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POLICIES TO PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF BELIZE

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This working paper discusses the Government of Belize's agricultural policies over the 1980-1991 period. It analyses the extent to which these policies have assisted in the development of sustainable agriculture in Belize and looks at issues that must be addressed in order to achieve the policies' objectives.

The paper first introduces Belize's agricultural sector highlighting the export and domestic sub-sectors. Section II focuses on the major government policies to promote the development of agriculture and each policy is analyzed to determine the extent to which the objectives were achieved during the review period (1980-1991). Section III looks at two major issues that need to be addressed if agricultural development policies are to succeed. The conclusion recaps the issues raised in the paper and highlights concerns regarding future prospects for Belizean agriculture with respect to the changing global economic conditions.

BELIZE'S AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

Belize's economy traditionally has been based on agriculture (agriculture is defined to include fishing and forestry as well). Mahogany formed the mainstay of the economy up until the 1960s when sugar took over prominence in agricultural production and export earnings. By 1980 sugar accounted for almost 30.0 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and over 58.3 per cent of domestic export earnings.

In 1991, the agricultural sector accounted for 20.2 per cent of GDP and employed approximately 33.6 per cent of the total labour

force. In addition to export products, this sector is the source of basic foodstuffs including rice, beans, corn, livestock and poultry products to satisfy local consumption. The major exports of sugar and molasses, bananas, citrus and marine products accounted for 74.0 per cent of total exports, valued at \$147.3 mn in 1991. Even though production and exports of citrus products, marine products and bananas grew significantly over the 1980-1991 period, sugar remained the most dominant accounting for approximately 41.8 per cent of total export earnings in 1991.

EXPORT PRODUCTION

Approximately 80 per cent of Belize's major exports are sold under preferential arrangements, either guaranteed quota prices or duty free entry into the markets. The bulk of citrus products (orange and grapefruit concentrate, squash and oil) are exported to the United States under duty free access provisions of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), while most of our sugar (72.3 per cent in 1991) is exported either to the United States (US) under the US sugar quota arrangement or to the United Kingdom (UK) under the Sugar Protocol of the Lome Convention. The residual is sold on the world market. Bananas are exported under the Banana Protocol to a single importer, Fyffes, in the UK.

Sugar

Sugar cane cultivation is found mainly in the northern lowland districts of Orange Walk and

Corozal, with annual average sugar output of 91,000 long tons over the 1981-1991 period and average earnings of \$69.7 mn per year. Over the same period, the production of molasses averaged 5.0 mn gallons at an average value of \$2.5 mn per year. In 1986, Petrojam purchased the Libertad Sugar Mill and is presently engaged in the production of wet molasses which is exported to Jamaica where it is further processed into ethanol. During the 1980s, the sugar industry fell into a slump mainly due to the decline in international prices which had a negative impact on production. However, the industry has recovered and in 1991 output matched its early 1980s position. Sugar has remained Belize's dominant export earning commodity bringing in \$83.3 mn in 1991.

Citrus

Citrus production is concentrated in the Stann Creek district in the south of Belize, but more recently production has expanded to the western district of Cayo as well. The industry experienced significant growth during the second half of the 1980s with the implementation of the CBI, which facilitated access for Belize's citrus exports to the US market. Exports consist of orange and grapefruit concentrate, squash and citrus oil which are exported primarily to the United States while smaller amounts are also sold to Europe and the Caribbean. Citrus is Belize's second largest export earner and brought in a record \$43.2 mn in 1991.

Bananas

Like citrus, bananas are grown largely in the south of the country in the Stann Creek district. The industry has grown to become Belize's third largest export earner. Banana production grew considerably during the second half of the 1980s. Acreage under cultivation more than tripled, while earnings increased by 115.0 per cent to \$19.7 mn in 1990.

Marine Products

Marine exports such as lobster tails, conch, shrimp, fin fish and fish fillet with earnings

of \$14.4 mn between 1981 and 1990, and peaking at \$20.2 mn in 1991. The industry is controlled by fisherman's cooperatives, while foreign firms have invested in aquaculture (shrimp farms). Exports of lobster tails account for approximately two-thirds of marine products' export earnings and it is expected that whole cooked lobster exports will have considerable impact on future earnings.

Forestry

The forestry industry is mainly involved in the production of sawn wood for export. Output fluctuated during the 1980s and exports were at their lowest in 1985 and 1986. The industry has improved since then, with earnings averaging \$4.8 mn between 1988 and 1991.

PRODUCTION FOR THE LOCAL MARKET

Production for domestic consumption primarily comprises corn, rice, red kidney beans, livestock and poultry products.

Corn is produced for human consumption as well as for the livestock industry. The two major purchasers of this commodity are the Mennonite farmers and the Belize Marketing Board. It has been noticed that corn production is very responsive to price changes and during the 1987-89 period, production increased by an average of 25.1 per cent, and was boosted by the Marketing Board's purchasing of this commodity at prices above world market prices.

Rice production is found mainly in the Toledo district where most of the output is grown by farmers on farms of less than 50 acres. Output is supplemented by imports carried out by the Marketing Board. During the 1980s, rice production peaked at 24 mn pounds in 1981, but since 1983, output fluctuated between 10 mn and 12 mn pounds. Production increased between 1987 and 1989 reflecting the government's policy, through the Marketing Board, to purchase rice. The prices offered were high and was conducive to production. Fluctuations in output over the period can also be attributed to both weather conditions and management problems at the largest producer, Big Falls Ranch, which was previously government owned.

The production of red kidney beans is carried out by Mennonite farmers using mechanized farming methods as well as by small farmers using Milpa farming techniques. Production peaked in the 1987-89 period again an indication of GOBs policy to purchase these commodities from farmers at attractive prices. At times, the Mennonites have been able to export red kidney beans surpluses to Jamaica at attractive prices; in 1989, red kidney beans exports were valued at \$3.9 mn.

Livestock production includes beef, pork, dairy and poultry products. Beef production rose slowly during the first part of the 1980s and has since peaked at 3.2 mn pounds in 1991. Milk production rose consistently during the 1980s from 616,000 pounds in 1980 to 2.9 mn pounds in 1991.

Pork production has somewhat lagged behind the successes of the cattle and poultry sub-sectors. Output rose from 0.5 mn pounds in 1989 to 1.4 mn pounds in 1991. It must be noted however, that the official statistics for this activity may be understated since a large portion of total pig rearing is carried out by subsistence producers for own consumption. A considerable quantity of pork products are imported for the domestic market.

The poultry sub-sector has been relatively successful. Mennonite farmers, the major producers of poultry products have been able to achieve output levels sufficient to satisfy (and at times even saturate) the domestic market. Poultry production rose from 4.3 mn pounds in 1980 to 13.5 mn pounds in 1990 and chicken has become the most important meat of the Belizean diet. The production of eggs has also grown significantly over the 1980 to 1991 period. In 1980, 1.7 mn dozen eggs were produced and this amount increased to 3.4 mn dozens by 1991.

POLICIES TO PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Over the years, the government of Belize's Development Plans (1980-83, 1984-89 and 1990-94) have emphasized four major areas of activity which should assist in the development of agriculture to its fullest potential. The Plan focuses on the diversification of the agricultural

sector, development of agro-industries, food self-sufficiency and conservation of the environment.

AGRICULTURAL DIVERSIFICATION

Diversification of export agricultural production is aimed at broadening the agricultural base by reducing dependence on sugar exports and spreading the risks associated with a monocrop economy among various commodities. The Development Plans' strategies for the attainment of agricultural diversification during the 1980s hinged on the identification of new products and markets, while seeking new non-traditional and non-preferential markets for traditional products such as citrus, bananas and marine products.

The need to diversify became increasingly more important in the mid-1980s when sugar earnings plunged to an all-time low of \$45.9 mn as the industry was negatively affected by prevailing domestic and international conditions. Smut disease, high domestic interest rates (which impacted on the cost of production), depressed world sugar prices and reductions in the United States quota all contributed to the industry's decline.

The citrus and banana industries have responded to the need for agricultural diversification. Since 1985, their contribution to total export earnings increased from 23.9 per cent to 29.0 per cent in 1990. The citrus industry grew moderately during the first half of the 1980s, but since 1986, growth has accelerated both in terms of acreage under cultivation and earnings, to become Belize's second largest export earner. Earnings were \$12.7 mn in 1980, but by 1990 citrus exports were valued at \$43.2 mn. The amount of acreage under cultivation expanded from 8,693 acres in 1982 to 39,973 acres in 1990. Cultivation has also expanded to the Western area of the country to the Cayo district. The major impetus for the growth of the citrus industry came from the arrangements under the Caribbean Basin Initiative which facilitated duty free access to the US market for Belizean citrus exports.

Banana production fell constantly during the first half of the 1980s. The first stage of privatization began in 1985 when the GOB sold

its banana plantations to banana farmers. Total acreage under cultivation rose steadily from 1,647 acres in 1985 to 6,192 acres in 1990. Banana exports increased by 64 per cent from 671,000 boxes valued at \$9.2 mn in 1986 to 1.1 mn boxes by 1990, with earnings of \$14.7 mn. Investments from both growers and Fyffes put into the development of drainage, improved cultivation practices and combatting the sigatoka disease have contributed to expansion in banana production. The sigatoka disease causes bananas to ripen prematurely which reduces the quality of the fruit by the time it reaches its destination and affects the premium payment it receives.

Diversification of agricultural production away from sugar has also emphasized assisting small farmers in the Orange Walk and Corozal districts to become more actively involved in the commercial production of alternative crops for export, as well as livestock rearing. Presently, with assistance from the Belize Agri-business Company (BABCO) funded by USAID, small farmers in the northern districts are engaged in the commercial production of papayas for export. Production rose from 1.2 mn pounds in 1990 to 2.7 mn pounds in 1991.

Some policies for agricultural diversification have also targeted farmers in the South of the country, this area being less developed than in the North where, over the years, sugarcane farming has brought relative prosperity. These farmers are encouraged to become involved in the production of new crops such as cocoa and winter vegetables, as well as the rearing of livestock. At the same time, more modern and efficient farming techniques are being introduced in an effort to discourage these farmers' traditional mode of slash-and-burn and hillside farming, especially in the Toledo District, since these practices are potential hazards to the natural environment.

The fishing industry is also targeted by efforts to diversify Belize's agricultural base. Currently, there are efforts to promote deep-sea fishing, targeting open sea species such as tuna and mackerel, as well as "deep fore reef-fishing" for catches including lobsters and blue crabs. The aquaculture sub-sector is itself considering diversification to include, along with shrimp, fresh

water lobster, catfish and other fresh water species.

In addition, plans are currently in place to promote the production of soybeans for animal feed for the poultry and shrimp farm industries as well as for the production of cooking oil. Other crops being considered as having possible export potential include pineapples and cashew nuts. Research is being conducted to find a specie of ginger suitable for production primarily in the citrus producing areas, while the production of onions and potatoes for the domestic market is being investigated.

Diversification of the forestry sector, which is addressed in the 1990-94 Plan period involves the promotion of lesser known hardwoods for use in the domestic market while exporting the traditional mahogany and cedar woods in more processed forms thus increasing their value-added.

Diversification of agricultural exports over the period 1980-91 has been slow. For the most part, significant diversification of export crops only began in 1985 with the expansion of the citrus and banana industries. The fishing industry's output has remained relatively stable over the review period, but earnings have more than doubled. This implies increasing prices received for these exports. This industry has also been able to capture new markets for its exports as is evidenced by the selling of whole cooked lobsters in France, an activity which was started in 1991. So far, however, the addition of other non-traditional crops to the export basket has been relatively small.

Finding new markets has also been slow. As mentioned before, most of Belize's agricultural exports are sold on preferential markets to the US and the UK except for the marine industry which has had some success in finding non-traditional markets.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRO-INDUSTRIES

Belize's agricultural policy stresses the development of agro-industries. This involves the commercial processing and distribution of agricultural production which increases its local value added. However, the Development Plan reviewed were not very specific as to the means

by which this industry would be developed.

The processing of agricultural produce continues to be dominated by the sugar and citrus industries. The sugar industry produces refined sugar and molasses for export. In the case of Petrojam, high test molasses is exported to Jamaica where it is further processed into ethanol. The citrus industry is engaged in the production of orange and grapefruit concentrate, squash and citrus oil which are exported to the United States, Europe and the Caribbean.

Manufacturing on a much smaller scale is carried out in the production of pepper sauces, peanut butter, jams and jellies. These are mostly sold on the local market which a small quantity (of pepper sauces) is exported to the United States. Mangoes are exported in puree form to the United States since United States Department of Agriculture regulations prohibit the importation of the fruit in its natural form (due to the pesticide used in spraying for the Mediterranean fruit fly).

The commercialization of processed wood began in 1990 with the exportation of veneer to the United States with earnings of \$1.0 in 1990 and \$1.3 in 1991. Prospects for other processed wood exports include finished furniture and parquet floors.

The agro-industry in Belize has wide scope for development, however several facilities would first have to be put in place to ensure its development. These would include the development of technical skills needed for agro-processing. In addition, the need for specialized equipment to carry out such processing is important, while market research must be carried out to identify suitable markets for these products. To date, commercial banks and Development Finance Corporation allocations are skewed towards the traditional processing sector.

FOOD SECURITY

Development Plans over the 1980s and into the 1990s have emphasized the need to promote production for domestic consumption in order to reduce dependency on imports to fulfil basic needs and to save foreign exchange. In order to achieve food self security, the goal is to attain the level of production for self-sufficiency in our basic food items, mainly rice, beans, corn,

meats, poultry products, fruits and vegetables.

Domestic production of these food items during the 1980s could best be described as mixed. The production of corn and beans increased during the earlier part of the 1980s and peaked in 1987 and 1989, respectively, reflecting the Government of Belize's agricultural policy of purchasing these commodities, through the Marketing Board at attractive prices to encourage production. On the other hand, livestock and poultry products grew considerably throughout the decade. The Mennonite farming communities, located mainly in the northern and western districts, produce most of the country's corn and red kidney beans, and are the dominant producers of milk and poultry products. They also make a sizeable contribution to the domestic beef supply.

Local production of basic food items and the residual of the major export commodities of sugar, citrus and bananas are usually sufficient to satisfy domestic demand, while continued efforts are being made to achieve self sufficiency in rice production. At times red kidney beans are exported to Jamaica due to lack of storage facilities in Belize, while live cattle are also exported to Mexico.

Due to the lucrative prices received for marine products in external markets, there is an incentive to export a major portion of the catch. Therefore, the availability of marine products on the domestic market, except for fin fish, is usually insufficient to satisfy the demand. Now with the expansion of the tourist industry, where hoteliers are willing to pay as much as what the cooperatives can receive on the export market, the supply to domestic consumers may become even smaller.

There is still wide scope for the production of crops for import substitution. Meat processing is carried out on a small scale, but a large quantity is also imported while continued research is being conducted into the production of vegetables such as onions and potatoes. However, there is an on-going debate as to whether the domestic market is large enough for the economic production of these commodities since it is possible to produce a large output of these commodities from a small land area. In addition, major investment will have to be put into

the provision of storage facilities, especially for grains (rice and corn) and vegetables, and the unavailability and high cost of these equipment may make it more economical to import.

CONSERVATION

Conservation of the natural environment involves planned utilization of the environment to ensure that it maintains its productive capacity for future generations. The issue of conservation of marine resources has been a major part of the fishing industry's development policy throughout the review period (1980-91). Legislation for the regulation of fishing seasons for shrimp, lobsters, conch and turtles has been in existence for some time, while monitoring is carried out to prevent over-fishing. Nevertheless, it is presently felt that conch and lobsters may be experiencing difficulties, while it is expected that the turtle season may be reduced since it has been found that the turtle population is being rapidly depleted.

More recently, emphasis has been put into public education to bring about an awareness of the importance of the preservation of marine life and the essential elements of the marine food and reproductive systems. The Coastal Zone and Marine Reserves Management Project has been set up to protect both Belize's coastal area and the barrier reef. The program looks at the effects that the expanding tourist industry and its related activities can have on these areas. It will also propose a network of areas which should be allowed to remain in their natural form, while identifying necessary institutional arrangements and recommending new legislation to assist in the achievement of these objectives. The Government has already created protected areas of mangroves and has increased penalties for the illegal destruction of these areas.

Conservation of the overall environment is now receiving much more attention, given the global emphasis that is being put on environmental protection. The Tropical Forestry Action Plan is being set up to strengthen national capacities in terms of forestry management and conservation. The Plan has been charged with responsibility for recommending the passage of

legislation and regulations for the conservation and development of wildlife and the environment.

One major challenge to the conservation issue is the slash-and-burn mode of farming especially practised by farmers in the Toledo district. This practice involves the burning of vegetation before planting. After the crop has been sowed, the land is left fallow for a number of years before it is used again. However, the problem of soil depletion arises when the land is not allowed to lay fallow for long enough to regain valuable nutrients because of land pressure. Hillside farming - above a 20 per cent slope - and farming nearer than 30 feet from a river are discouraged since these contribute to top soil erosion. It is hoped that these problems will be overcome by introducing new and applicable farming practices, as well as alternative crops, to the farmers in this area.

OTHER IMPORTANT POLICY ISSUES

Credit to the Agricultural Sector

During the 1980s and into the 1990s, credit to the agricultural sector was forthcoming mainly from the commercial banks and the Development Finance Corporation. These two institutions traditionally have been the primary sources of agricultural credit.

Credit to the agricultural sector from the commercial banks on average ranked third in importance next to distribution and building and construction during the 1980-91 period. Outstanding loans were primarily targeted towards the production of export crops. However, during the review period the sugar industry accounted for an average of approximately 40.0 per cent of total agricultural loans.

During the period, citrus received the second largest share of total credit to the sector. Outstanding loans to citrus consistently rose from \$2.1 mn at December 1981 to \$21.5 mn by the end of 1991, reflecting the expansion of the industry, especially since 1985. During 1985-87, credit to citrus industry was actually greater than credit to sugar at an average of 37.0 per cent of total outstanding loans to agriculture.

Credit to the banana industry averaged only 10.5 per cent of total outstanding loans to agriculture up to the end of 1987. However, with

the expansion of banana production, credit rose significantly to average 30.2 per cent of total agricultural loans between the end of 1988 and 1991.

The residual of commercial bank credit to the agricultural sector, an average of 20.4 per cent per year between 1980 and 1991 was mainly channelled towards domestic production. This included rice, cattle, dairy, poultry and egg production, land clearing and preparation and other miscellaneous farming activities. The most significant among this group was cattle and dairy farming which accounted for an average of 4.0 per cent of total loans outstanding at December during the period. Only a very small percentage of total loans outstanding were to the marine and forestry industries.

Generally, therefore, commercial bank credit was mainly targeted towards the export agricultural sector and the amount of loans outstanding was directly related to the performance of these industries.

Agricultural credit formed the major component of outstanding loans from the Development Finance Corporation, averaging 50.0 per cent of total loans outstanding over the 1980-91 period, although the absolute value was only about 25.0 per cent of commercial bank credit. However, like the commercial banks, the larger portion of outstanding agricultural loans were generally for export agriculture - sugar production in particular. In addition, the cattle and dairy industry was second only to sugar, while outstanding loans for the production of citrus and bananas was also significant averaging 23.9 per cent at the end of December over the review period.

It appears then, that credit from the commercial banks and the Development Finance Corporation assisted in the broadening of the agricultural base only in so far as the expansion of traditional exports, namely citrus and bananas, were concerned. Credit for production for the domestic market was channelled to the cattle and dairy industries from the commercial banks as well as the Development Finance Corporation. Therefore, the extent to which the financial sector has assisted in agricultural diversification and production for domestic consumption has been somewhat limited.

Land Reform

The issue of land reform has risen from time to time over the years, but the plans for agricultural development during the 1980s did not emphasize any strategies to overcome this concern. However, the Development Plan for the 1990-94 period has been very specific in its strategies for a revision of existing land policies to "*emphasize the right of ownership and the equitable distribution of land, as well as the creation of mechanisms that will encourage land to be developed according to its best use*"¹ [Development Plan, 1990-91, p.30]. Two major objectives of the Plan which will directly impact on agricultural development will focus on "*enabling lessees to obtain titles to land*"² [1990-94 Development Plan, p.31], thereby increasing the capacity of farmers to raise collateral for credit. The Plan also hopes "*to encourage conservation through proper land utilization and legislation*"³ [1990-94 Development Plan, p.31]. The Government is instituting a Lands Information System which will "*function as a tool for legal, administrative and economic decision-making and as an aid for planning*"⁴ [Ibid, p.31].

CONCLUSION

Since the start of the 1980s, policies to promote the development of Belize's agricultural industry have primarily focused on the four major areas of export diversification, the development of agro-industries, food security and conservation of the environment.

The citrus, banana and marine industries showed significant growth during the second half of the 1980s into the 1990s, somewhat broadening the economy's agricultural base. Their share of total exports increased while sugar's share became less dominant and the development of agro-industries took off in the later part of the review period, mainly producing for the local market. Although a few other non-traditional crops such as cocoa, papayas and mangoes have been exported, their contribution to foreign exchange earnings so far has been limited.

Most of our major exports continue to be sold on preferential markets in the US and UK. Considering the evolving international trade

conditions (the formation of the Single European Economic Community Market at the end of this year and the possible formation of the North American Free Trade Area) it is very evident that (now more than ever, that) more emphasis must be placed on the production and commercialization of non-traditional crops, such as exotic fruits, winter vegetables and the processing of agricultural produce which could be exported to non-traditional and non-preferential markets. This will expand the markets in which Belizean products are sold while reducing over-dependence on a few products and preferential markets.

The production of basic food items for domestic consumption largely has been able to satisfy the demand, even though output fluctuated during the review period. However, imports of rice, processed meats and some vegetables are usually necessary to fill the gap between output and demand.

Conservation has become a critical issue given the global attention being given to environmental preservation. The marine industry has expanded its conservation activities while institutions like the Tropical Action Plan have been set up to promote protection of the overall natural environment.

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 - Mr. Joe Smith, Chief Project Officer
 - Mr. Wendell Parham, Policy Analyst
 - Mr. Vincent Gillett, Fisheries Administrator
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TABLE 1

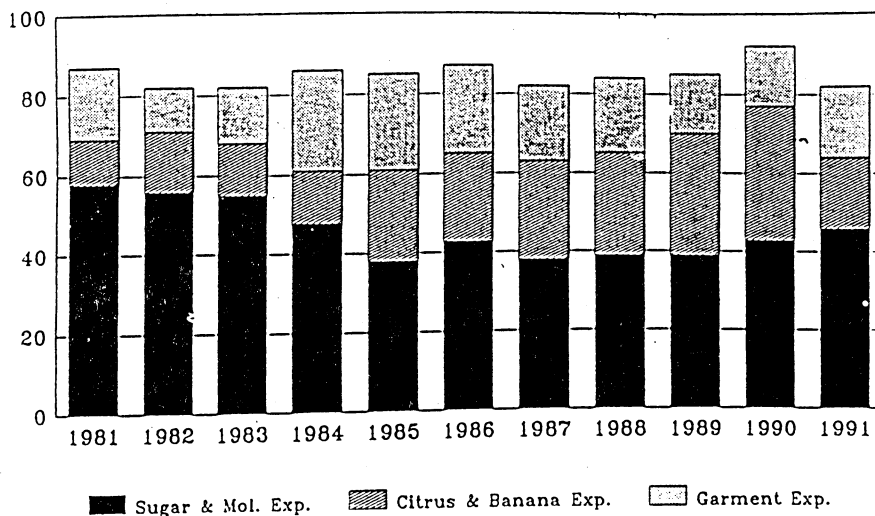
PRODUCTION FOR THE DOMESTIC MARKET		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Corn (mn lbs.)		41.5	46.6	46.7	38.8	35.6	43.3	40.7	51.2	51.0	51.1	41.2	
Rice Paddy (mn lbs.)		19.0	24.0	17.8	9.2	12.5	12.3	9.7	10.1	12.2	11.1	10.2	10.6
RK Beans (Mn lbs.)		3.1	3.8	3.9	3.4	2.8	2.3	4.0	5.3	5.0	9.3	5.7	7.8
Cattle:	No. slaughtered	6600	6400	6042	5820	6198	7552	7091	8317	7459	6423	7870	7157
	Dressed weight (mn lbs.)	2.3	2.2	1.9	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.9	2.0	2.1	3.2	3.1
Pigs:	No. slaughtered		6490	5773	5658	6251	6353	6411	8030	8160	6951	11553	8627
	Dressed weight (mn lbs.)	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.4	
Poultry:	No. slaughtered	1405	1534	1789	1929	1968	2002	2250	3031	2831	2486	3882	2739
	Dressed weight	0.5	4.3	5.2	6.1	6.5	6.7	6.8	6.9	8.9	11.1	7.5	13.5
Milk (mn lbs.)		0.6	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.2	2.3	2.2	2.6	2.4	2.7	
Eggs (mn doz.)		1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.2	1.4	3.4

Source: Central Statistical Office

TABLE 2

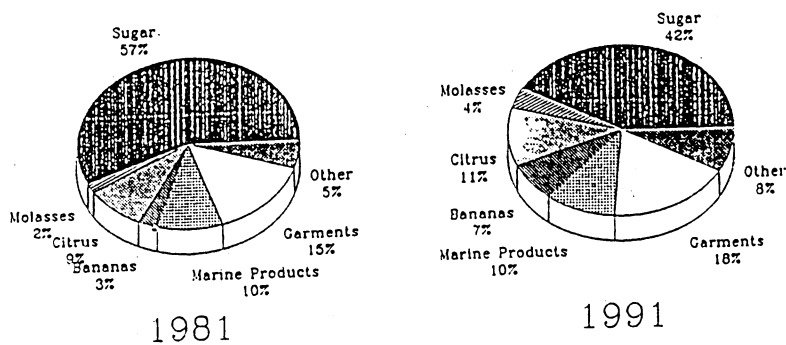
Exports		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Sugar:	Volume (mn long tons)	97.2	90.4	98.2	109.1	93.9	89.1	98.5	79.0	79.7	79.2	92.5	91.9
	Value (\$mn)	95.4	85.3	66.7	70.9	65.1	45.9	62.9	62.6	70.0	68.1	85.5	83.3
Molasses:	Volume (mn long tons)	4.7	4.4	5.4	5.5	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.7	3.3	5.1	7.1	9.8
	Value (mn)	4.4	2.4	1.8	1.2	2.3	1.7	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.3	6.5	7.5
Citrus Products:	Volume (mn gals)	0.9	1.2	1.4	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.6	1.9	0.5	1.9	2.0	1.2
	Value (\$mn)	12.7	13.0	14.0	12.6	19.5	24.2	22.2	32.0	34.6	38.9	43.2	21.6
Bananas:	Volume (mn boxes)	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.7	1.2	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.1
	Value (\$mn)	7.0	4.3	4.3	4.8	6.3	6.6	9.2	14.3	17.2	18.1	19.7	14.7
Marine Products:	Volume (lbs.)	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8
	Value (\$mn)	8.4	14.4	13.3	15.0	13.4	15.0	14.8	16.9	16.1	17.6	18.2	20.2
Other Exports:	Value (\$mn)	12.7	13.0	14.0	12.6	19.5	24.2	22.2	47.0	51.4	45.0	43.8	51.9

Export Diversification 1981 - 1991



Source: Central Statistical Office

Exports



Source: Central Statistical Office