



Report

Agriculture in Panama

Challenges and opportunities 2018

Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Panama | Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Panama | Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Panama

Summary

Panama’s agricultural production is mainly comprised of basic grains, such as rice, maize and beans; fruits, including bananas, pineapples and oranges; and vegetables such as onions and potatoes. In addition, Panama has established a significant coffee industry, in terms of quality, with one of the highest quality coffee beans in the world market. The sector, however, has experienced numerous challenges over the past decades, which has translated into minimal growth and development. Agriculture’s contribution to GDP fell from 8% at the start of the millennium to 2.7% in 2016.

The proper techniques to anticipate on climate conditions – coping with periods of drought and heavy rain – are often lacking. This results in 80% of production being concentrated in the highlands of Chiriquí. Logistical services to transport products to Panama City are underdeveloped, leading to high post-harvest losses (40 – 60% of national output). In addition, the sector experiences high fragmentation of land among farmers, preventing efficiency increases, which is further exacerbated by the slow adoption of technology. These challenges translate into

stagnation of agro export, due to the decrease in local production, and high increases in agro import. Efficient scale production, low transport costs and decreased tariff costs all contribute to increased competition from abroad.

The challenges in the sector create opportunities for Dutch companies, given the Netherlands’ position as a front-runner in agro (logistics) technologies. Educating farmers by means of knowledge transfer and contributing to the development of Panama into a food hub are areas in which Dutch expertise can be of help.

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I. Introduction

With an annual GDP growth rate of almost 5%, Panama belongs to one of the fastest growing economies of Latin America.¹ Over the past few decades, however, this growth stems decreasingly from the agricultural sector. To put in numbers, in 1989 agriculture comprised almost 9% of GDP, while in 2016 this was reduced to less than 3%. These developments raise concern, since more than 40% of Panama's population lives on the countryside, with the majority earning a modest living through small-scale farming. In addition, the reduction in local agricultural production has made the country more dependent on the import of agricultural products, which in some cases leads to high prices due to tariffs and transport costs. Hence, while Panama is increasingly perceived as the 'Gateway to the Americas', due to its favorable central position and the Panama Canal, the agro sector is left on the backburner.

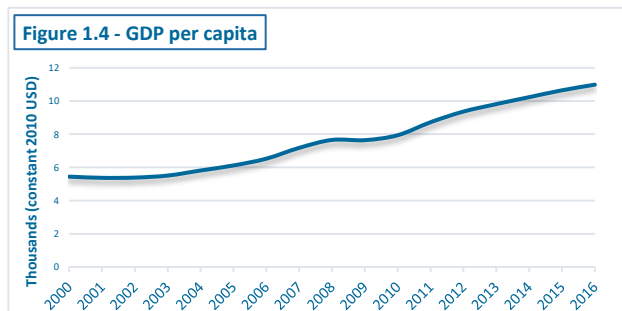
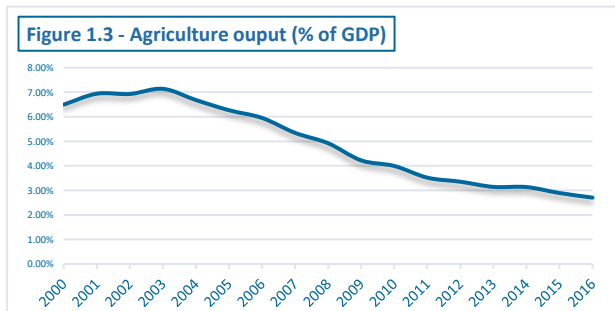
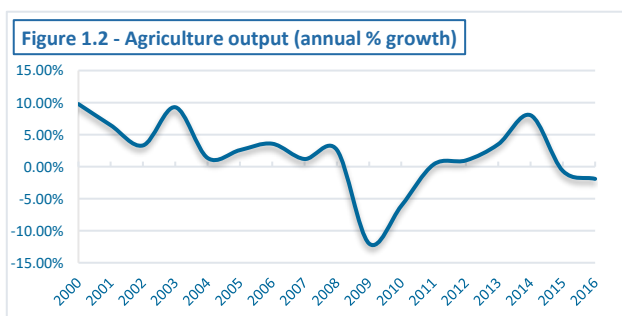
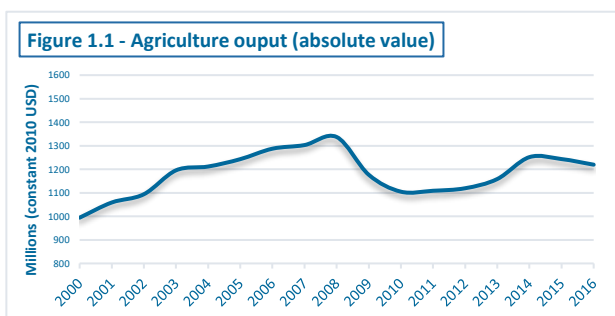
In recent years the Panamanian government has put in place several projects to stimulate the sector. Former President Ricardo Martinelli – who was in office from 2009 to 2014 – designated agriculture as one of the country's four pillars of economic growth. This emphasis on reviving the sector has gained further impetus under Martinelli's successor, President Juan Carlos Varela. Soon after assuming office in 2014, the

current President unveiled a multimillion-dollar² plan to boost domestic agricultural production and enhance the country's food security. International support is indispensable in these developments, especially in providing a connection between the public and private sector. The Netherlands can thereby play a contributing role.

This report provides an overview of the current situation of the Panamanian agricultural sector, discussing local production, import- and export matters and main challenges experienced. In addition it highlights the business opportunities for Dutch companies in the agricultural sector in Panama.

II. Agriculture on the backburner

Figure 1.1 depicts total agricultural output, in terms of value added, for the years 2000 – 2016. Figure 1.2 shows the annual percentage growth in total agricultural output for that same year stream. The two graphs together clearly show that growth has been minimal in the agro sector. The significant drop in 2008 in both graphs reflects the challenges faced by the global financial crisis, from which it only slowly recovered. As a result, agriculture's contribution to GDP fell from 8% at the start of the millennium to 2.7% in 2016, as shown in Figure 1.3. These



Source: [World Development Indicators](#), [World Bank](#)

¹ World Bank: [World Development Indicators](#), based on the year 2016.

² Around USD 52 million. [Prensa \(2018\)](#)

numbers are contrasting with the image depicted in Figure 1.4, which shows that between 2004 and 2014, Panama has doubled its income per capita, making it one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Hence, a so-called service-oriented economy has put agriculture in Panama on the backburner.

About 30% of Panama's land is dedicated to agriculture, which is a number that has stayed fairly constant over the years.³ In March 2017, the sector registered a total of 256,946 direct employees, which includes farmers in agriculture, livestock, hunting, forestry, fishing and related service activities.⁴ However, many more are indirectly employed with a total estimation of around 900,000 workers.⁵ High rainfall along the Atlantic coast and dense forest in 80% of the country have led to a concentration of agricultural activity in the eastern highlands, notably in the Chiriquí province where volcanic soils have proven the most fertile of the country. About 80% of national output comes from this region, while another 15% is located in the provinces of Herrera and Coclé on the Pacific side of the country. Figure 2 shows the development of employment in agriculture as a percentage of total employment. As depicted in the graph, the sector employed 14,5% of total employment in 2017, compared to 18% in 2001, which has shown a general declining trend over the years.



Source: [World Development Indicators, World Bank](#)

III. Local production

Panama's agricultural production is mainly comprised of basic grains, such as rice, maize and beans; fruits, including bananas, pineapples and oranges; and vegetables such as onions and potatoes. In addition, Panama has established a significant

coffee industry, in terms of quality, with one of the highest quality coffee beans in the world market. Agricultural production is highly volatile, where successful yield for a great part depends on favorable weather conditions. A lack of technologies to cope with these weather conditions retains production from being stable and in some cases translates into a diminishing trend in production. Figures 3.1 – 3.4 depict this volatility for a few of the most important agricultural products.

Bananas

One product worth to discuss is the banana, which has traditionally played an important role in the Panamanian economy. In the 1980s, the banana was one of Panama's most important export products, accounting for an average of 67% of total exports in this decade.⁶ Over the last few decades, however, the sector has dealt with a number of difficulties, reflecting a significant drop in production. While the value of production in 2000 was equal to USD 30,4 million, in 2014 this was reduced to only USD 14,7 million. The Panama Disease, a fungal virus present in the roots of the banana plants, has played an important role. This disease, combined with high standards set by labor unions, eventually lead Chiquita Brands to significantly reduce its presence in the market in March 2008, which until that time held a monopoly position in the production of bananas. This reduction in production in 2008 is clearly shown in Figure 3.3. The company handed most production over to the local farmers, who formed a cooperative called 'Coosemupar'. However, the workers by themselves were unable to relaunch the sector, causing a stagnation in the production of bananas in Panama.

In an attempt to revive the sector, Panama's parliament approved a law in April 2017 that allows the company Banapiña, a subsidiary of Del Monte, to invest more than USD 100 million to reactivate Panama's banana production. This project comprises the lease of 5,804 hectares of land that will be re-developed in stages at a rate of approximately 900 hectares per year. The initiative is estimated to have an average annual productivity of 2,725 boxes of bananas per hectare; in other words 2,452 million boxes per year in total when all 5,804 hectares are developed and in use. This could not only boost the production - and therewith export - of bananas, but would also generate thousands of jobs in the region.⁷

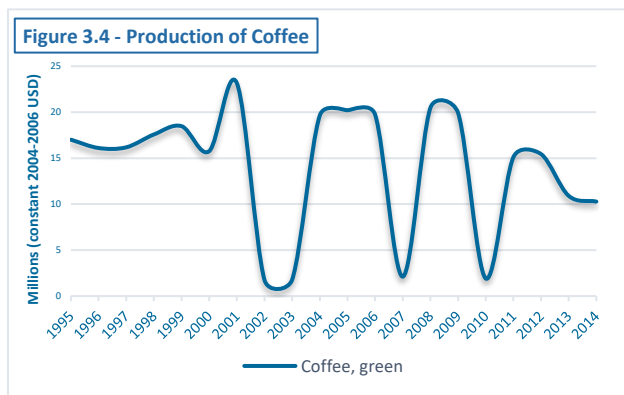
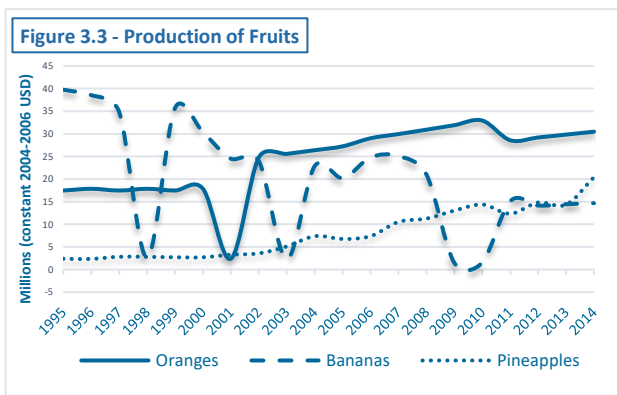
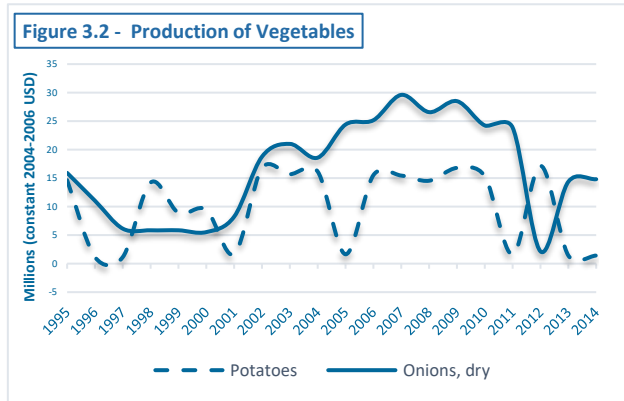
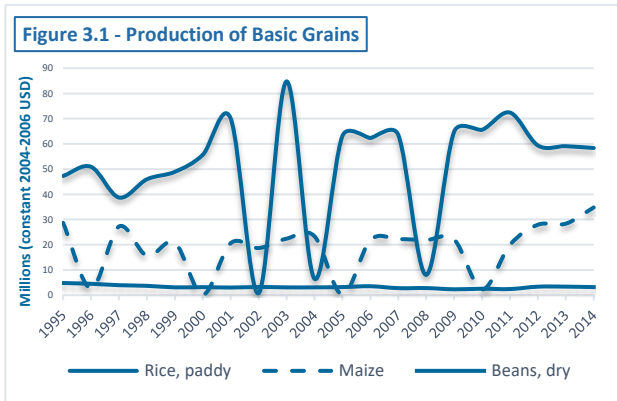
³ [World Development Indicators, World Bank](#)

⁴ [INEC \(Cuadro 441-21\)](#)

⁵ [The Business Year \(2016\)](#)

⁶ [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations \(FAO\)](#) (Calculations of author)

⁷ [Fresh Plaza \(2017\)](#)



Source: *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)*

Rice

Another important product in Panama, which also faced difficulties is rice. In a country where its people eat more rice than the world average; it is no surprise that its production plays an important role in the Panamanian economy.⁸ Although rice is grown in nearly every region of the country, most of the production takes place in the province of Chiriquí. One of the main difficulties faced by rice farmers is the lack of irrigation systems. 80% of rice production in Panama is done by the dry method, which makes it highly dependent on rainfall, while the other 20% use artificial irrigation systems. The largest part of the harvest therefore depends on weather conditions, which is becoming increasingly more difficult to forecast due to climate change. A shortage of locally produced rice therefore goes hand-in-hand with the threat of increased import competition. This forces rice farmers to reduce their prices, yielding minimal profit margins. Similar trends are visible for other products, such as onions.

⁸ According to FAO, 62.2 kg rice consumption per capita, while the world average is equal to 54 kg.

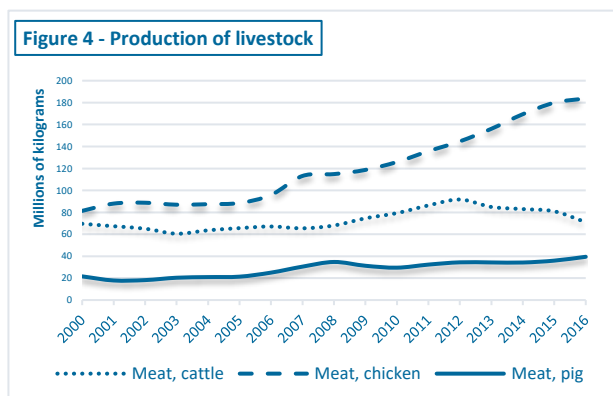
Specialty Coffee

A product in Panama's agricultural sector that has proven to be much less volatile, in terms of quality, is coffee. Most of Panama's coffee is cultivated in the Highlands of Chiriquí. Coffee farms in Chiriquí can be found in the towns of Boquete and Volcán. This area of Panama provides an ideal climate for coffee production, with its high elevation, volcanic soil, and the proper balance of moisture and sun in a tropical highland climate. Panama's coffee is especially known for its high quality coffee bean called the Geisha, which is one of the most expensive coffee beans in the world. Coffee has therefore traditionally played an important role in Panama's export sector, although production has shown decreases in recent years. One of the reasons for this reduction in production is the selling of production grounds for project development.

Livestock and Fishery

Panama's primary livestock products are chickens – with the highest per capita chicken consumption in Latin America –

along with beef, pork, and veal. Figure 4 shows the total production quantity in millions of kilograms. As is shown in the Figure, the livestock segment has generally been less volatile. Chicken production has experienced the largest production growth in the last decades, while cattle production has experienced some decreases in recent years.



Source: *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)*

The fisheries sector has recovered since 2011, when it experienced a decrease in production by 21.2%, moving from a value of production equal to USD 150.7 million in 2010 to USD 118.7 million in 2011. In the subsequent years, the segment grew by 3.4%, 15.2% and 19.6% in 2012, 2013 and 2014 respectively, reaching a total of USD 169 million in the latter year.

IV. Challenges in the sector

Climate conditions

As seen, one of the most significant challenges in the Panamanian agro sector is its climate. On the one hand, the country has periods of drought, while on the other hand it has to cope with large periods of heavy rainfall. In recent years, these climate conditions have proven to be more severe including longer dry spells and more intense rainy seasons, causing many flood problems. The proper techniques to anticipate on these climate conditions are often lacking, which increases the chance of harvest failures. To give an example, in December 2017, onion production failed in the place Natá due to fungus in the seeds caused by an excessive amount of unforeseen rain. This unforeseen rain causes rivers to flood and land being under water. As a result, more than 60 farmers were forced to plant new seeds and were therefore faced with considerably higher

costs. This subsequently resulted in a delayed harvest period; April/May 2018 instead of February/March 2018.⁹

Concentrated production

Given the climate difficulties and lack of proper agrotechnology, most production takes place in the province of Chiriquí. Given the concentration of production in these areas, logistical aspects play an important role in the transportation of products to Panama City, which is the main center of consumption. Unfortunately, Panama deals with large amounts of post-harvest production losses, due to the lack of well-established logistics services. Between 40 to 60% of national output is lost during post-harvest handling. On the one hand this can be explained by the lack of a multimodal transport system, and as such, goods are only transported by truck. It takes therefore at least six hours to transport goods from Chiriquí to Panama City. On the other hand, these post-harvest losses are due to a lack of refrigerated storage systems for perishable food, which results in large amounts of harvest losses due to climate differences between the production areas and Panama City. These inefficiencies even imply that it is equally expensive to transport a container from Chiriquí to Colón as from Colón to Rotterdam.

Figure 5 - Overview provinces of Panama



In an attempt to improve this situation, the former Panamanian government launched the so-called 'Cold Chain' initiative (*Cadena de Frio*) in 2010.¹⁰ Within this project, the government has selected 24 crops, based on relevance to the national diet and annual loss rates, around which it has designed strategically placed cold storage, processing and distribution centers. The project consists of two components. The first entails the development of four collection centers (Volcán, Cerro Punta, Dolega y El Ejido) that control the integrity of temperature and humidity of perishable products. The second component is

⁹ Capital Financiero (2018)

¹⁰ [Cadena de frío](#)

comprised of a retail markets network at the national level, combined with a fleet of refrigerated trucks. Although perceived as a promising project, the current government of President Varela has not reactivated the completion of the infrastructure works, due to legal obstacles within the organizers that have to be resolved first.¹¹

Fragmentation of land

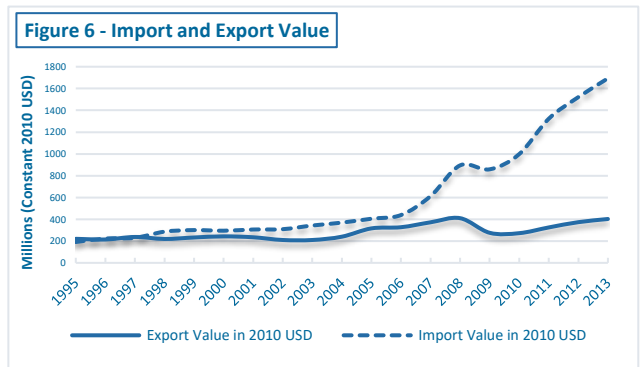
A last important challenge to mention is related to the fragmentation of land among farmers within the sector. Following figures of MIDA, 43% of farmers operate on land plots of less than 0.5 hectare.¹² This fragmentation of land prevents efficiency increases, which is a factor further exacerbated by the slow adoption of technology. The banana sector as described earlier, provides an example in this. Farmers mostly depend on loans and often focus on meeting targets to collect government subsidies, creating little incentives to adopt new technologies. In addition, the average age of employed farmers is 50 years old, which indicates that the new generation does not study or focus on agriculture. Most young people of Panama see their future working in services, logistics, industry, the canal, and other service-related activities.

An important institution that is concerned with these observations is Panama's Institute of Agricultural Research, IDIAP. As stressed out by IDIAP's General Director, Axel Villalobos Cortés: "We need to educate producers about new solutions and work with international institutions to develop a new center of excellence. Without human talent, the sector cannot develop". IDIAP works with National Secretariat of Science, Technology and Innovation (SENACYT) on a specific program to promote knowledge transfer in the development of highly qualified researchers to be employed in the agricultural sector.¹³

V. Export

The challenges faced in Panama's agricultural sector have been mirrored by agricultural exports. This can be seen by Figure 6 which shows that agricultural exports have stagnated within the period 1995 – 2013. In 2013 agricultural exports represented 28.4% of total exports, while this number was equal to 41% in 2006.¹⁴ Figure 7 breaks this composition down into the most

important export products based on the year 2013, which is the most recent year available for all products. Fruits play an important role in total exports, of which the banana accounts for almost 30% of total export value. Also pineapples, watermelons and melons are important export products for Panama. However, lower international prices have affected export revenues in recent years, with the export value of pineapple, melon and watermelon declining by 20.4%, 25.1% and 6.5%, respectively in 2014.¹⁵



Source: [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations](#)

Also coffee exports have seen a decline in export value. While historically accounting for more than USD 30 million in export value, it was only USD 8.3 million following figures of 2014, although this was an increase compared to a value of USD 6.9 million in 2013. Sugar exports saw in general an increase in total export value over the last years, accounting for USD 2.3 million in 2014. Panama's main two destinations for agro-food exports are the US and Europe.

CBI project

The Centre for the Promotion of Imports for Developing Countries (CBI) of the Netherlands Enterprise Agency (RVO) is currently conducting a four year during project in Central America to stimulate exports from the region to Europe. It thereby takes advantage of the Association Agreement between the European Union and Central America that came into effect on August 1 2013. Panama is one of the countries included in the project, besides Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica. The project focuses on specific product groups within the agricultural sector, such as specialty coffee, cacao, fruits and vegetables, and fishery. SMEs often lack European market

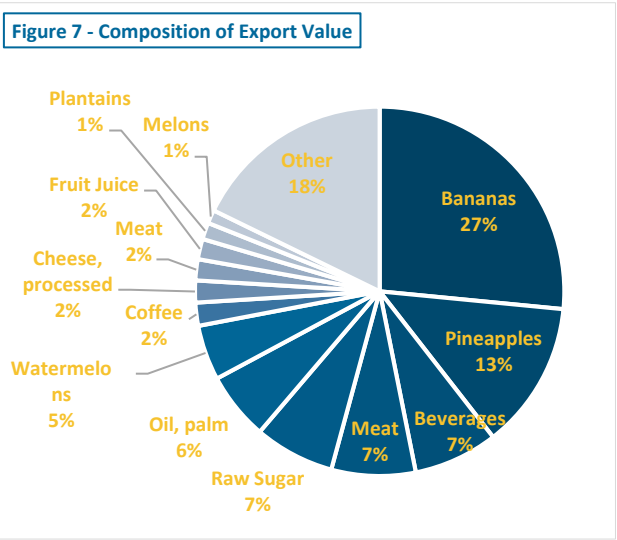
¹¹ [La Prensa \(2017\)](#)

¹² [MIDA \(2014\)](#), page 14

¹³ [The Business Year \(2017\)](#)

¹⁴ [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations \(FAO\)](#). (Based on own calculations)

¹⁵ [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations \(FAO\)](#)



Source: *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

intelligence and are not fully aware of, and consequently do not grasp the opportunities that exist for export products on markets in Europe. CBI therefore targets SME producers and/or exporters that already operate on a significant scale in Panama, but who need the extra support to start or improve exporting to the European market. At the current date, the project is in the first stage, where a value chain analysis is conducted. After this, a number of SMEs are targeted and supported with European market entry through export coaching.

New Panamanian Export Office in the Netherlands

In January 2018, President Varela announced the establishment of the first agribusiness office in the Netherlands. The goal of the office is the promotion of Panamanian agricultural products on the European market. This new agribusiness office will operate in the port of Rotterdam and will be coordinated by Panama’s Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MIRE) and Ministry of Commerce and Industries (MICI). The office will be a gateway for Panama and its relations with the Netherlands and the large European market, in order to position the Panamanian exportable offer and the 'Panama Exporta' brand, in all its fields: Agricultural, agro-industrial and fishing, etc.

VI. Import

While exports have seen little growth over the last decade, the opposite applies to agricultural imports. As can be seen in Figure 6, between 2006 and 2013, overall imports have increased by 286%, with an average annual growth rate of 21% during this period. These developments in imports can be explained by two factors. Firstly, the decrease in national output, due to the challenges faced in the sector, translates into a shortage of supply. Hence, this needs to be supplemented for with imported products in order to meet demand. In addition, this is exacerbated by price competition of imported products. Efficient scale production, low transport costs and decreased tariff costs all contribute to increased competition from abroad. To give an example, although being shipped from the Port of Rotterdam to Panama City, imposing a 70% import tariff, Dutch onions are still cheaper than the ones produced in Panama. Another contributor to increased price competition is foreign government subsidies on agro products. Some imported products, such as rice and corn, are subsidized in their countries of origin. This brings down the costs for the producer and, ultimately, for the importer in Panama, hence competing with local products that are not subsidized.

Conflicts between import and local production

This increased competition of imported products has created quite some noise among Panamanian agro producers. A recent example is the import of Dutch onions. Due to efficient production in the Netherlands, high quality onions can be offered at a competitive price in Panama, which among Panamanian onion producers is perceived as unfair competition. The Panamanian Food Safety Authority, AUPSA, has been actively involved in the developments around this dispute. One of the measures that have been taken is the signing of the Phytosanitary Protocol in July 2016 between Panama and the Netherlands. Among the agreements in the protocol belongs the establishment of a specific period of importation of Dutch onions, which was set at 120 days from harvest to commercialization, to give Panamanian farmers a chance on the market during their harvest period. This means that during the Panamanian harvest period, no Dutch onions can be imported.¹⁶

This protection of local producers does not always come to the benefit of the local producers themselves and consumers. The current government stimulates the local production but at the

¹⁶ AUPSA (2016)

same time sets high quality standards for the local farmers that are difficult to reach without proper agro techniques. A good example is the production of milk, for which the Panamanian government sets high import tariffs in an attempt to protect the local producers. However, with local farmers finding it hard to reach the high quality standards, most milk is being imported, resulting in high consumer prices due to the high tariffs. Despitefully, these yields end up in the hands of the government instead of being redirected to support the local producers.

Free trade agreements

Panama has been a member of the World Trade Organization since 1997 and has free trade agreements with a large number of countries, including the US, the EU, Central America, Canada, Singapore, Chile, Mexico and Colombia. On average, tariff rates are below 9%. The Panamanian government has made reasonable progress in eliminating trade barriers. However, there is still a certain degree of protectionism for agricultural products such as rice, sugar, meat, poultry, pig, dairy products and onions.

On August 1, 2013, a trade association agreement with the EU came into effect. Under this framework, the EU will liberalize 91% of tariff lines, including dairy products, fruit and vegetables, and nuts, while Central American countries will liberalize 48% of tariff lines over a 10-year period. In addition, duty-free quotas will be expanded annually and applied to sugar, beef, rum and rice, while banana tariffs will be lowered.

What to know when exporting to Panama

When you are exporting goods to Panama, the goods must be cleared by a licensed customs officers approved by the Panamanian government.¹⁷ The import duties are calculated over the CIF value. On top of the import duties, a further 7% tax is levied on the added value (ITBMS). The documentation required by the Panamanian Customs Authority (Aduanas) depends on the type of product and the way in which the product is imported.¹⁸ The following documents are required in any case: an import declaration drawn up and signed by a shipping agent, an import license for certain merchandise, such as medicines, food, live animals and weapons , and a commercial invoice that contains the exact costs for commissioning, packaging, insurance, transport and freight.

¹⁷ This does not include the products that are 1) free from import duties, or 2) are sent to the government, or 3) are imported by foreign diplomats, or 4) are sold to the ACP, or 5) are sold to ships that are sold by the Panama Canal, or 6) intended for re-export.

For agricultural products specifically, additional documents are requested, such as a certificate of free sale and a certificate of origin. In addition, the Panamanian Food and Consumer Product Safety Authority (AUPSA) has to give out in advance a phytosanitary declaration for animal and plant products permission.¹⁹

VII. Opportunities for the Netherlands

The Netherlands can play a contributing role in the development of Panama's agro sector, given its position as a front-runner in agro (logistics) technologies. Besides, the Netherlands is the second largest agro exporter in the world, after the US, despite being 270 times smaller. Panama and the Netherlands have important similarities as small countries with a strategic geographical position and their role as a gateway to their respective continents. The agro sector is therefore one of the areas in which Panama and the Netherlands are natural partners, offering mutual business opportunities that should be exploited.

While Panama's government is facing the challenges in the sector and makes efforts to improve the situation, there is a need for investment from the private sector to make a difference. The link between the public and private sector is therefore crucial in the development of the agro sector. The Netherlands sets an example in this field, and lends itself to share its knowledge on how to do this in an efficient and sustainable manner.

The Creation of a Food Hub

The missing link between agriculture and logistics is a challenge where Dutch expertise can be of valuable help. Just like the Netherlands, Panama has mayor logistical advantages, including the Panama Canal, International Airport Tocumen, and not to forget its central position in the Americas. Hence, Panama is a big logistics player, which it could take more advantage of in relation to its agricultural sector. At this moment, the Panama Canal functions solely as a transshipment center, where the import of finished consumer products are re-exported to the Latin American regions. Instead, it could start importing raw materials using the Canal, which can be processed in order to export them all over the world via the Canal, thereby taking an example to the Netherlands and convert itself into a so-called 'Food Hub'. Dutch company StigDelta is developing a masterplan

¹⁸ Aduanas

¹⁹ AUPSA

for the Panamanian Ministry of Agricultural Development (MIDA) to establish this project in the banks of the Panama Canal.²⁰ The idea is to create a Free Zone for Food, which will exist of a bulk terminal, cold deposits and processing facilities. In this area, the region's agricultural crops can be consolidated and processed for export to most likely Asia, but also to the United States, the Caribbean and Europe. Agricultural products can enter the area, be processed and re-exported without border procedures. Implementing this Food Zone will require a strong public-private cooperation. Panama's government will need to supply the land and create the conditions that attract the private investments that will be needed. Dutch private parties can play an important role in the development of the envisaged Food Hub. When the Food Hub is operating, Dutch agro-logistics and food processing companies can establish their operations.

Knowledge transfer

One of the most significant problems in the agro sector concerns the education of farmers. As stressed out by Axel Villalobos Cortés of IDIAP, "We need to educate producers about new solutions and be viewed as a reliable partner for the community of producers here. The solution is to work with international institutions to develop a new center of excellence". IDIAP partly does this by providing grants for students to promote the agricultural curricula among local students. Dutch agricultural knowledge institutions, could thereby advice the government of Panama on a public-private strategy to develop such a center of excellence. An important Dutch agricultural knowledge institution is the University of Wageningen, who dedicates a great amount of research on food security.²¹

Dutch production in Panama

While around 30% of Panama's land is used for cultivation, summing up to 2.26 million hectares, still another 2 million hectares are uncultivated and available for agro production. According to the FAO, an area within the agro sector that has much potential is the cultivation of tropical fruits. Panama has a favorable climate and advantageous characteristics of their soil when it comes to the cultivation of fruits such as mango, avocado, papaya, guava and citruses. However, there seems little interest by Panamanian farmers to extend their production due to the challenges faced in the sector. For Panama to mark a difference in

the international market, producers should focus on providing value added to the fruits, as indicated by the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICAP).²² The germplasm bank of Panama's agricultural research institute (Idiap), is currently working with different variations of fruits seeds so as to improve the competitiveness of fruits on the international market.²³ Dutch technologies can be of valuable help in this regards. Dutch companies Rijk Zwaan, ENZA and BEJO currently provide seeds in Panama that are adapted to the local land and climate so as to reach higher yields.

CAF's Agricultural Masterplan

The Development bank of Latin America, better known as CAF, has developed a masterplan for Panama's agricultural sector (PMARO), to improve the food quality and agricultural productivity within the country. The project will be executed by MIDA for a period of 7 years (2017 – 2014), with focus on Panama's most important agricultural provinces: Bocas del Toro, Chiriquí and Comarca Ngäbe Buglé. The collaboration between the public and private sector is thereby set as a crucial mechanism. As such, the government will invest USD 155 million, while another part will be invested by the private sector, which equals USD 402 million. In February 2018, the first funds of USD 27 million have passed most formalities and will be used for the first two years of the plan.²⁴ For the moment there are no tenders issued yet, but these can be expected in the near future, which can open opportunities for Dutch companies.

More Information

For more information and questions about specific projects or developments mentioned in this report, contact the embassy at pan-ea@minbuza.nl.

²⁰ [StigDelta](#)

²¹ [Wageningen University](#)

²² [Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture \(IICAP\)](#)

²³ [Instituto de Investigación Agropecuaria de Panamá \(Idiap\)](#)

²⁴ [Capital financiero \(2018\)](#)



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