poorly defined and unequal basis. Consequently, women are marginalized; a situation that is certainly detrimental to a balanced, efficient, equitable and sustained development. Even that early, it was thought that efforts should be made to improve women's access to resources and involve them in policy-making. The new policies that resulted

from this approach have since then had a powerful influence and promoted priorities such as equity, the fight against poverty and exclusion, efficiency and access to resources. According to the proponents of this approach, failure to recognize the role of the woman as producer leads to inefficiency in the use of resources. Promoting efficiency paved the way for a break from the social security policies that had been implemented before. This approach was also developed because of the need to 'sell' the basic equality component of the 'women and development' concept to development agencies and government bodies.

The 'gender and development' approach, developed in the 1980s to promote equality in the design and evaluation of sustainable development issues, helped to make reparation for omissions and discrimination against women. This new approach calls for the mainstreaming of the gender dimension into development policies so as to increase efficiency and improve the distribution of resources and enhance equity. The originality of this vision lies in the fact that 'women are concerned that their problems are perceived from the point of view of sex, the biological difference between them and men only, rather than from the point of view of gender, which are the social roles and relationships between men and women and the forces that disrupt and modify such relationships' (Tchamanbe 1999). The new approach therefore calls for an analysis of the relations between these two social actors so as to find ways to correct some of the errors of the 'women and development' concept, notably the lack of foresight in matters of power relations. During the implementation of structural adjustment policies, positive attempts, based on the need for efficiency, were made within the framework of gender and development to transpose gender analysis from the level of projects to that of macro-economic policies. In this respect, gender is often subjected to some neo-classical limitations such as market distortions, rigidity, lack of information,<sup>7</sup> etc.

In the two previous approaches, women were systematically assigned secondary and inferior roles while their needs were met without taking into account the general context. The 'gender and development' strategy seeks to reduce the gender gap by improving gender equality and equity. In addition, it recognizes that women are part and parcel of all development strategies. However, unless some design and methodology problems are resolved, the initial objective of integrating equality may not be attained. Thus, the 'gender and development' approach would only lead to the marginalized institutional niche, the only way out of which is through the 'women and development' approach. The issue at stake is certainly the operational viability and credibility of the gender and development concept itself. However, some international organizations are now increasingly aware of the need to integrate gender concerns and women into the development process. Indeed, for some years now, the United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP) has adopted two new indicators that show the disparity between the two sexes. These are the Gender Related Development Index (GDI) and the Women Participation Index (WPI).

The Human Development Index (HDI) measures average achievements in three basic areas: life expectancy, literacy rate and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. The GDI is based on these criteria and distinguishes between the male and female. Thus, the life expectancy index (LEI) is adjusted to take into consideration the biological advantage that women enjoy in this area. Measuring the contribution by men and women to the GDP is more complex. Indeed, the measurements are based on their respective contributions to the production of income from labour. These contributions are measured using the difference between women's average wages and those of men and the percentages of women and men in the active population.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, the Women Participation Index (WPI) is made up of variables explicitly defined to measure the degree of control that men and women can have over their lives in politics and the economy. This falls in line with the notion of 'capability' proposed by Armatya Sen (1985). The Women Participation Index takes several criteria into consideration; these include: the contribution of women to per capita income; the participation of women in political life and policy making, based<sup>9</sup> on the percentage of men and women in parliament and finally the percentage of men and women who hold managerial positions and those involved in technical, liberal professions, etc.

The evolution in the perception of the role of women has helped to highlight the important role that women have played in recent decades in the production system (production of quality goods), especially in trade as an entrepreneurial activity (social and mutually beneficial activities) both in the North and in the South, irrespective of whether this role has been in the area of production, management, setting up of job-creating structures or simply contributing (formally and informally) to the growth of the production sector (Tchamanbe 1999).

In Cameroon, women participation, already very noticeable, is becoming even more active, although the trading activities they carry out are only income-generating ones that are limited to small units that manufacture quality products. This can-do spirit can be seen in the presence of women in almost all sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary) of economic and non-economic activity operating in a context of economic globalization<sup>10</sup> and emergence of social and mutually beneficial activities that respect the principles of fair trade.

### **Analysis of the Rationale and Principles of Fair Trade for Gender Equality in Trade**

Developed some time ago by various associations in the world, the notion of fair trade is built around simple and elementary principles based on the need to enable small producers of the South to earn a decent living and manage their own development. A large number of products are being traded under the fair trade model. Two main groups of products are sold under fair conditions: handicraft products, art objects, clothes, jewellery, light furniture, etc. and consumer food products such as sugar, banana, cocoa and coffee. Although these two categories of products belong to very different markets, they follow the same basic principles of fair trade because they provide higher incomes to actors in the South and limit the number of intermediaries in the distribution process.

In Cameroon, mostly food products (coffee, cocoa, bananas, etc.) and handicraft articles (wooden sculptures, pottery, etc.), locally processed or manufactured by women or in the South, are sold under fair trade principles. These same principles can also be applied to industrial products. Fair trade is definitely a modern and effective solution to the imbalances observed in international trade and their consequences on the producers of raw materials such as agricultural and forestry products. One of the issues on the agenda of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Fifth Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Mexico in September 2003 was fair trade.

By establishing partnership relations between stakeholders, fair trade strengthens ethical, economic, social and cultural exchanges that lead to sustainable development. This trading system is based on a number of principles.

There is another way to trade, to conduct commerce, another way to produce and to consume. In recent years, fair trade has come to be regarded as a means to effectively reduce the gap between production costs and consumer prices and give women the place they deserve in international trade. Fair trade, which is aimed at establishing mutually beneficial trading relations (for producers and consumers) based on gender equality, has the following characteristics:

- It adequately rewards marginalized producers and craftsmen for their labour and enables them to satisfy basic needs: health, education, housing, social protection, etc.;
- Guarantees the respect for basic human rights (no exploitation of children, no slavery, etc.);
- Establishes sustainable relations between the various stakeholders and economic partners;
- Promotes protection of the environment and the ecological system;

- Provides quality products for consumers that meet production and ‘traceability’ standards. ‘Quality products’ must first of all meet production standards and comply with the labour rules laid down by the International Labour Organization (ILO). These rules include: prohibition of child or forced labour, respect for trade union freedoms, etc.

Therefore, what are the principles and fair trade objectives that can ensure gender equality?

To guarantee fair trade, a certain number of principles must be respected. Quality products should be bought directly from small producers, who should be organized into social and mutually beneficial enterprises such as cooperatives, common initiative groups, etc. The purchase price of products from the producer must be determined fairly and at a level higher than market prices. A system for the pre-financing of harvest should be put in place so that farmers should not be forced to turn to Shylocks for loans at cut-throat interest rates. Trading partnerships, in other words, contractual relations should be sustained and must be based on long-term partnership contracts. Also, small producers must undertake to supply only quality products and to meet production standards. The profits should be shared by the social and mutually beneficial enterprise on the basis of democratic principles. Such profits should mostly be used to finance local and sustainable development.

Fair trade has several objectives: improve the living conditions of small producers in the South who are hampered by lack of financial and material resources and lack of experience in production, distribution, marketing, etc., through creating markets for agricultural and handicraft products in the North; set up a network of consumers; sensitize public opinion on the unfair nature of international trade rules; and convince political and economic policy makers to contribute towards greater North-South solidarity so as to ensure a more sustainable and balanced trade.

Set up in 1997, the French platform for fair trade is the only national body that brings together stakeholders interested in promoting fair trade. This platform includes importers (*Solidar' Monde*, *Artisan du Monde*, etc.), importers and retailers (*Azimuths – Artisans Monde*, *Alter Eco*, *Boutic Ethic*, etc.), shops (*Artisan du Soleil*, *Artisans du Monde*, etc.), promotion associations (*Association de Solidarité aux Peuples d'Amérique*, *Echange dans l'Organisation et la Promotion des Petits Entrepreneurs*, *Echoppe*), labelling associations (*Max Havelaar*),<sup>11</sup> solidarity and trading bodies involved in the organization and promotion of small entrepreneurs (*Comité Catholique de Lutte Contre la Faim*, *Ingénieurs Sans Frontières*, etc.).

In Cameroon, fair trade is a reality. Indeed, in the wooden handicrafts sub-sector, Cameroonian craftsmen and women, organized into associations (*Bois Décor Industrie*, *Harmony*, *Promoteur des Masques*, *Noire Afrique Promotion*, *Nodi Bois*,

*Association KKED*, etc.), play an important role in wood processing. The quality approach adopted by these associations has three stages: supply, processing and distribution. The various types of wood (*bubinga, bété, iroko, sapelli*, etc.) used by craftsmen come mainly from Cameroonian community forests (belonging to cooperatives or common initiative groups, etc.) The other inputs are bought from formal market channels that respect ethics. During the processing of this wood, safety standards and international labour rules against child or forced labour are respected, and men and women receive equal wages for their work.

The distribution channel is instrumental in establishing a 'fair price' for the manufactured products. Such a price is dictated by real production costs and not by multinationals or major distribution chains. Distributors avoid speculation. Producers should receive a 'fair' price for their products, that is, a price that can provide the producers and craftsmen in the South with a vital minimum income. Fair trade organizations in the North must therefore provide craftsmen and small producers with a living wage that can allow them to satisfy their basic needs and those of their families in food, housing education and health (Tadros and Malo 2002).

To promote partnership<sup>12</sup> for gender equality and sustainable development, trade relations should be established between the owners of community forests who, together, produce timber (their aim being to preserve the environment, its resources, rare species and to encourage the local processing of wood and prevent the plundering of species, etc.), guilds (sculptors, carpenters, etc.) involved in wood processing and associations or stores in the West that encourage fair trade.<sup>13</sup>

## Conclusion

To ensure a social and mutually beneficial approach to fair trade, it would be necessary to first of all improve the lot of the marginalized producer in the South within the framework of sustainable development. It would thus be necessary to systematically reject all forms of slavery or forced labour, including child exploitation, especially exploitation of minors, and gender inequality. It would also be necessary for the various parties to sign contracts and establish guarantees, notably on prices that provide a fair return for the various economic stakeholders. This fair return must take into consideration the following: the needs of producers and of their families, especially education, health and social security needs; the quality of the products; payment of advances to help producer organizations that lack the working capital needed to buy raw materials, or the means to survive in the period between the order and the final payment, difficult periods or delays in supplies.

This entrepreneurial approach must also give priority to long-term trade relations with producers so as to ensure sustainable development. For producers, it is the long term and therefore the future that matters. Efforts must also be made to promote transparent relations among the various partners through the

free circulation of information, at every stage, on working conditions, salaries, duration of relations, the production and distribution processes, prices, profit margins, etc. It would also be necessary to accept control to ensure that these principles are all respected throughout the process.

There are many ways in which the various stakeholders, particularly women, can be integrated into international trade and into the formal policy-making process, even though the legal framework may stand in the way (Tadros and Malo 2002). This desire to involve women and ensure gender equality calls for a certain transformation of the entrepreneurial model, which can be in the form of an association or a cooperative. Indeed, the social and mutual entrepreneurship of women who produce quality products is very original, especially with regard to fair trade, which guarantees fair participation in international trade. It can help to mobilize resources and products other than those of a capitalistic enterprise. Partnership contracts between enterprises of the North and of the South and well-defined terms of trade between the two that take into consideration the specificities of the social and mutually beneficial fair trade enterprises could make it possible to face the challenges of this new form of entrepreneurship and usher in a new manner of conducting commerce and exchanging goods that integrate the gender approach.

Fair trade has its limits. “It is not charity”, says a Malian woman producing cotton under the label *Max Havelaar*. “We work hard and manufacture products of very high quality for which we receive a fair price.” Who defines what a ‘fair’ price is, the producer or the distributor? In the figures mentioned above, is it not obvious that the millions of euros generated by fair trade never get back to the countries in the South that manufactured the products being sold? Another handicap is also the fact that producers who desire to have their own label have little or no room to manoeuvre, especially as they are compelled to respect definite specifications and production rules.

In addition, most quality products are intended for the export market. We are therefore faced with a ‘vicious cycle’ in which the choice of products manufactured in the South is determined by demand in the North. Fair trade envisages the possibility of processing some products locally and others elsewhere. Even though this creates jobs in the South, it creates even more highly paid jobs and generates greater wealth in the countries of the North, which refuse to reduce the many taxes they levy.

## Notes

1. Social and mutual entrepreneurship is not a stable notion. It has undergone changes, evolved and grown more complex in time and space. Indeed, it is considered as a response to the changes taking place in the trading systems and in the dominant economic, social, ecological and technical systems. Social and mutual entrepreneurship structures in

Cameroon include cooperatives, common initiative groups, economic interest groups, mutual societies, farmer organizations, non-governmental organizations and associations that produce goods and services. These structures are all governed by the same basic principles and observe the same management rules that bind them together and make for their specificity: development of the human person, his primacy over capital, production, trade for the satisfaction of needs rather than for valorization of capital, democratic method of management, independence from public authorities and voluntary nature of membership.

2. These small producers are completely helpless in the face of the overwhelming influence of multinationals, which impose prices and working conditions on them. They are incapable of formulating long-term development strategies (diversification, investment, improvement of production techniques, etc.) As a result, development is stalled and the situation becomes even more precarious as the gap widens.
3. Sustainable development is considered as a new form of human development that takes into consideration the global environment and the fundamental ecological balance on land and in the seas. The ultimate objective of this type of development is to satisfy present needs without depriving future generations of the possibility of satisfying theirs.
4. In this section, we drew much inspiration from the works of Mark Lansky (2000 and 2001).
5. For a summary of the bibliographical reverences on this subject, see Korabik (1991).
6. The recent debate on night work by women shows that the question by John Stuart Mill on justice is still very topical today. According to him, the following question has been asked for more than 130 years: would it be consistent with justice to refuse women their fair share of honour and distinction, or to deny them the equal moral right of all human beings to choose their occupation ... according to their own preferences, at their own risk?
7. For a more detailed analysis, consult the works of Paul Collier, Ingrid Palmer and other authors on this subject. Also see the works of Razavi and Miller (1995) and Razavi (1997).
8. In 1999, the GDI was measured in 103 countries by the UNDP. Two comparisons are generally used to measure inequalities between the sexes: the value of the GDI of a country compared to its HDI, and its GDI classification compared to its HDI classification. In other words, when the GDI is close to the HDI, there is less inequality between men and women. In all countries, the GDI is lower than the HDI. This means that for the countries concerned, there are inequalities between men and women. When the GDI classification is lower than that obtained in the HDI, it means that average progress made in human development is not distributed equitably between men and women. When the contrary happens, human development is more equitably distributed between the two sexes.
9. For more information see UNDP report (1999).
10. Globalization is a state in which the world economy is characterized by excessive liberalization and the domination of a few firms whose sole objective is to attain their goals, serve their interests and sustain their existence.

11. Max Havelaar is a prominent European label very popular in the Netherlands, Switzerland and France notably. This structure helps to develop fair trade in some 20 producing countries and guarantees six categories of products: coffee, honey, banana, cocoa, tea and sugar.
12. Partnerships are also established in the area of training. Craftsmen in the South are trained by their partners in the North to enable them meet production standards and improve product quality.
13. In a partnership that promotes fair trade, two French social and mutual enterprises are marketing products manufactured by Bois Décor Industrie Cameroun in European markets. Indeed, in 2000, Bois Décor Industrie signed a partnership contract with Ethnic. Org for the production of portfolios, pen cases, table mats made in glued laminated wood and in 2002 with Suds-sarl (EDEA label) for the manufacture of household furniture and decorations (tables, chairs, shelves, consoles, etc.).

### Bibliography

- Albert, O., 1998, 'Le double objectif du commerce équitable' and 'Des partenaires-producteurs au Sud', *Pour un commerce équitable: expériences et propositions pour un renouvellement des pratiques commerciales entre les pays du Nord et ceux du Sud*, Paris, Éditions Charles Léopold Mayer, pp.15-18 and 45-61.
- ATOL, 1997, 'Les femmes entrepreneurs et les ONG d'appui en Afrique subsaharienne. Un éloge de la diversité et de la complexité' *Rapport final: Recherche-Action sur l'entrepreneuriat féminin en Afrique subsaharienne*, 125 pages.
- BIT, 2000, *Genre! Partenaires et égaux*, Geneva, Bureau de l'Égalité entre Hommes et Femmes.
- Blackden, C.M. and Bhanu C., 1999, *Inégalité des sexes, croissance et réduction de la pauvreté, Programme spécial d'assistance pour l'Afrique, Rapport sur la pauvreté en Afrique subsaharienne de 1998*, Washington, World Bank.
- Boncler, J., 2002, 'L'économie solidaire: une nouvelle forme d'entrepreneuriat?', *Actes du 2<sup>ème</sup> Congrès de l'Académie de l'Entrepreneuriat, des 17 et 18 avril 2002*, Bordeaux, pp. 77-95.
- Boserup E., 1983, *La femme face au développement économique*, Paris, PUF.
- Brown, M.B. and Adam, S., 1999, 'Le commerce équitable dans les échanges Nord-Sud', in J. Defourny, Develterre, P. and B. Fonteneau (eds.), *L'économie sociale au Nord et au Sud*, Belgium, De Boeck University, 278 pages.
- Korabik, K., 1999, 'Sex and Gender in the New Millennium', in G. N. Powell (ed.), *Handbook of Gender and Work*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 3-16.
- Lansky, M., 2000, 'Du genre, des femmes et de tout le reste', Part I, *Revue Internationale du Travail*, Vol. 139, No. 4, pp. 539-566.
- Lansky, M., 2001, 'Du genre, des femmes et de tout le reste', Part II, *Revue Internationale du Travail*, Vol. 140, No.1, pp. 95-131.
- Lesdain, S.B., 1999, *Femmes camerounaises en région parisienne*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Polanyi, K., 1985, *La grande transformation*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Prades, J., 1985, *La création - destructrice*, Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Razavi, S. and Miller, C., 1995, 'From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse' [Working document UNSRID No.1, Fourth International United Nations Conference on Women, February, Geneva].

- Razavi, S., 1997, 'Fitting Gender into Development Institutions', *World Development*, Oxford, Vol. 25, No.7, July, pp. 1111-1125.
- Rispal, H., 2002, 'Entreprendre en économie solidaire', *Actes du 2<sup>ème</sup> Congrès de l'Académie de l'Entrepreneuriat, des 17 et 18 avril 2002, op. cit.*, pp.277-289.
- Sen, A., 1985, *Commodities and Capabilities*, Amsterdam/New York, Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A., 2000, *Repenser l'inégalité (Inequality reexamined, 1992)*, Paris, Le Seuil.
- Sen, A., 2000, *Un nouveau modèle économique: Développement, justice, liberté*, Paris, Editions Odile Jacob.
- Tadros, C. and M.C. Malo, 2002, 'Commerce équitable, démocratie et solidarité: Equal Exchange, une coopérative exceptionnelle au Nord', *Revue Nouvelles pratiques sociales*, Volume 15, No.1, 17p.
- Tchamanbe, D.L., 1999, 'La femme camerounaise face aux enjeux économiques du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle' [Communication from seminar on 'Femmes, leadership et développement: un regard prospectif sur le 21<sup>ème</sup> siècle', organized by MINCOF, Yaoundé, May].
- Tchamanbe, D.L. and Tchouassi, G., 2003, 'Femmes camerounaises : renforcement de leurs capacités entrepreneuriales par la formation', B. Ponson and M. Niculescu, (eds.), 'La formation à l'entrepreneuriat', *Actes des VII<sup>èmes</sup> Journées Scientifiques du Réseau Entrepreneuriat de l'AUF*, Ile Maurice, 4-6 July 2001, pp. 167-176.
- Tchouassi, G., 2000, 'Femmes entrepreneurs au Cameroun: une approche par les récits de vie', *Revue Congolaise de Gestion*, Double issue 02-03, January-December, pp. 63-77.
- Tchouassi, G., 2000, 'Les comportements d'épargne des femmes au Cameroun: une analyse à partir de leurs récits de vie', *African Review of Money, Finance and Banking*, Supplementary issue of *Saving and Development*, pp. 117-133.
- Tchouassi, G., 2002, 'Entreprendre au féminin au Cameroun : possibilités et limites', *Actes du 2<sup>ème</sup> Congrès de l'Académie de l'Entrepreneuriat, des 17 et 18 avril, op. cit.*, pp. 509-521.
- Tchouassi, G., 2002, 'Épargne des femmes au Cameroun: épargne individuelle, épargne collective ou épargne solidaire' [Communication from the second inter-university meeting on the theme 'Sens et portée de l'économie solidaire', Lyon, 5-7 February].
- Touna Mama, 1998, (ed.), *La Mondialisation et l'économie camerounaise*, Edition Saagraph-Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Yaoundé.
- UNPD, 1999, *Rapport mondial sur le développement humain*, Paris, Editions de Boeck et Larcier.

#### Internet sites consulted:

- [www.andines.com](http://www.andines.com)
- [www.artisans-du-soleil.com](http://www.artisans-du-soleil.com)
- [www.artisansdumonde.org](http://www.artisansdumonde.org)
- [www.bouticethic.com](http://www.bouticethic.com)
- [www.EDEA.fr](http://www.EDEA.fr)
- [www.equalexchange.com](http://www.equalexchange.com)
- [www.penserpouragir.org](http://www.penserpouragir.org)
- [www.solidarmonde.fr](http://www.solidarmonde.fr)

