THE CROSS RIVER STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (CRADP) AND THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE IN NIGERIA, 1987 - 2000

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Abstract

The study examined, generally, the World Bank assisted Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) to underscore its strategic importance to the socio-economic development of Nigeria. ADP is the food production strategy of the Federal Government which created an environment for increase in food production and rural development. The ADP addressed a set of constraints which hitherto affected the performance of Nigerian rural farmer. Evidences show that the major challenge of the ADP is sustainability, particularly in Cross River State where funding has continued to dwindle following the expiration of the World Bank loan agreement. In spite of poor funding ADP structure and mandate of unified extension service remained the basis for the sustenance of the ADP system - collaborating with agricultural agencies of government and development partners - in Cross River State. Using historical and qualitative methods of data analysis and presentation, and relying on primary, secondary and internet sources for data, the study revealed that the ADP is the boldest step taken by the Federal Government of Nigeria towards developing agriculture and, invariably, a major response to the food and fiber shortages experienced in Nigeria especially after the civil war. The paper argues that with adequate funding, the impact of the ADPs in Nigeria could be greater. As such, the study suggested that the issue of funding of ADP should be pursued with sincere commitments by both the World Bank and the Federal Government of Nigeria. The

study concludes that a thoughtful and considerable attention be given to ADP to ameliorate its constraints as a firm measure to assure food security, rural development and wellbeing of Nigerians.

Key words: World Bank, Agriculture, Development, Programme, Sustainability and FADAMA

Introduction

It is often said that "if farming is not done, then survival becomes doubtful". This means that agriculture is the basis of livelihood and development of all mankind. It is a symbolic sector of the Nigerian economy. Individuals need agriculture for sustenance and so does the society. It was the American President and Constitutional Philosopher, Thomas Jefferson, who once noted that "the cultivators of the earth are the most important citizens". The assumption here is that "farmers who daily till the land, harvest the farms, enrich our dining tables and supply our industries, cottage and otherwise, with raw material requirements" are the most important segment of our society and deserve our special attention and encouragement, if not for anything else, to avert hunger (Tijani 15). Presently in Nigeria (2023), most households face food shortages and nutritional deficiency. According to a 1996 Poverty Index Survey, about 65 per cent of Nigerians live below poverty line and of this figure about 70 per cent live in rural areas. It is a well-known fact that the bulk of farming is done in rural areas by rural dwellers. Incidentally, this is where poverty dominates.

The strategic importance of agriculture in Nigeria's economy need not be over-emphasized. Shehu Shagari, a former civilian president of Nigeria, stressed the fact that "every responsible government, more so in a developing economy, has to give agriculture a prominent place in its development plans" (219). The present state of agriculture in Nigeria suggests, however, that government has not made adequate efforts, concrete enough to arrest the free fall in agricultural production. Government has not done enough to sustain

the momentum gathered soon after independence in 1960. For instance, there have been occasions where agricultural programmes have been initiated but funds not released for execution. It is also obvious that some agricultural initiatives which were initially fortunate enough to attract funding end up midway not being funded anymore. A very common example of such arrested programme is the statewide Agricultural Development Programmes (ADPs). Another is the FADAMA 111 Project in Cross River State in which its managers usually go cap-in-hand begging for Federal Government counterpart funding for the programme. This poor attitude of government toward counterpart funding of agricultural programmes, specifically the ADPs and its negative impact on the socio-economic development of the country and Cross River State in particular, compelled the choice of this research topic.

The agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy has suffered very many reverses and is presently in crisis. This has resulted in decline in food production leading to insufficiency in food and fibre production, hunger, poverty, raw material shortages and in all, suffering for the masses. Successive administrations in Nigeria have experimented with several agricultural programmes to reposition agriculture with minimal or no success at all. In the recent past, and by way of stimulating world food security, the World Bank provided funding assistance for agricultural development in Nigeria through the Agricultural Development Programmes (ADPs), in which Cross River State was a beneficiary of this World Bank Agricultural Development Cross River magnanimity. The Programme (CRADP) has been the agriculture strategy of the Cross River state government to develop agriculture and rural areas of the state since 1987.

Through the ADP intervention, there has been reasonable improvement in agricultural production and to a greater extent, the constraints that militated against increased food production by small

scale farmers were addressed as a result of the faithful funding assistance by the World Bank. However, the expiration of the World Bank loan agreement and the subsequent pulling out of the Bank in 1995 affected the funding of ADP. The Programme has continued to suffer neglect in terms of funding by government. This has deeply affected the operations of the ADP in the state in recent times.

Unfortunately, funding for the ADP in Cross River State is completely non-existent presently. The implication is that the present administration of Professor Ben Ayade may not really understand or appreciate the ADP strategy at all. Studies have shown that the ADP, by its mandate of unified agricultural extension – cum – its structure in the state has the capacity to create an environment for accelerated food production and incomes of farmers, thereby moving the state nearer food sufficiency. It brings to question government neglect of such a strategic programme. This study, therefore, examines the ADP in a conscious effort to highlight its strategic importance to the socio-economic development of the state. It analyses the challenges of agricultural sustainability of the ADP strategy in Cross River state.

A Brief Overview of the state of Agriculture in Nigeria up to 1987

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated population of over 200 million people. The climate is largely tropical and this supports cultivation of a large array of crops, livestock, fishes and forest products.³ (Position Paper 3). Of the 98,321 million hectares of land available in Nigeria, about 75.30 per cent is regarded as arable while 10 per cent is under forest reserves and the remaining 14.70 percent is assumed to be made up of permanent pastures, built-up areas and uncultivated waste lands (Olayide 2). The Nigeria agriculture is predominantly rain fed. It is said to account for about 30% of the GDP and employs over 60% of

the total labour force. The small holder farmers produce over 85% of domestic food supply, mostly through traditional manual technology (ADP Redesign Report 5).

It is common knowledge that agriculture is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. Between 1960 and 1972, agriculture contributed about 80 percent of export earnings, release capital for the development of other sectors, employed a large labour force and generated other positive impacts on the Nigeria economy. It became 'distressed' between 1972 and 1980 when "several indices suggested food shortages, declining productivity and earning and massive rural migration to the Urban" centers (Obiechina 22).

Today it is history that between 1960 and 1972, Nigeria survived well on agriculture. Many commentators have blamed the woes of the Nigeria economy on the diversion of attention from agriculture to the oil sector subsequent to the advent of oil in the early sixties. For example, Uche Amalu, an Agriculturist, observed that "the discovery of oil wells, the consequent abandonment of agricultural land and political insurgence nation-wide brought disaster to an already bad situation" (127).

Again, it is clear that after the Nigeria Civil War in 1970 Nigeria plunged herself into serious food crises. According to a FACU Report:

Not only was there widening food supply, demand gap and rising food import bills, there were also rapid declines in government revenue from agricultural exports and labour drift from agriculture to other sectors.... The residual effect of the Civil War, severe droughts in some parts of the country, government fiscal and monetary policies and the negative impact of "oil boom" resulted in severe reverses of the nation's agricultural development (3).

That quote from the FACU Report summarises the reversion in the Nigerian agricultural economy.

It is often said that "if farming is not done, then survival becomes doubtful." M. K. O. Abiola, an industrialist, in a paper titled "The Ideal Agricultural Policy" summarized the main constraints militating against agricultural development for self-sufficiency in food production in Nigeria to include, "a weak human resource base and a lack of technical and managerial skills, political instability and the lack of an uninterrupted policy blueprint, a heritage of uneven, dualistic development, inadequate infrastructure and the prevalence of subsistence agriculture". Other constraints, Abiola added, are "unfavourable climate and geographical factors occasioning desertification in the north; soils which are fragile and deficient in organic matters, and an extremely rapid population growth, estimated at over three per cent per annum" (2).

Available records show that successive administrations in Nigeria have evolved various agricultural programmes to rescue and resuscitate agriculture. Some of these programmes include National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP), Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), Green Revolution (GR), National Seed Service (NSS), River Basin Development Authority (RBDA), and Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs). Others include Better Life for Rural Women (BLFRW), Family Advancement Programme (FAP), Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), Integrated Rural Development Plan (IRDP), National Programme for Food Security (NPFS), Root and Tuber Expansion Programme (RTEP), among others (Udenwa 10 – 11).

Surprisingly, these programmes went into extinction with each preceding administration which created them. Chris Obiechina, an Agriculturist, noted that Nigeria as an independent nation has "witnessed the birth and death of several notable institutions,

programmes and organizations fashioned to develop agriculture and reduce poverty" and attributed their failures to misadministration and inadequate funding (19). While Amalu observed that "despite all these laudable programmes with exciting themes, the country is still striving to stop the widening imbalance and perhaps thereafter to narrow the gap". He blamed this on the weakness of agricultural policies and the inability of several administrations "to solve the basic and fundamental problems of agricultural development" (126).

Ibrahim Babangida, a former Nigeria military president, reasoned in his address to the 10th graduating students of Command and Staff College, Jaji that preceding administrations in Nigeria "either lacked a proper perception of what needed to be done or were simply unable to muster the necessary political courage to take the difficult but necessary decision that must be taken if the economy must survive" (6). This further suggests that most of Nigeria's economic policies, agricultural policies inclusive, are somewhat wrongly conceived and counterproductive to the extent that sometimes the institutional arrangements rather create problems for the economy.

For instance, the Marketing and Commodity Boards which were set up to stabilize produce prices and encourage farmers to increase their production, Babangida disclosed, "unfortunately operated over the entire period as tax agents of the state government by imposing very high taxes on the farmers who are the weakest social group in the country". As would be expected, Babangida observed that under such unpleasant and unfavourable policy regime, "The farmer responded quite rationally, by abandoning his farm to seek green pasture in the cities" (8). These and other problems including lack of access to funds, agricultural inputs and other incentives led to the collapse of agriculture in Nigeria. Seemingly over-burdened by the above scenario, Abiola in his book 'Hope 92: Farewell to Poverty'

cries out that "with our vast land resources, the present high cost of staples is inexcusable and can only be explained in terms of low agricultural production and lapse in food distribution and storage" (22).

It is noteworthy that Nigeria has since ratified the World Food Summit Commitments reached in Rome in 1996 which was attended by 186 Heads by State and Government. These countries, including Nigeria, have agreed to collectively fight hunger by implementing, monitoring and following up the plan of achieving "food security and reduce the population of the world's poor and under nourished people by the year 2015" (FGN National Position Paper I). The big question is: was this mandate achieved?

The Agricultural Policies of Nigeria up to 1987

The Nigeria agricultural policies since the 1960s, Amalu explains, "Have been predicated on the crucial role which agriculture should play in the socio-economic development of the country...." These policies, which could also be regarded as the objectives of the ADPs have been slanted towards:

- i. Increasing production of suitable food crops particularly those rich in carbohydrates and proteins to meet the dietary requirements of a rapidly expanding population.
- ii. Increasing the quality and efficiency of production of existing export crops as permissible in the international markets.
- iii. The supply of sufficient agricultural raw materials for the development of local industries to absorb labour from agricultural sector under Import Substitution Policy.
- iv. Provide increased employment opportunity in agriculture by the development of small and large scale farms, and
- v. Developing livestock and fisheries production in an effort to supply dietary protein requirement to the people (125).

Evolution and Growth of ADPs in Nigeria

Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) were first identified as viable projects in Nigeria in November 1972, "when Nigeria was facing its first food and fiber shock", two years after the Nigeria/Biafia Civil War.₁₈ (APMEU Report I). The projects started with the enclave phase experiments in Funtua, Gusau and Gombe as first generation enclaves in 1975. These were extended to the Middle belt and southern rain forest region between 1978 and 1982 (FACU 5). The aim was to improve farm income through a set of integrated rural development programmes.

Successes recorded in the implementation of the enclave phase, coupled with the request by some states like Anambra, Bendel, Cross River, Imo, Ogun, Plateau, etc to join the programme, necessitated the reappraisal of the strategy of agricultural development in Nigeria. This reappraisal gave birth to the Multi State Agricultural Development Projects 1(MSADP I). Thus established, the MSADP I, which became effective in June 1987, was the first multi-state development project in the agricultural sector. It was designed to "correct the inadequacies in the nonperforming components of the previous enclaves". The project was funded through a World Bank loan No. 2733 of US \$162 million to the Federal Government of Nigeria. The rationale for the World Bank assistance to the ADPs, according to FACU Report, was to provide "a basis for augmenting domestic savings to procure offshore requirement, including heavy plant and equipment and occasionally, specialized skills, at concessionary rates" (ADP Redesign Report 3)

In September 1990, during the mid-term review of the project, the World Bank identified certain lapses such as "weak and discontinuous project management units, a very discouraging counterpart funding history of both state and Federal Government and generally weak implementation capacities and poor performance of most (5 out of 7) of the ADPs". It was based on this

anomaly that the need to repackage the MSADP I arose. Without the repackaging, the project would have continued "to suffer financially and drag on for many years with limited field impact". The repackaging or redesign of the MSADP I in 1991 therefore introduced structural changes which improved project implementation and ensured long-term sustainability of the MSADP I projects (4).

A critical challenge facing, not only the ADPs but Nigeria's national efforts at increasing agricultural production and rural transformation as well is the "sustenance of those gains already made in the implementation of the ADPs" (FACU Report 1). This is to say that the sustainability of the ADP is a challenge of strategic importance to the growth and sustenance of agriculture in Nigerian.

The Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP)

Cross River State which is the main focus of this study is one of the 36 states in Nigeria. The state has enormous potentials for agriculture as the people are predominantly farmers. The soils of Cross River State are very rich and can support a wide range of food crops like cassava, yam, soya beans, plantain, banana, rice, maize, sesame, sorghum, etc and tree crops such as oil palm, cocoa, rubber, cashew, citrus, etc. Precipitation is evenly spread through the year combined with very broad agro-ecological features. The state is equally rich in fisheries resources which include two major river systems and very extensive flood plains with numerous permanent lakes and ponds (CRADP Information Bulletin 1-2).

With a population of 2,888,966m people as at 2006 and an extremely fertile landmass of about 98,000 square kilometers, Cross River State is "ranked among the richest regarding variety and quantity of natural resources and supports two world acclaimed wildlife sanctuaries" (FADAMA III Report 2 – 3). Notwithstanding the enormous potential endowments in agriculture, the state "suffers

generally from poor logistic support, input constraints (Cost and availability), and weak institutional support" (CRADP Information Bulletin 2).

Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP) was specifically designed as an intervention programme aimed at increasing food production and farmers' incomes by providing a package of farm support service for the benefit of initial 256,578 farm families. These farm support service includes improved extension service, on-farm adaptive research, commercialization of input distribution and various amounts of infrastructural development (CRADP Information Bulletin 4). CRADP was established as a project by Cross River State government in collaboration with the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) and the World Bank through the International Bank for Rural Development (IBRD) in January 1986 but became effective in June 1987. The project was evaluated at the cost of N27.5 million in 1988 using the following funding ratio - IBRD N15.6m, FGN. N6.4m, State Government, N4.6m and IFAD, N1.0m (CRADP Information Bulletin 4).

The programme is a statewide ADP initiative in Nigeria, covering a total of 744,000Ha as at June 2000. The 1999/2000 Progress Report of CRADP shows that it implemented the Multi State Agricultural Development Projects (MSADP I), IFAD, Cassava Seed Multiplication Programme, the National Fadama Development Programme (facility level), and the National Agricultural Technology Support Project (NATSP). The NATSP ended in 31 December, 1999. The CRADP also supported the state government projects such as pineapple, castor seed, cashew and cassava by providing extension service through the Monthly Technology Review Meetings (MTRMs 1)

The Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP), like all other ADPs in Nigeria, was created to achieve some set



objectives (mentioned earlier), but strategies for achieving them, according to the CRADP information bulletin, varied. These objectives include: (a) To increase food production and incomes of rural dwellers (b) To establish a better link between the research, extension and the farmers and initiate development of improved production technology appropriate to farming systems in the state (c) To strengthen state agricultural extension service (d) To develop the capacity of the local government area councils in road maintenance and (e) To support improved portable water supplies in rural areas and consequent reduction in water borne diseases (CRADP Information Bulletin 17).

Strategies for achieving these objectives are first to reorganize and revitalize agricultural extension and training programmes backed by timely input supply and on-farm-adaptive research. This means an extensive system with strong institutional linkages which integrates extension workers' training and farm visits. It also ensures a twoway flow of communication among farmers, extension workers and researchers for the benefit of rural farmers. Second, an input distribution and delivery system which ensures that farmers do not have to travel long distances to purchase needed farm inputs. Third, an extensive rural feeder road-network that opens up rural areas for the expansion and evacuation of farm produce and delivery of inputs. Fourth the provision of market intelligence particularly in the form of reliable price information which helps farmers to identify suitable outlets for their produce. The main thrust of CRADP, therefore, is the Unified Agricultural Extension Service, using the Training and Visit (T&V) system of extension to reach out to the farm facilities in the state through well-crafted strategies (CRADP Information Bulletin 18)

Structure of CRADP

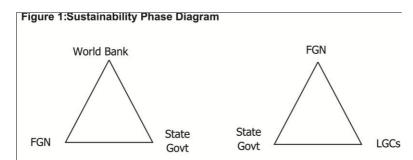
CRADP is structured into three agricultural zones with zonal offices at Calabar, Ikom and Ogoja. This is to enhance effective field activities and for ease of administration. Like other statewide ADPs,

CRADP has eight departments which include Technical Services, Extension Services, Rural Infrastructure, Rural Institutional Development and Finance department. Others are Administration, Human Resource Development and Planning. CRADP is governed by a board which is chaired by the governor of the state while a Programme Manager runs the board through the various unit heads.

Challenges of Sustainability

The strategic importance of agriculture as employer of labour and developer of the economy coupled with the impressive performance of the ADP strategy makes the programme's viability and sustainability all the more important. Cross River Agricultural Development Programme has created the environment for increase in food production and serves as the quickest means of addressing constraints that plagued the small scale farmer in Cross River State.

The introduction of structural changes that improved project implementation and ensured longtime sustainability of the MSADP 1 project in 1991 reflected a true success story of the ADP in Cross River State. CRADP is, however, not without challenges as its later developments revealed. (ADP Redesign Report 4). This is what Professor Bernard Oko, former Programme Manager of Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP) tried to insinuate when he stated: "the expiration of the World Bank loan was not supposed to distort the project because adequate funding arrangement was provided in the sustainability phase of the project" as captured in the diagrams below.



Source: Obeten Ubi, Informant

This diagram shows that when the World Bank pulled out, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) was to assume the place of the Bank; the State Government takes the place of the FGN while Local Government Councils (LGCs) in the state were to assume the position of the State Government in the sustainability phase. Obeten Ubi, however, lamented that the Local Government Councils never surfaced, hence the sustainability funding arrangement was not followed to the letter (Oral Interview Ubi 04/08/18).

One of the lapses identified during the mid-term review of the project in September 1991 by the World Bank was "a very discouraging counterpart funding history of both the federal and state governments" (ADP Redesign Report 11). Records, however, show that the canker worm of counterpart funding still persist. For instance, in the 1999/2000 Progress Report of CRADP, these corresponding data were displayed.

Table 1: Summary: October 1999 – June 2000

SOURCES	TARGET	ACTUAL RELEASE	
FGN	24,000,000	10,381,666	
CRSG	11,000,000	5,370,000	
TOTAL	35,000,000	15,751,666	

Summary: October 1999 – June 2000

Source: CRADP 1999/2000 Progress Report



This indicates that out of N35, 000,000 expected from both the Federal and the Cross River State Governments for the implementation of CRADP programmes and activities, only N15, 751,666 was actually released. An informant who desired anonymity revealed that the situation is worse now that capital funding is no longer being released at all while overhead cost, as at 2015, was cut or trimmed down to N250, 000. 00, N125, 000 000 in 2016 and from the third quarter of 2017 till date a zero Imprest as CRADP was not included in the Imprest account schedule of the state government (CRADP FADAMA Report 6)

In the CRADP Fadama Report, it was clearly stated that "the major constraint however is in the area of state funding" (6). Poor funding of CRADP, according to the Director of CRADP Technical Services, Edet Bassey, has a multiplier negative effect on the programme generally. It affects staffing, field activities, monitoring and evaluation, mobility, motivation, etc. With poor funding in mind, would ADP in Cross River State be regarded as a failed agricultural project? Obiechina's observation that the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) system because of its nature and composition seems to be one of the few organizations that have survived the 'panel beatings' of the military and civilian administrations in Nigeria appears to be apt.

In 1996, the Cross River State government moved to ensure and guarantee the sustainability of the Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP) through the enactment of EDICT CAP AII. This Edict established the Agricultural Development Programme for the purpose of developing agriculture in the state. Part 1 (2) of the Edict provides that "The Programme shall be a corporate body with perpetual succession...." From thence, the name was changed from Agricultural Development Project to the Agricultural Development Programme. This Edict also led to the absorption of all ADPs directly recruited staff into the mainstream of the Cross River State Civil Service, a clear

manifestation of the state government's commitment to sustain the programme (*Interview* Ndifon 04/08/2018).

CRADP is not a failed programme but by far a sustainable one made possible by its mandate and structure. By its mandate, it needs be clarified that the ADP originally was not a profit making organization. It was designed to provide service to Nigerian farmers through its unified extension service hence its reliance on government and development partners for funding. Obase Ekok, the CRADP Director of Extension Services, stated that while it is true that poor funding has remained the bane in the implementation of the ADP programmes and activities, it is equally true that its mandate and structure have made it the centre piece of the agricultural development of the country (Ndifon 04/08/18).

Obiechina has traced the sustenance of the ADP system and philosophy to its nature and composition and the numerous supervision, monitoring and evaluation missions of its activities by both internal and external bodies (19-20). This is why the ADPs nationwide are presently the implementing and or collaborating agencies of governments and other agricultural development partners. The CRADP has embraced linkages with NGOs and other development partners. Since the World Bank loans were terminated CRADP, for instance, have implemented the Root and Tuber Expansion Programme (RTEP) and the National Programme for Food Security of the Federal Government.

It has collaborated with the following programmes: the IFAD Community based Natural Resources Management Programme, Commercial Agriculture Development Project (CADP), Fadama III project, Sasakawa (an NGO), USAID Market II Cocoa Chain, USAID Market II Rice (Ekok 04/08/18). In its collaboration pact with Fadama III project, for instance, US\$37.43m was provided as support to the ADPs to cater for sponsored research and on-farm demonstrations as well as to fund the incremental costs so as to

allow the ADPs to certify service providers and also provide technical project related functions (Fadama III Project Appraisal Document 18-20).

The pattern of agriculture, over the years, was packaged from top-bottom, that is, from the research to farmers. But Cletus Ogbidi, the Deputy Head of CRADP Extension Service, revealed that agriculture has been redesigned from bottom - top using the Management Training Plot (MTP) group approach. In this approach, it is what the farmers' want that is or are forwarded to research to work on and come out with improved techniques. Today, the farm families in Cross River State have increased from 256,578 in 1987 to the present 481,506 (Ekok Oral Interview 05/08/18).

Available data from the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (FMARD) on the 2009 Agricultural Production Survey of the National Programme for food security (NPFS), a programme that was solely implemented by the ADPs, the following data were culled regarding Cross River State.

Table 2: 2009 Agricultural Production Survey of the National Programme for food Security (NPFS)

CROP		1999	2009
Cassava	Area (Ha)	180.00	352.43
	Production Mt	2044.9	5943.53
	Yield mt/ha	11,361	16,581
Yam	Area (Ha)	133.55	247.37
	Production Mt	1356.2	3,268.0
	Yield mt/ha	10,155	13,222
Rice	Area (Ha)	0.07	66.36
	Production Mt	0.2	175.8
	Yield mt/ha	2.027	2,649

Source: FMARD 2009 Survey of NPFS

This national report on NPFS included all the state ADPs performance per year on various activities from 1999 to 2009. For the purpose of this work, that of Cross River State ADP is comparatively presented above showing improved performance from 1999 and 2009 for the three major crops - cassava, yam and rice (FMARD Report 52-77). A random interview of farmers in Akpabuyo and Odukpani Local Government Areas to seek their opinion on the impact of ADP intervention indicated that ADP is a household name in Cross River State. Their complaints are high cost of inputs like fertilizer and irregular visits of ADP workers. The performance of CRADP notwithstanding, the major headache of poor funding is a clear testimony to the fact that if the programme is adequately funded the state would have been driven near, if not achieve the desired self-sufficiency in food production.

Conclusion

The Cross River Agricultural Development Programme (CRADP) has been instrumental to increased food production thereby contributing poverty alleviation and socio-economic to development of Cross River State. It is noteworthy that the expiration of the various loan facilities enjoyed by CRADP did not end the programme. In spite of its major challenges of funding by the government, CRADP, which has within the period under review put up an impressive performance, remained the implementing and agricultural collaborating agency of government development partners, including NGOs.

This is to say that with adequate funding the impact of CRADP will be greater. The ADP has proved a remarkable product of strategic thought capable of accelerating food production. It is therefore strategically imperative that thoughtful attention to the constraints of the ADP become mandatory for Nigeria's food security, welfare and survival. The onus to do so, certainly, lies on the Cross River State government.

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