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Market transparency in the agrifood chain

IS PERFECT TRANSPARENCY DESIRED TO REGULATE BUYER
POWER IN THE AGRIFOOD CHAIN?

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Is perfect transparency desired to regulate buyer power in the agrifood chain?

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Abstract:

Agricultural commodity markets are characterised by increased price volatility, caused by information asymmetries and increased globalisation. In addition, agricultural markets are exposed to a certain degree of variability (seasonality, climate change) and risks (input/output prices, income). The Agricultural Market Task Force (AMTF), concerned with enhancing farmers' position in the supply chain, proposed several recommendations for increased market transparency in order to foster effective conditions of competition along the supply chain and to reduce current information asymmetry. Therefore, market transparency is one of the priorities on the political agendas and this paper aims at scientifically substantiating this by answering the question 'Is perfect transparency desired to regulate buyer power in the agrifood chain?'. First, the broader framework regarding competition is provided, followed by a literature review focusing on the results of implementing transparency, both in economics and management literature. This review shows that, despite increasing attention on market transparency, little consensus can be found on its implementation and effects in markets. Only limited papers are available focusing on the real effects of market transparency. Moreover, it can be concluded that increased market transparency does not automatically result in higher intensity of competition, higher

25 innovation capacity and more sustainability. Processing and distribution companies
26 should, instead of using their bargaining power to shift risks or costs upstream in the
27 value chain, look for profit maximization by innovation, efficient performance and value
28 creation considering the other chain members.

29 **Keywords:**

30 Structural imbalances – market transparency – market power – price volatility – bargaining
31 power – agrifood chain

32

33 Introduction

34 In recent years, there is increased volatility in commodity prices. Excessive market volatility is
35 often the result of biased or uncertain economic information (Rusu, 2010). In addition, the
36 agricultural markets in specific are characterized by a certain degree of variability (seasonality,
37 weather, delay in supply response, etc.) and other structural factors which increase tension in
38 markets (demographic growth, pressure on agricultural land, climate change) (Rusu, 2010).
39 These fluctuations can provoke strong fluctuations in the income of farmers across years, or
40 between companies in the same year (Madre and Devuyt, 2016). Risks can be related to
41 changes in the price of the output products or changes in the price of the raw materials. This
42 can have an influence on the firm's possibility to pay back its debts and on its opportunity to
43 invest (Happiness et al., 2014). If the number of products produced is limited, price fluctuations
44 can have a high impact on the income (Samuelson, 1967).

45 Furthermore, as the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) enhanced linkages with
46 world markets, the price volatility had increased in recent years (AMTF, 2016). Hence, the G20
47 Agricultural Ministers addressed food price volatility and identified five key priorities, among
48 which the importance of market transparency. The 'Action Plan on Food Price Volatility and
49 Agriculture' was established (G20 Agricultural ministers, 2011).

50 Market transparency can be approached and defined in different ways, due to differences in
51 focus. According to the Agricultural Markets Task Force (AMTF), 'market transparency' is
52 defined as 'the availability for all market participants of relevant market information related to
53 for example prices, weather, production, trade, consumption and stocks' (AMTF, 2016). From
54 the perspective of 'cost transparency', the definition by Lamming (1993, p. 214) is 'sharing of
55 costing information between customer and supplier which would traditionally have been kept
56 secret by each party, for use in negotiations'. In the European context, transparency is defined
57 as 'decision-making processes should be understandable and open. The decisions themselves
58 should also be reasoned and based upon information that, to the maximum extent possible, is

59 publicly available' (Södermann, 1988, p. 75). It is clear that a range of interpretations can be
60 attributed to transparency, going from 'a subjective perception of being informed' to 'an
61 (objective) understanding, supported by guarantees'. However, although perception and
62 understanding appear to be very divergent, both views justify a common goal: providing
63 transparency to value chain actors by reaching a level of understanding which allows informed
64 decisions. In the food sector, the transparency challenge is summarized as follows:
65 'Transparency is being reached if everybody with stakes and interest in food production and
66 consumption understands the relevant aspects of products, processes, and process
67 environments that allow to making informed decisions' (Knorr et al., 2013).

68 It is often suggested that market transparency should be increased to foster effective
69 conditions of competition along the supply chain. Without market transparency, information
70 asymmetry exists and creates mistrust about price transmission and distribution of value added
71 along the chain (AMTF, 2016).

72 The Agricultural Markets Task Force (AMTF), providing the European Commission with
73 expertise regarding the functioning of agricultural markets and farmers' position in the supply
74 chain, expressed several recommendations to increase market transparency, such as the
75 availability of relevant market information for all market participants/actors concerning prices,
76 weather, production, trade, consumption, stocks. Examples are the installation of a mandatory
77 price reporting system for some priority products in useful intervals, or the creation of a better
78 communication, exchange and dissemination environment for relevant market information,
79 such as input prices and consumption data (AMTF, 2016).

80 Furthermore, the European Commission is publishing the main EU-market prices and
81 launched in 2009 a public tool, the European Food Prices Monitoring Tool (EFPMT), to
82 compare prices to increase transparency for price transmission in the food chain and to
83 facilitate comparisons across the European member states, with the aim to improve the
84 competitiveness of the European food system (Schouteten et al., 2014, Rusu, 2010).

85 Market transparency is hence one of the priorities of the political agendas, but is there a
86 scientific underpinning for this? The aim of this paper/study is to answer the question 'Is perfect
87 transparency desired to regulate buyer power in the agrifood chain?', by reviewing existing
88 literature.

89 As the above discussed policy recommendations are based on insights from the neoclassical
90 economists, arguing that perfect competition would produce the best possible outcomes for
91 consumers, and society, this paper starts with providing the broader framework regarding
92 competition, with focus on perfect competition, horizontal versus vertical competition, structural
93 imbalances and governmental interventions, followed by a presentation of the global value
94 chain theory from institutional economics. The first section ends with a focus on the agrifood
95 supply chain. In a second step, literature is reviewed focusing on the results of implementing
96 transparency, both in economics and management literature.

97 **Search strategy**

98 For section 1 about the broad framework of competition, the consultation of handbooks about
99 economic theories was combined with a comprehensive search of internet resources from
100 Europe and abroad to come to both published and unpublished papers and reports related to
101 transparency. Initial search terms were 'transparency', 'perfect competition', 'horizontal
102 competition', 'vertical competition', 'supply chain', 'value chain', 'bargaining power', 'agri' and
103 combinations of this. Based on the findings, new search terms were introduced such as 'five
104 forces', 'Porter', 'bargaining power', 'consolidation', 'antitrust' and 'welfare losses'. Although a
105 number of sites and books were consulted, a study by BASIC (Bureau d'Analyse Sociétale
106 pour une Information Citoyenne) focusing on power concentration and unfair trading practices
107 in agricultural supply chains, and a report prepared by AMTF, an expert group aiming at
108 improving the position of the farmers in the food chain, were important sources, especially
109 related to the agrifood sector in specific.

110 For section 2 focusing on the effects of transparency both in economics and management
111 literature, an extensive literature search was performed in Web of Science and Google
112 Scholar, including terms as ‘transparen*’, ‘asymmetr*’, ‘disclos*’, ‘information asymmetr*’,
113 ‘competitiveness’, ‘efficiency’, ‘perform*’, ‘chain performance’ and combinations of those
114 words. Based on the reading of titles and abstracts, studies were excluded if ‘transparency’
115 was used in other contexts than markets, or if the effects of transparency were not the scope
116 of the paper. No restriction on type of markets was employed. Also, based on references in
117 the papers found, further interesting papers were identified. Due to the limited volume of
118 studies found focusing on agrifood, an additional search was executed, not limited to scientific
119 peer reviewed papers, leading to the consultation of a book focusing on transparency in the
120 food chain in specific, but also with limited results related to the real effects of the
121 implementation of transparency.

122 **Market transparency in the broader framework of competition**

123 *Perfect competition*

124 Perfect competition is a theoretical market model, developed by (neo)classical economics, in
125 which the following five conditions are met (Parkin et al., 2014):

- 126 – There is a large number of independent buyers and sellers, each representing only a
127 relatively small share of the market.
- 128 – All buyers and sellers are price takers, they don’t have sufficient power to influence the
129 market price and can only accept the price they pay/receive for the products and services
130 they buy/sell.
- 131 – The market is fully accessible for everyone. No restrictions on the entry or exit of firms
132 into or out of the industry exist.
- 133 – A homogeneous product is traded, i.e. no differences in quality exist. The products are
134 identical, so buyers’ preferences are only price related.

135 – All buyers and sellers have complete and transparent information on anything relevant
136 to the market. They have perfect knowledge of the prices charged by each firm and the
137 utility, the quality and the production method of the products. They know all details about
138 the product being sold and the prices charged by each firm.

139 Why is perfect competition desirable?

140 If the assumptions above are fulfilled, a perfect market arises in which the competition among
141 sellers eliminates all profits. The market price is the same as the marginal cost and the
142 marginal revenue (Parkin et al., 2014). It is proven that a perfect market will reach an
143 equilibrium in which the quantity supplied for every product/service equals the quantity
144 demanded at the current price. This equilibrium is a Pareto optimum, i.e. the allocation of
145 resources is so that by reallocating, nobody can be made better off without making someone
146 else worse off. As a result, competitive markets enable the most efficient distribution of
147 assets/benefits among individuals (BASIC, 2014).

148 The last fundamental condition ‘complete and transparent information’, which is the focus of
149 this paper, minimizes search costs, such as time and money spent to discover best prices, and
150 contributes hence to perfect competition (Schouteten et al., 2014). According to Sanchez and
151 Heene (2004, p. 14): “Having full information about prices of goods, buyers will only buy at the
152 lowest price available in the market, and only when the utility they will derive from use of a
153 good exceeds the market price of the good. Sellers, in turn, will allocate their available
154 resources to producing goods that would bring them the greatest surplus of price over costs
155 available in the market.”

156 *Market power and structural imbalances*

157 However, perfect competition is an ideal and the described conditions never apply to real-life
158 markets (BASIC, 2014, Fine, 2012). In many sectors, a few actors are large enough to
159 influence/control market prices through the negotiation power they achieve by buying/selling a
160 large percentage of total demand/supply. In the extreme case, this concentration of power

161 results in a monopoly or monopsony. A monopoly occurs when there is only one single seller
162 or a group of sellers controlling a significant share of supply, giving them the ability to drive
163 prices up. When competition is reduced, sellers tend to set the retail price above the equilibrium
164 price and as close as possible to the consumer's willingness to pay. A monopsony exists when
165 a single buyer or a group of buyers has a substantial share of demand. By withholding demand,
166 they are able to reduce the retail price below the equilibrium price. In addition, when far fewer
167 sellers in relation to buyers are present, buyers can also exercise bargaining power and commit
168 suppliers to accept terms that they normally would not accept but cannot refuse out of fear for
169 revenge (BASIC, 2014). This bargaining power of buyers is, as well as bargaining power of
170 sellers, identified by the theories of Michael Porter as a vertical competitive force (Steiner,
171 2008, Porter, 2008).

172 A firm's market power is found to be a joint function of both horizontal and vertical competitive
173 forces that determine industry profitability and competitive advantage (Steiner, 2008). Vertical
174 competition takes place between firms at successive stages and is opposite to horizontal
175 competition, that occurs between firms at the same stage in the value chain. However, in
176 economics and antitrust law, only firms at the same horizontal stage, and thus producing
177 substitutes, qualify as competitors, meaning that market power is often a consideration for the
178 approval of mergers. In these theories, firms at successive stages are described as having a
179 solely complementary relationship (Steiner, 2008, Muris, 2005).

180 In real world, firms are vertical competitors of the suppliers from whom they buy and the
181 retailers to whom they sell (Steiner, 2008). By bargaining/beating down the margins of their
182 upstream and downstream competitors, they can obtain a lower invoice cost and a larger share
183 of the retail price. As a result, the firm's vertical market share is boosted. Compared to their
184 horizontal rivals, firms that buy cheaper, are able to sell at a lower retail price, and hence
185 increase their horizontal market share, and again their negotiation power. This shows clearly
186 how vertical and horizontal competition are closely intertwined and positively related. By

187 becoming a stronger horizontal competitor, a firm becomes a stronger vertical competitor, and
188 vice versa (Steiner, 2008).

189 Government interventions

190 When a market is imperfect, implying that the standards of perfect competition are not met,
191 unfavourable situations can arise, as described above. Governments can interfere in these
192 imperfect markets to correct for market failures, to achieve greater equality by redistribution of
193 income and wealth and to improve the performance of the economy (Pettinger, 2017).

194 There is a debate among economists about whether government interventions are justified
195 when markets are imperfect. Some economist argue that government interventions are
196 allowed to promote increased efficiency in any deviation from perfect competition. Others
197 argue that this is only in some cases or hardly ever allowed, as governments may not possess
198 the correct incentives or information to interfere correctly, making them imperfect as well
199 (Pettinger, 2017).

200 Free markets are very good at creating surplus, but sometimes they fail or produce
201 unacceptable results. Free-market economies may have outcomes that seem unfair, because
202 they yield many poor people who lack basic necessities, or individuals receiving more or less
203 than they deserve.

204 The question is whether government interventions can create outcomes that are more
205 acceptable to members of society, and considered as fair.

206 Possible government interventions are price and quantity regulations and taxes and subsidies.
207 Examples are labour markets with minimum wages for low-skilled people, a housing market
208 with a rent ceiling to help poor families with their housing, or penalties in markets for illegal
209 goods (Parkin et al., 2014).

210 Global value chain theory

211 Institutional economic theory provides a broader view on the real economy and international
212 trade compared to neoclassical economic theory and proposes the theory of global value chain
213 (GVC). While neoclassical economic theory only looks at transactions, global value chain
214 theory focuses on all activities from production to consumption, including all the links in
215 between. Similar, in traditional trade theory buyers and sellers are independent actors, in
216 contrary to the presence of power relations in which trade is embedded in the global value
217 chain theory (BASIC, 2014, Gereffi et al., 2005).

218 As a result, as described above, traditional economists aim for a Pareto optimum, an
219 equilibrium in which no one can be made better off by exchange without making someone else
220 worse off, and for the largest possible transparency. In global value chain theory, social losses
221 are not considered accidental, exceptional cases or minor disturbances, but the normal result
222 of market competition. These losses are closely related to power relations between business
223 actors and there is no absolute attainment of transparency (BASIC, 2014, Gereffi et al., 2005).

224 The concept of global value chains was not instantly shaped but evolved over time and roots
225 in various subfields. Globalisation led to two stages of unbundling of economic activities –
226 geographical (steam revolution) and technical (ICT revolution) – but this concept captures only
227 one dimension of the dynamics of the world economy (Inomata, 2017).

228 Vertical integration, defined as the internalisation of various segments of a production process
229 in a single management structure, is another critical aspect in the GVC. Vertical integration is
230 implemented when the production inefficiencies associated with trading relationships are
231 minimised, more specific when the benefit of attenuating the opportunistic behaviour of
232 exchange parties, caused by contractual hazards such as information asymmetries, outweighs
233 the bureaucratic costs of unified hierarchical organisations (Inomata, 2017, Joskow, 2008).

234 All this is in contrast to the neoclassical perspective, in which vertical integration is considered
235 as a market imperfection, i.e. a deviation from the assumptions attributed to (market

236 transactions under) perfect competition. Therefore, they interpret vertical integration as a
237 response to pre-existing market power distortions or as a strategic move to create or enhance
238 market power in upstream or downstream markets (Joskow, 2008).

239 Agrifood supply chains

240 Agriculture is the industry that most closely resembles perfect competition in real life (Sexton,
241 2015). Ideally, this means that a homogeneous product is traded between many buyers and
242 sellers, who are well informed about prices, in a market that is characterised by free entry and
243 exit. The large number of producers creates a situation where one firm does not have enough
244 power to influence total supply, making all firms price takers. The intersect of supply and
245 demand determines the market price. On a theoretical level, this market model makes sense,
246 but also in the agricultural sectors, the rigorous standards of a hypothetical perfectly
247 competitive market are never fully met (Fine, 2012).

248 The agricultural sector is characterised by unique traits. First, uncertainty is a large inherent
249 risk of agriculture, more than in other industries (AMTF, 2016, Madre and Devuyt, 2016).
250 Farmers are somehow in ignorance about the amount and the quality of the output that they
251 will produce with a given set of inputs. This uncertainty is mainly caused by uncontrollable
252 events, in particular weather patterns and diseases/pests. Further, long production lags exist
253 due to the biological processes on which agricultural production is based (AMTF, 2016).
254 Production decisions have to be taken in advance when there is only limited knowledge about
255 the market situation in the future influenced by for example food scandals with psychological
256 effects in case of media coverage (van der Vorst, 2000, Gold et al., 2017).

257 Transparency in the agrifood supply chain is an old requirement brought forward by both
258 consumers and the industry (Schiefer and Deiters, 2013). Management approaches often limit
259 their focus on the end of the chain, the customer, missing to integrate all actors in the chain
260 and network. Furthermore, agrifood chains are often complex structures, with farmers and
261 processing companies situated thousands of kilometres apart from each other, involving

262 companies from different countries with different backgrounds. These factors lead to
263 deficiencies in transparency on the origin of products and on production activities. For example
264 related to food quality, the most challenging issue is not to obtain the information, but to transfer
265 this information along the food chain, due to its multi-step nature and complex interactions.
266 Documentation is often incomplete but also stakeholders are unwilling to share information,
267 leading to an information gap between food supply chain members. Increased importance is
268 put on the flow of information by governments and retailers to deal with safety issues and
269 produce high quality products. By obtaining data at each critical point of the chain, stakeholders
270 can undertake well-directed actions. To improve quality control, transparency and cross-stage
271 traceability, different approaches for (gapless) monitoring and reporting data and information
272 exist, such as RFID technologies (Radio Frequency Identification) and fluorescence
273 spectroscopy. However, no results of the application in practice are found.

274 The power concentration and international competitiveness in agricultural supply chains is an
275 issue of increasing concern (BASIC, 2014). Agriculture is characterised by the presence of a
276 large number of producers and consumers. Much of agriculture around the world is still in the
277 hands of small-scale farmers, despite rapid urbanization and the emergence of large-scale
278 commercial farming (Vorley et al., 2012). Over a third of the world's populations is rural and
279 depends on agriculture for living. On the consumer side, more than 7,5 billion mouths have to
280 be fed. In between producers and consumers, a strong consolidation in agricultural supply
281 chains can be observed (Grievinck, 2003). This power concentration appears to be structural
282 and converges on input suppliers, traders, processors and retailers. Mergers and acquisitions
283 lead to tight oligopolies and global vertical integration in the downstream chain. Narrow
284 conduits are thus created, through which all goods must pass in order to reach the final
285 consumer (BASIC, 2014). All these actors possess now the negotiation power instead of the
286 primary producers, and are able to influence and set the prices of the agricultural products. A
287 lot of primary producers are losing control and are depending on state interventions to survive
288 (BASIC, 2014, AMTF, 2016).

289 At the bottom of the chain, a large amount of small-scale farmers exist. Small, implying they
290 lack economies of scale and therefore their productivity is relatively low. A large amount,
291 implying they have low bargaining power and are price takers. Downstream, processing and
292 distribution companies can make use of their bargaining power. They often limit their efforts in
293 being innovative, efficient, or customer driven, as they can make use of their power and shift
294 risks or costs upstream in the value chain towards producers, making unilateral unanticipated
295 changes to agreements with suppliers, holding back of important market information to obtain
296 favourable contract conditions, paying suppliers with delay etc. (Maglaras et al., 2015). Instead
297 of looking for profit maximization, they are fulfilled with satisfying profits, and gain an
298 overproportionate share of benefits in the chain (Maglaras et al., 2015). The exertion of market
299 power induces hence a biased allocation of resources within the value chain, leading to welfare
300 losses with suboptimal resource allocation (Bakucs et al., 2009).

301 Concerning government interventions in agriculture, a continuing trend of reduced support
302 through classical EU market management measures such as public intervention or private
303 storage aid is observed. The use of these measures has become not more than a safety net
304 in times of market crisis and is no longer a regular feature in the CAP (AMTF, 2016, Madre
305 and Devuyst, 2016). Further, also the economic and financial crisis (2009-2016) reduced the
306 available budgets for rural areas and agriculture in general in many EU countries. Nowadays,
307 policy measures try to fulfil some of the functions of classical market management but by
308 implying a much greater reliance on the self-help and self-organisation abilities of the sector
309 and the supply chain, facilitated by adequate rules at EU and Member State level (AMTF,
310 2016).

311 **Economics and management literature focusing on market transparency and its** 312 **effects in different markets**

313 Although we found a lot of papers concluding with the suggestion to increase transparency,
314 the literature search showed that only limited papers are available focusing on market

315 transparency and its real effects. The majority of the relevant papers found were situated in
316 management literature, focusing on the effects of transparency for the involved chain
317 members. However, also some articles were found in economics literature focusing on the
318 effects on welfare of the society as a whole.

319 Economics literature

320 In a study restricted to transparency of trade and quote data only, Bloomfield and O'Hara
321 (1999) investigated among others whether diversified market information affects market
322 performance in securities markets. Trade disclosure was found to create more informationally
323 efficient markets, while quote disclosure seemed to have no observable effects. However, the
324 enhanced informational efficiency arises at the expense of reduced transactional efficiency,
325 implying the lower need to compete for order flow and resulting in increased spreads and
326 therefore trading costs. Hence, Bloomfield and O'Hara (1999) suggest for regulatory policy
327 makers that the degree of transparency may be more important than its absolute attainment.
328 A trade-off between informational and transactional efficiency has to be made as transparency
329 not necessarily improves market efficiency and competitiveness.

330 Another example where increased market transparency is in conflict with efficient market
331 performance is the study of Albaek et al. (1997). Following a decision of the Danish antitrust
332 authority to regularly publish transaction prices of individual firms in the ready-mixed concrete
333 industry, average prices rose sharply however the purpose was to prevent oligopoly collusion,
334 promote seller competition and push prices down. By reporting firm-specific information, in
335 particular previously confidential discounts, the Competition Council unconsciously reduced
336 the intensity of oligopoly price competition and allowed firms to increase prices. As other
337 parameters in the industry did not change during the period observed, no other explanations
338 for the rise of concrete prices can be found. Before the introduction of this reporting service,
339 literature already stressed the importance for tacitly colluding oligopolists of observing rivals'
340 transaction prices and considered price-shading as a natural feature of a competitive oligopoly.

341 Hence, this paper suggests that the improved flow of information can be in conflict with efficient
342 market performance (Albaek et al., 1997).

343 Another piece of evidence to support this is provided by Schmitz and Fuller (1995) and Fuller
344 et al. (1990), in which the effect of contract disclosure legislation was researched. The
345 mandatory disclosure of selected terms for contracts between grain shippers and railroads
346 reduced the use of contracts and extended the adoption of published tariffs for price
347 communication. The increased reliance on published tariffs facilitated rate coordination by the
348 oligopolistic rail industry, by enhancing (tacit) collusion, and pushed railroad rates upwards.
349 However, only when strong intermodal competition was ineffective or absent, railroads were
350 able to increase rate levels. In the case of direct barge competition, implementation of the
351 disclosure regulation did not yield rate increases, even though they relied more on posted
352 tariffs for price communication (Schmitz and Fuller, 1995).

353 Management literature

354 In a paper on supply chain management in agriculture, focusing among others on the economic
355 aspect of transparency, Mau (2002) argued that transparency in terms of information, e.g. all
356 measures applied during the plants' growth, is a key requirement for the quality of the process
357 chains for foods. Transparency in processes leads to easier allocation of responsibilities in
358 delivering qualitatively exceptional products (high added value) and is facilitated by using
359 standardized production procedures, in the format of quality manuals and activity lists, own
360 controls and certification, improving the conditions for consumer acceptance. Thereby, it is
361 emphasized that these measures should be communicated as a complete message and not
362 as a many bits and pieces of information and statements (Mau, 2002).

363 Further, information asymmetries between companies and their consumers can negatively
364 influence agrifood supply chain performance. In a study by Gold et al. (2017), it was pointed
365 out that supply chain performance attributes related to credence, such as ethics and
366 sustainability, cannot be verified by consumers due to lack of empirical information as

367 companies are overly secretive on this topics. Informed decision-making is hampered by this
368 information asymmetry and innovative labelling and other information-oriented measures (e.g.
369 certification) to transfer production information are proposed as facilitator of supply chain
370 performance in the agrifood industry for credence attributes (Tukker et al., 2010). However, as
371 various supply chain performance dimensions are inherent contradictive, it is important to
372 acknowledge that a trade-off between them should be made to push the performance frontier
373 of the agrifood supply chain outwards (Gold et al., 2017).

374 Dingwerth and Eichinger (2010) researched the contribution of transparency to empowerment
375 of information users when sustainability data is disclosed. Transparency is considered to
376 enable stakeholders to make informed decisions and as a tool for holding powerful actors
377 accountable. A particular disclosure scheme was evaluated to examine how transparency
378 policies empower the users of disclosed information and the tensions related with this. The
379 reporting mechanism had only a small impact in shifting the balance of power in corporate
380 governance towards civil society, in accordance with previous studies. However, hopes
381 associated with transparency policies are often unrealistically high. Transparency policies may
382 work to a certain level, increasing transparency fails to empower stakeholders because
383 reported information is often too complex. Further, achieving empowerment was never a target
384 of transparency policies (Dingwerth and Eichinger, 2010).

385 The study by Zhu (2004) explored the social and private desirability of information
386 transparency in B2B electronic markets. It was shown that, in contrast to the popular belief that
387 open sharing of information is beneficial to all participating firms, information transparency
388 could be a double-edged sword. The actual effects of a transparent environment are
389 complicated and not necessarily good for all participants. Although its overall effect on social
390 welfare is positive, its private desirability is deeply divided between producers and consumers
391 and even among producers themselves, as competitive risks are increased when information
392 is made public (Zhu, 2004).

393 Lamming et al. (2004) researched the concept of transparency for use in supply relationships.
394 They suggest that a significant factor in the success of a relationship is (the lack of)
395 transparency at the interface between buyers and sellers. Transparency is considered as a
396 manageable element of relationships, rather than a general property, that can be employed in
397 commercial relationships between customers and suppliers and may have advantages for both
398 parties, without risking commercial instability or vulnerability. The two-way exchange of
399 selected sensitive information and tacit knowledge does not need to be symmetrical, a balance
400 should suffice as the exchange is only worthwhile if both parties gain value as a result. They
401 conclude that practicable ways of handling selective, managed, bilateral transparency should
402 be developed for secretive information exchange.

403 However, this does not imply that transparency could be implemented in all supply
404 relationships nor that it is a state that should always be sought. Total transparency would be
405 too time-consuming, too information-intensive and untenable within traditional
406 interorganizational behaviour. Even 'open-book' is not considered as a full clarity. Excess of
407 information may be used to dazzle the receiver or to hide the fact that critically important
408 information is missing. On the other hand, opaqueness is not necessarily a problem. It only
409 becomes an urgent issue for a customer/supplier when it is linked to value creation, nurture
410 and delivery. Also, opaqueness may represent an honest response to a request for sensitive
411 information that cannot be met. Therefore, in practice, most supply relationships exhibit
412 elements of opaqueness and transparency. They are seen as translucent relationships and
413 enable managers to undertake sufficiently informed actions with acceptable levels of
414 confidence (Lamming et al., 2004).

415 **Conclusion**

416 In neoclassical economic theory, complete and transparent information is considered a
417 necessary condition for perfect competition. In competitive markets, an equilibrium with the
418 most efficient allocation of resources is reached. As such, the Agricultural Markets Task Force

419 (AMTF) has proposed several recommendations for increased market transparency to foster
420 effective conditions of competition along the supply chain and to reduce current information
421 asymmetries. Among other things, mandatory price reporting and enhanced dissemination,
422 better communication and more comparability were suggested to the European Commission.

423 Despite this increasing attention on market transparency, there is little consensus on its
424 implementation and effects in markets. Theoretical research, especially from the neoclassical
425 school, suggests that market transparency matters, stating that perfect competition, and thus
426 perfect transparency, would produce the best possible outcomes for consumers and society.
427 This is also the reason why policy makers all over the world often set this course. Hence, a lot
428 of literature was found concluding with the suggestion to increase transparency. However, the
429 literature search revealed that only limited papers are available focusing on the real effects of
430 market transparency. Moreover, our review of both management and economics literature
431 showed that increased market transparency does not automatically result in a higher intensity
432 of competition, higher innovation capacity, more sustainability and a better world in general.

433 Transparency or the lack of transparency is a significant factor in the success of a relationship.
434 However, rather than the absolute attainment of transparency, an optimal degree of
435 transparency should be achieved. An appropriate balance between information transparency
436 and data confidentiality has to be made to minimize competitive risks. Transparency could be
437 a double-edged sword as it is social desirable but not always private desirable. Transparency
438 in the chain facilitates the allocation of responsibilities and is more reliable when the
439 standardized production procedures are used and when the communication is done as a
440 complete message. However, transparency policies may only work where information needs
441 are limited. As already stated by AMTF, cost effectiveness of measures has to be considered.
442 It is not intended to obtain increased transparency at the expense of too much cost and efforts.

443 As stated before, processing and distribution companies use their bargaining power to shift
444 risks or costs upstream in the value chain towards producers and limit their efforts in being
445 innovative, efficient or customer driven. They are fulfilled with satisfying profits and hence

446 induce a biased allocation of resources. Instead, they should look for profit maximization, as
447 by innovating, efficient performing and creating value for their costumers, bargaining power
448 abuses will automatically lower or even disappear.

449

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