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IMPACT OF FOOD COMMODITY PRICING, MARKETING AND DISTRIBUTION ON THE DOMESTIC MARKET

INTRODUCTION

- 1. During the last Decade, African States had to evaluate their economic performance and to redefine their trade policies. In fact, stagnation of agricultural production compounded by the limited range and volume of various commodities, the concentration of industrial units in urban areas and the rigidness of conditions of access to bank credits constituted considerable constraints to the development of African trade. And in pursuing their objectives on food self-sufficiency and the various African programmes, namely: The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UN-PAAERD), Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) and the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP), laid emphasis on agricultural development while giving particular attention to an efficient trade policy. However, the measures and steps taken to meet domestic demand and other economic development needs have not been coherent with the set objective. Also, African States have continued to suffer the effects of a deep crisis resulting from declining terms of trade, drought, desertification and poor national development policies.
- 2. One of the consequences of this is a continued deterioration of the food sector in spite of government policies on both price fixing for and marketing of food commodities, aimed at:
 - (a) Regularly provided their populations with essential foodstuff;
 - (b) Reducing the gap between producer and consumer prices; and
 - (c) Ensuring food self-sufficiency.

In addition, the implementation of the producer price reduction policy by food commodity marketing offices has been unfavourable to the development of production and has given rise to deficits that have heavily encumbered the budgets of African States.

- 3. Therefore, aware of the strong concern raised by this food commodity marketing and distribution problems among African countries, the Economic Commission for Africa, within the framework of its biennial programme for 1990-1991, offered to undertake a study on the impact of price mechanisms and food commodity marketing and distribution on domestic trade. The conclusions to be drawn from the present study will be useful in taking measures and formulating recommendations for improving the current situation of the food commodity sector, and are aimed at achieving food self-sufficiency as a pre-condition for self-sustained development.
- 4. This study will be presented to the eleventh meeting of the African Ministers of Trade. It has four parts (including an introduction) and a technical annex containing specific statistical information and bibliographical references. The first part which is the introduction will be followed by a second part on food commodity price policies and marketing and distribution systems. The third part will analyze the impact of food commodity price policies and marketing and distribution systems on domestic trade; it will thus try to take stock of the various problems posed for which solutions and recommendations will be proposed, which will be complemented with observations made from the debates.

1. FOOD COMMODITIES PRICE POLICIES AND MARKETING AND DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS

A. Food commodity price policies

- 5. There is a general tendency in developing countries to keep consumer and producer prices at a more realistic level by some liberalization of market forces. However, price control objectives and mechanisms are generally maintained. Besides, in many cases, price policy reforms take place in the context of the structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and mechanisms of the International Monetary Fund. As for agricultural prices, the reforms consist in reducing or eliminating food subsidies, increasing private sector participation in the marketing of food and agricultural products, promoting agricultural commodity exports and reducing price distortions resulting mainly from industrial protectionism.
- 6. National policies and foodstuff and export commodities vary from country to country. In some cases, governments have elected to stimulate agricultural production for the domestic market rather than for export, by introducing incentive prices. But the choice between promoting production for subsistence and export-oriented production is complex, particularly in terms of an export-dominated economic growth.¹

1. Price fixing

- 7. Governments, influenced by political and economic considerations, often have to fix commodity prices. The price control criteria that are most commonly used are as following:
- (a) <u>Production costs</u>, which are the most commonly used criteria by developing countries, as it allows for some degree of continuity in pricing policies and, therefore, for protecting farmers against sharp falls in commodity prices. It is a quantitative basis for reconciling the interests of producers, consumers and industry;
- (b) The going international prices are the most used criteria for fixing domestic prices, while protecting producers and consumers against extreme fluctuations;
- (c) The multiple criteria: a combination of several criteria for determining agricultural prices in order to balance the interests of various groups of people.
- 8. The question of choice in price fixing is difficult, especially for developing countries, owing to the inadequacy of marketing and the insufficiency of financial resources. In fact, it is the well-to-do in the urban areas who benefit from the price policies to the detriment of the poor, particularly rural dwellers with a low purchasing power. In addition, rigid food habits perpetuate

Politiques de prix agricoles: problems et propositions. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAO, Rome, 1989, p.65.

dependence on imported food items. Also, the absence of credit facilities and insufficient financial incentives for production constitute an impediment to private initiative, particularly in rural areas. Hence, African countries tend to advocate some degree of liberalization of market forces in order to achieve more realistic and more accessible price levels.

2. Price liberalization system

9. Another possible price policy in the absence of price fixing is price liberalization which favours the free play of market forces. The Governments of developing countries cannot shed their responsibility to create a climate of incentive prices for food commodity. However, market mechanisms left to themselves may give rise to results contrary to that expected; hence, the need to ensure a degree of stability of prices, especially of food commodities. The measures most commonly used in developing countries to stabilize prices consists in establishing floor or minimum guaranteed prices and, for foodstuffs, floor prices where seasonal variation of prices are foreseen, for example, prices of such commodities as cereals for food. Such a system can function if it is supported by sufficient warehousing and financing capacity which would facilitate purchase of all the quantities of products on offer. Moreover, Government should plan measures aimed at reestablishing balance in the market and a better allocation of resources.

B. Marketing of food commodities

10. In most African countries, the bulk of the food commodity marketing is handled by State marketing offices and trading agencies with a view to ensuring price stability of and improving production. However, owing to the inadequate management policies of State agencies, the Governments tend to increasingly strengthen the role of the private sector in the marketing system.

1. Development of food production

- 11. Food production grows at a rate lower than that of population and this is characterized by a significant decline in per capita production (see table 1). This situation explains the shortfall in food availability to meet the needs of African populations and the need to resort to food import to offset such deficits. Faced with this situation, many African countries have difficulty in achieving food self-sufficiency, as is the case with such countries as:
- (a) Burkina Faso whose food crops (see table 2) are mainly millet, sorghum, maize and rice paddy, which the Government has to import in order to cover a large part of local consumption²;
- (b) Senegal whose long period of drought has compelled the Government to resort to considerable importation of agricultural commodities, mainly rice which is the major food commodity. The share of agriculture in the GDP decreased steadily from 16.3 per cent in 1979 to

Zone franc, Rapport 1989. Monographies economiques:
Burkina Faso.

- 11.6 per cent in 1989. Many projects have been undertaken with a view to reducing Senegal's dependency on food imports. Table 2 shows the situation of the country's major food crops.³
- 12. In contrast, some African countries have achieved food self-sufficiency, as in the case of Benin, after years of production shortfalls. Regional centres of action for rural development have been created for the distribution of inputs and primary marketing of food commodities in Benin. Here, the major food crops (see table 4) are cassava, yam and maize. Cameroon has also virtually achieved food self-sufficiency and large food exports. The Government has adopted various strategies to promote both food and cash crops (table 5) in the rural areas.
- 13. However, since production does not always meet all the needs of the people, most African economies have been victims of market price, marketing and distribution distortions, in spite of Government intervention; hence the need to review Government policies in order to match the set objectives with measures.

2. Situation of food commodity supply and demand

- 14. Almost all countries of developing Africa are faced with the choice between giving priority to export-oriented food commodities and those for domestic consumption. In fact, the high population growth rate explains the incapacity of food supply to meet demand whose rate of increase outpaces production. This situation results in countries resorting to food imports which are sometimes unbearable.
- 15. On the other hand, the urgent need for foreign exchange at the same time compels countries to increase agricultural exports such that it becomes difficult to recover the export market lost as a result of a break in supply. Besides, the volume of African exports is restricted by international agreements and the limited nature of the production base.
- 16. It is, therefore, not advisable to apply a policy exclusively geared toward meeting domestic demand for food commodities, without taking into account the foreign exchange needs of countries. It is rather necessary to consider various practical measures, such as:
- (a) Seeking alternative ways of increasing export earnings, such as by diversifying products;
 - (b) Adopting consumption patterns to production;
 - (c) Establishing complementarity between food and export commodities.

Zone franc, Rapport 1989. Monographies économiques: Sénégal.

⁴ Zone franc, Rapport 1989. Monographies économiques: Bénin.

Zone franc, Rapport 1989. Monographies économiques: Cameroun.

Moreover, small-scale farmers who produce the bulk of the food commodities should be taught modern farming methods which would enable them to better utilize land and, thus, increase yield.

3. Government intervention

- 17. Owing to a number of economic and political factors, African States become involved in marketing systems, either to streamline and distribute food commodities equitably or to enforce price control legislations. In various African countries, major food commodities are marketed by Government offices. Food subsidy takes the form of transfers to the marketing office or by State coverage of shortfalls. However, the lack of coherence both in policy formulation and application has created a number of shortcomings, resulting in inadequate marketing systems. In order to resolve this situation, most African States have embarked on reforms aimed at restructuring parastatal agencies while strengthening and increasing private sector participation in the marketing of commodities.
- 18. Also, Governments should seek ways of resolving problems of:
- (a) Controlling price and marketing policies, by strengthening the staff responsible for implementing such policies at the national level;
 - (b) Selecting compatible objectives and tailoring measures to achieving such objectives;
- (c) Non-availability of current data and other correct information on prices, the market and of demand and supply forecast.

4. Private operators

- 19. Among the commercial agents handling marketing at all levels, are the following:
- distributing. They are also very much involved in collecting and marketing agricultural commodities. Thus, in Ethiopia, for example, the agricultural co-operatives handle distribution of consumer goods side by side with public enterprises;
- (b) Individual private commercial operators are also actively involved in the marketing of food commodities, particularly cereals. They operate generally as semi-wholesalers or retailers in the semi-urban markets and as wholesalers in the urban markets.
- 20. Private commercial operators are confronted with many problems among which are:
- (a) Inadequacy of such physical infrastructure as transport, storage and communication facilities;
- (b) Inflexibility of the conditions for access to bank credit which are hardly or not adapted to realistic trade conditions.

C. Distribution of food commodities

21. Distribution is the mechanism used to supply intermediate commodities to users and consumer commodities to consumers. Distribution forms part of domestic trade operations, particularly collection from producers, storage, warehousing, transport and payment. Meeting the demand for both local and imported food commodities requires inter alia a good transport infrastructure and appropriate storage facilities coupled with adequate distribution networks.

1. Organization of distribution

- 22. Commodities are distributed through distribution networks which vary in accordance with whether the marketing system is based on wholesale, semi-wholesale, retail or petty-retail trading.
- 23. However, the concentration of trading activities in urban areas, dispersion of demand in rural areas and the lack of physical infrastructure has led to inadequate distribution networks resulting in commodities having to travel through extremely long distribution channels. In addition, there tends to be monopoly in the rural areas, where demand exceeds supply and information is scarce. This situation plays considerably against rural consumers who are compelled to face excessively high prices not commensurate with their purchasing power.
- 24. Faced with this situation and given their financial and budgetary constraints, African countries have adopted a number of measures for the distribution of food commodities, aimed at enabling each economic agent to obtain products at a lower price. Thus, in Madagascar, sale of essential commodities is handled by the Fokontany urbains and the co-operatives of the political parties who are authorized to control the retail market and to sell commodities to the consumer at official prices. In Senegal, the Société Nationale pour l'Approvisionnement et la Distribution (SONADIS) is responsible for distributing essential food items. In Cameroon, the Government has favoured the short-cut system of a wholesaler and a retailer between the producer and the consumer, although it is considering the possibility of direct sale of essential commodities between the producer and the consumer. In Ethiopia, the Government has adopted the short-cut system of direct sale between the producer (State enterprise) and the consumer, with the agricultural co-operatives, the Association of urban dwellers or a retail distribution enterprise as the sole intermediary.

See ECA's <u>Modèles alternatifs des structures et mécanismes</u> <u>du commerce intérieur: Etude de cas de Madagascar</u>.

⁷ See ECA's <u>Analyse sommaire des structures, mécanismes et réseaux de distribution du commerce intérieur au Cameroun</u>, E/ECA/TRADE/97, 1987.

⁸ See ECA's Alternative patterns of domestic trade structures and mechanisms: A case study of Ethiopia, E/ECA/TRADE/98, 1987.

2. Distribution facilities

- 25. The insufficient investment, virtual lack of credit facilities, precarious transport infrastructure and storage facilities constitute an impediment to an efficient distribution structure in African countries. This justifies the need to:
 - (a) Link up isolated areas in order to facilitate circulation of goods and services;
 - (b) Promote and regulate transport while reducing costs;
- (c) Co-ordinate domestic transport development policies with that for investments on product storage and conservation infrastructure;
- (d) Co-ordinate bank loan conditions to meet trade realities, particularly stock turnover and sale promotion.

II. IMPACT OF FOOD COMMODITY PRICE, MARKETING AND DISTRIBUTION POLICIES ON THE DOMESTIC MARKET

- 26. Price policies have a decisive impact on the development of domestic trade. However, given the economic crisis facing all African countries, their budgetary constraints, balance-of-payment difficulties and persistent food shortages, other points have to be taken into account as a pre-condition for promoting production, marketing and distribution of products. These points are:
- (a) The need to provide farmers with methods of increasing yield and of utilizing new farm-lands;
- (b) Provision to farmers of the necessary inputs at the right time, as well as the needed credits;
- (c) The need for huge investments in irrigation, land clearing research, extension work, marketing and road construction;
 - (d) The need to allocate credit to traders and to encourage private investment;
- (e) Increasing the capacity of warehouses to avoid flooding markets with commodity surpluses which would lower prices.

A. Impact of food commodity price policies on domestic trade

1. At the domestic production level

27. Generally, price changes always influence the domestic production of a country. Also, relative prices play an important role in the determination of the agricultural production

components, particularly for substitutable products, such as rice and millet, in Senegal. A study conducted by FAO on price policies in developing countries reveal that relative price variations may have serious nutritional consequences where it causes stagnation or a fall in the production of certain food items whose prices are not supported, and have adverse effects and the income and employment of producers, landless farmers and the areas specialized in such production. The same study gives the example of Kenya¹⁰ where maize benefits from incentive production prices as a well as the consumption subsidy, whereas the price of sorghum, the other major food cereal is not supported. This results in a shift of some of the consumers' demand and production resources toward maize, despite the fact that sorghum is relatively more important for the small, poor farmers and has a greater drought resistance capacity in arid areas.

28. Furthermore, price increase does not always influence food production increase in African countries, owing to the outward-oriented nature of their economies and the supply inelasticity caused by declining yield and/or increase in costs in the case of subsistence agriculture. Thus, an increase in agricultural prices can imply a corresponding reduction in labour demand, and this directly influences real wages, leading to a decline in the demand for food products. Moreover, input subsidy programmes aimed at reducing production costs and increasing productivity and production are very limited in African countries due to budgetary constraints.

2. At the level of income distribution

- 29. Price increases directly favour the producer while disfavouring the consumer. Thus, African countries should have to strike a balance between regular food supply to consumers at reasonable prices and maintaining production prices at a sufficiently high level to stimulate production. To this end, the adverse effects of price increases and instability of food supply on cost of living and wages should be avoided, if not watered down. Hence, African States often resort to subsidies, especially consumer subsidies, which is one of the most current instruments of price policies. Indeed, food subsidy helps to correct income distribution in developing countries where it is sometimes impossible to control declared income.
- 30. However, in most countries, the beneficiaries of food subsidies are city dwellers, and not the rural poor who are in the majority. The consequence of this is mass exodus of rural dwellers to the detriment of agricultural production, resulting in increased unemployment in the cities. It is therefore advisable to plan a better income distribution, for example, by redistributing such production factors as land, and/or through continuous taxation rather than price policies which often indirectly help even the very causes of income inequality.

⁹ FAO, Politiques de prix agricoles: problèmes et propositions, Rome, 1987, p.63.

¹⁰ FAO, Ibid.

B. Impact of food, commodity marketing and distribution mechanisms on domestic trade

1. At the marketing level

- 31. Earlier analysis have shown the role of the State in the marketing of food commodities, and that State intervention policies on the food commodity market are aimed mainly at ensuring a degree of price stability and at regularly supplying products to the people at prices commensurate with their purchasing power. In this respect, food product marketing has a sure positive impact on domestic trade, as it favours:
- (a) An easier organization of emergency food supply to the population, particularly rural dwellers, during shortages;
 - (b) The setting up of major marketing infrastructure in the rural areas;
 - (c) A degree of price stability which will help check certain unfair practices;
 - (d) Opening up of the market to small-scale operators and isolated farmers.
- 32. The food commodity marketing intervention policies have, however, been qualified as counter-productive since they often tend to impede promotion of agriculture which is the driving force for the development of domestic trade in developing countries. Thus, there has been a trend toward:
- (a) Stagnation or decline of food production due, among other things, to consumption patterns which are not always adapted to production modes;
 - (b) A steady increase in the import of food items;
- (c) A blockage of investment programmes for developing marketing infrastructure and institutions;
 - (d) An increase in the budgetary expenditures of African States on subsidies.
- 33. Under the circumstances, most African countries have engaged in reforming their agricultural and food policies within the framework of their structural adjustment programmes, which recommend:
 - (a) Liberalizing their price and food commodity marketing policies;
 - (b) Reducing State monopoly of marketing;
 - (c) Preparing contract plans with government agencies engaged in social activities.

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34. Thus, the government of the Niger has embarked on liberalizing food commodity trade, particularly on millet and sorghum, while strengthening the role of the. Also, the Government of the Central African Republic is conducting studies, in co-operation with donors, with a view to improving productivity in the rural areas, developing infrastructure and organizing the marketing channels. In Nigeria, for some years now, most of the trade has been controlled by the private sector. Rice import has been banned since 1985 as well as vegetable oil import (January 1986), in order to protect local production which largely meets the needs of the country.

2. At the level of distribution facilities

- 35. Distribution forms and integral part of the trade mechanism, and a good marketing structure requires adequate distribution infrastructure for a better circulation of goods and services. However, the current situation of distribution infrastructure in African countries do not seem to be adequate for trade promotion. In fact, a number of constraints impeding the development of domestic trade have been identified, namely:
 - (a) Disparities in the advantages accorded to rural and urban populations;
 - (b) Imbalance between available finances and investment needs;
 - (c) Inadequacy of transport and storage infrastructure;
 - (d) Lack of credit facilities for the private sector;
- (e) Rudimentary infrastructure for clearing up markets, compounded by unhygienic and poor sanitary conditions, especially in the rural areas;
 - (f) Inadequate distribution channels.
- 36. Preoccupied by these distribution problems, African Governments have taken measures aimed at restructuring and streamlining trade infrastructure. Thus, the Cameroonian Government has developed programmes for rural roads and tracks aimed at linking up certain areas. Also, the Congolese Government has set up a project for facilitating marketing based on the organization of village groups for easier food product collection and distribution, rehabilitation of rural tracks and contribution of the necessary funds for financing marketing channels¹³.

¹¹ Mesures à prendre pour l'amélioraration des institutions de commercialisation des produits alimentaires, JEFAD/AMS/89/12.

¹² Rapport au Conseil des Ministres du MULPOC de Yaoundé sur l'impact de la libéralisation des prix sur la commercialisation des produits vivriers et la sécurité alimentaire, JEFAD/AMS/90/31.

¹³ Rapport au Conseil des Ministres du MULPOC de Yaoundé sur l'impact de la libéralisation des prix sur la commercialisation des produits vivriers et le sécurité alimentaire. JEFAD/AMS/90/31.

3. Establishment of development poles in the rural areas

In view of the concentration of industrial units in urban areas and the lack of support 37. institutions and facilities for promoting trade in the rural areas, African countries should search for ways of regularly providing the rural people with food commodities. It is for this reason that marketing offices have been set up. However, it appears that the trade policy and strategies being implemented fall short of the set objectives; hence, some African countries have established development poles in the rural areas. Thus, in Benin, regional centres for rural development (CARDER), responsible for distributing inputs and marketing food products have been created. Also, in 1988, an action plan for implementing agricultural policies covering the period 1988-1992 was formulated. It was for developing rural lake areas, reviving cotton cultivation improving livestock production and promoting food crops.14 In Senegal, the Societe d'amenagement et d'exploitation du Delta (SAED) has designed a reform programme aimed at transforming the Senegal River valley in the North of the country into an agricultural zone, as well as an agricultural integration programme in the South. In Equatorial Guinea, the recent establishment of the institute for promoting cocoa (primary agricultural product marketed), should facilitate allocations for and support of the purchase costs of producers.

III. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

- 38. From the proceeding analysis, a number of conclusions can be drawn on the efficiency of price policies and food commodity marketing and distribution systems, and their impact on the development of domestic trade in African countries. Such conclusions are:
- (a) Food policies do not favour the African masses. Indeed, food commodity promotion policies have often been geared toward meeting the needs of urban populations mainly through:
 - (i) inadequate price policies based on fixing producer prices at a level unfavourable to local production;
 - import policies which perpetuate dependence on a few imported food products and necessitate turning to food aid to offset persistent shortfalls;
- (b) A trend towards production stagnation or a decline in productivity which widen the gap between potential supply and demand;
- (c) An absence of marketing support institutions, qualified staff and marketing information, compounded by a virtual lack of financial resources.

¹⁴ La Zone Franc. Rapport 1989. Monographies économiques: Le Bénin.

- 39. The combined effect of these different factors constitute a major impediment to the improvement of African trade strategies. Furthermore, the various international agreements do not appear to favour development of the African trade sector; the deadlock in the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations on agriculture is a strong proof of this fact. It is for this reason (apart from the fact that solutions to be proposed vary in accordance with the geographical situation and policies of States), that common measures compatible with the food self-sufficiency objectives recommended by the Lagos Plan of Action, should be taken. Such measures should be based on the following:
 - (a) Promoting production of agricultural and locally manufactured goods;
- (b) Setting up of adequate marketing and distribution infrastructure, based on streamlining distribution networks;
- (c) Achieving a balance between production and domestic demand through a rational allocation of investments and by encouraging consumption of locally produced goods.

B. Recommendations

- 40. In order to secure a self-reliant and self-sustained economic growth and to break out of the viscous circle of economic dependence, African countries should put into operation a number of economic development mechanisms and instruments aimed at domestic trade recovery and revival; to do this:
- (a) African Governments should change the role of the State from that of monopolist to that of regulating agent of trade activities, particularly in terms of programming, import control to protect local production, control of price flunctuations and subsidies and protection of local food products;
- (b) Food production, should be increased through improved faming methods. Also, measures should be taken to protect local food commodities by increasing import duties, subsidies on local cereals and promotion of import substition;
- (c) It is also necessary to develop the physical infrastructure, improve collection centres in the rural areas and set up mechanisms for disseminating market information, which would enable economic agents to benefit from the opportunities offered.
- Achievement of the above objectives, combined with a policy to diversify African products will serve as a bases for an efficient trade strategy and for the recovery of intra-African trade. In fact, in an international economic environment largely dominating by the big powers, at a time when the deadlocked trade negotiations in GATT have resulted in a prolonged Uruguay Round, where emerging politico-economic blocs are aimed at strengthening such powers and isolating Africa, there is the need for awareness on the part of Africa, not any more on paper, but by implementing coherent policies that would meet the needs of economic development.

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ANNEX

STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1: Index number of per capita food production in some African countries

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Algeria	109,98	105,12	105,99	93,66	92,64
Benin	114,27	116,81	103,02	115,49	122,44
Cameroon	97,92	98,89	96,41	96,20	95,30
Ethiopia Malawi	88,90	95,42	88,43	88,48	88,74
Nigeria	89,16	86,83	82,65	85,75	85,77
•	104,15	107,56	96,14	95,68	94,79
Senegal Zambia	108,02	109,53	116,75	97,43	103,35
Zambia	93,48	94,07	90,39	105,05	95,

Source: FAO production Yearbook, Vol. 43, 1989.

Table 2: Burkina Faso: Production of food cropt (in thousands of tons)

	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90
Millet and sorghum	1 426	1 598	1 480	1 826	1 640
Maize	142	158	30	227	257
Rice paddy	21	27	22	39	42
Sesame (trade)	5	4	1	3	nd*

Source: Zone franc, Rapport 1989.

* = Not available.

Table 3: Senegal: Production of food crops (in thousands of tons)

	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90
Millet and sorghum	949,6	633,7	801,3	594,2	747.9
Maize	146,9	107,9	113,6	123,3	110,0
Rice	147,0	148,3	135,8	146,4	162,0
Niébé	79,7	54,9	28,6	17,3	24,8

Source: Zone franc, Rapport 1989.

Table 4: Benin: Production of food crops (in thousands of tons)

	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90
Cassava	780,0	725,3	570,2	779,6	1 004,3
Yams	776,6	874,5	834,9	922,1	1 072,6
Maize	425,1	375,6	267,3	429,7	454,2
Millet and sorghum	90,9	108,0	114,8	120,4	134,7
Beans	39,1	41,3	34,9	44,1	55,4
Rice paddy	6,3	8,5	8,2	9,7	11,2

Source: Zone franc, Rapport 1989.

Table 5: Cameroon: Production of food crops (in thousands of tons)

	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90
Millet and sorghum	523	430	572	450
Maize	367	429	442	453
Rice paddy	90	65	85	90
Sugar-cane	71	64	77	80
Tuber	1 780	2 268	nd	nd
Plantains	1 042	941	nd	nd

Source: Zone franc, Rapport 1989.