An Assessment of the World Bank-Assisted FADAMA II Project Towards Sustainable Rural Development in Kaduna State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The World Bank's intervention in Nigeria's rural development has not yielded sustainable improvement in the living conditions of rural dwellers who are predominantly smallholder farmers. Many reasons have been attributed to this failure such as corruption and bad governance. This paper assesses the World Bank-supported FADAMA II project with a focus on sustainable rural development in Kaduna State. Using the dependency theoretical perspective and primary data generated through a survey of 400 farmers, the paper assesses the project's achievements in three aspects. The first being knowledge uptake on good agricultural practices, the second is access to agricultural inputs and the third is financial viability among project beneficiaries in Kaduna State. The paper argues that the sustainability of the project's achievements in the state within the three aspects is uncertain. This is largely attributed to the project design which can hardly engender sustainable rural development. Therefore, the paper recommends that the state commits more resources and becomes more effective in its rural development efforts, rather than depend on donor support to develop the rural areas.

Keywords: World Bank, Rural Development, Sustainability, FADAMA II, Dependency Theory

Introduction

The World Bank and other international donor agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) consider investment in agriculture as one of the strategies to develop the rural areas in developing countries. This strategy is most often informed by the notion that majority of the people in developing countries reside in rural areas and depend largely on agriculture for survival (Cleaver, 2007). Thus, development in agriculture is assumed to have positive effects on the livelihoods of the rural poor thereby triggering the development of the rural areas. In Nigeria, the World Bank has supported several agricultural programmes towards the improvement of the living conditions of the rural poor and the development of the areas.

The World Bank in Nigeria has initiated Agricultural Development projects which were primarily designed to improve the productivity of peasant farmers through effective extension services, farm inputs, supply and construction and maintenance of rural roads (Ilori, 2003). However, in spite of the World Bank's support to Nigeria's agriculture for more than four decades, the living conditions of the rural poor who are predominantly smallholder farmers have not significantly been improved.

Therefore, it is against this background that this paper assesses the achievements of the FADAMA II project in Kaduna State from 2004 to 2014 with a view to understanding why the living conditions of the rural poor have not improved in a sustainable manner even with rural development programmes, such as FADAMA II, designed to do that. The paper does this by assessing three aspects of the project's achievements namely: knowledge uptake on good agricultural practices, access to agricultural inputs and financial viability among the farmers.

The National FADAMA Development Project was implemented in three major phases; I, II and III. The first phase of the project otherwise known as FADAMA I was implemented from 1993 to 1999. While it focused mainly on crop production, downstream activities such as processing, preservation and marketing were largely neglected. The design did not take into cognizance the need for spatial integration of the markets (creating of physical and market infrastructure) (Iwala, 2014). It also failed to take into consideration other *fadama* resource users such as livestock producers, fishing population, pastoralists, hunters etc. The second phase of the project which is the focus of this paper was a follow-on to the implementation of FADAMAI and it attempted to increase the productivity, income, living standards and development capacity of the economically active rural communities while increasing efficiency in delivering implementation services to an estimated four million rural beneficiary households across the country (Kudi et al, 2008; Nwalieji and Ajayi, 2009).

FADAMA II commenced in 2004 and was implemented in 18 states, 12 (Adamawa, Bauchi, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Gombe, Imo, Kaduna, Kebbi, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Oyo and Taraba) of which were supported by the World Bank and 6 (Borno, Jigawa, Katsina, Kogi, Kwara and Plateau) by the African Development Fund (ADF) with additional support from the Global Environmental Fund (GEF) addressing environmental issues in all the 18 states (African Development Fund, 2003, p. 14). It was targeted at dry season farming, agro-processing, preservation and marketing. The project aimed at sustainable increase of the incomes of the beneficiaries through empowering communities to take charge of their own development agenda through Community-Driven Development (CDD) approach.

Although FADAMA III had succeeded FADAMA II focusing on improving the livelihoods of rural smallholder farmers, this paper focuses on FADAMA II. This is because FADAMA II ended in 2009 in Kaduna State and the other eleven states supported by the World Bank as mentioned above, while in the other six states, it ended in 2011. Thus, this gives an ample time to assess the sustainability of the project achievements towards rural development in Kaduna State.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Globally, rural development is considered essential to national development as 75 percent of the world's extremely poor people live in rural areas and depends on agriculture for survival (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007). World Bank (1975, p.3) cited in Ujo (1995) defines Rural Development as:

> A strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people-the rural prior. It involves extending the benefit of development to the poorest among those who seek a livelihood in the rural areas. These groups include small scale farmers, tenants, the landless women....

Sustainable development is thus central to the livelihoods of the rural poor as it bothers on raising the quality of their lives through nutrition, housing, health, education as well as creating opportunities for employment (Manyong, *et al* 2005). It is therefore, quite unfortunate that rural development plans in many developing countries, especially in Africa, have been more of gestures of good intentions instead of real programmes of actions that would result in successful transformation of rural areas. In most cases, the benefits of growth and development mostly favour large farmers and landowners to the detriment of the rural poor and the landless (Famoriyo, 1987).

There is hardly sufficient attempt at the national and international level towards sustaining rural development. Public policies at national level and resource mobilization at both national and international levels have not always recognized the multiple potential of the rural economy. Public policies and investments in developing countries have historically favoured industrial, urban and service sectors at the expense of agricultural and other rural sectors' development (Anríquez and Stamoulis, 2007; Singghvi, 2015). In many cases, a coherent rural development policy (by its very nature crosscutting) has fallen victim of the lack of a cross-sectoral institutional framework.

Historically, policy perceptions and practices have often equated rural development with agriculture, and rural development policies have been subsumed under agricultural policy packages. The issue of how and under what conditions agriculture is a driving force of rural growth has received scant attention or has been given mixed messages, including the position of major multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank (World Bank, 2003). The World Bank's interventions in rural development of developing countries have largely been in form of investments in agriculture. Agriculture is perceived as the economic engine in many developing countries. Despite the World Bank's investments in agricultural and rural development in many developing countries, rural poverty rates are still very high (Omotesho, 2015) which suggests that rural development as conceived by the Bank cannot improve the living conditions of rural population (Okoli, 1989). Instead, it is a plan by both national and international elites to penetrate and exploit the natural resources under the most conducive atmosphere provided by the state in developing countries.

The World Bank's investments in developing countries' agriculture are largely aimed at promoting the production of export crops which benefit large farmers. For instance, the Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) in Nigeria, which was funded by the World Bank, mainly focused on cotton and groundnut production at the expense of sorghum and millet (William, 1988). The Bank only takes seriously those crops which may be exported to, and imported from, other countries. Many aspects of the World Bank's outward-oriented strategy are completely inconsistent with the development objectives of many African states (Hinderink and Sterkenburg, 1987). Even with the gradual shift in focus from large farmers to smallholder farmers using community driven development approach, the rural areas are still devoid of sustainable development. The World Bank adopts the new approach because it requires less funds (Cleaver, 2007).

Historically, the broad objectives of Nigeria's agricultural policy include the achievement of self-sufficiency in basic food supply and attainment of food security, increased production of agricultural raw materials for industries, increased production and processing of export crops. Others include generating gainful employment, rational utilization of agricultural resources (land, water, etc.), promotion of increased application of modern technology to agricultural production and improvement in the quality of life of rural dwellers (Manyong et al, 2005, p. xviii). These, however, provided the bases for the intervention of international donors, such as the World Bank, in the country's agricultural and rural development programmes.

The World Bank was set up in 1944 with a charter to drive post-World War II reconstruction. It evolved from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, but its contemporary purposes are much wider. It covers the area of worldwide poverty alleviation in conjunction with its affiliate, the International Development Association. It consists of five closely associated institutions, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). These two organizations are commonly referred to as the World Bank. The World Bank is one of the world's largest sources of development assistance (Goldstein, 2005).

Since Nigeria's independence, the World Bank Group has supported the country with loans and credits from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA), estimated at over USD14.2bn (The World Bank Group, 2016). From that time till date, the World Bank has carried out projects aimed at rural development in the country, some of which include the National Accelerated Food Production Program (NAFPP) and the famous Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) of the 1970s. There were also the National Integrated Rural Development Policy and Strategy of 2001, the Commercial Agriculture Development Project (CADP) of 2009 and the FADAMA Projects which commenced in the early 90s.

The analysis in this study is framed in the dependency theory. The theory originates in Latin America and focuses its attention on the less developed countries. Dependency theory which contains an underdevelopment component is rooted in Neo-Marxist political theory, an offshoot of classical Marxism (Ferraro, 2008). The major proponents of the theory are Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, Dos Santos, AnderGunder Frank, among others. To these theorists, the development of the capitalist advanced countries and the underdevelopment of the Third World can be fully understood within the historical process that saw the linkage of the Third World countries to the advanced capitalist countries. This historical process has blocked Third World chances of the development of an indigenous and independent capitalism that is devoid of the exploitative grip of international capital. This blockage has further led to the distortion of the development of productive forces in the Third World (Rodney, 1975). Amin (1975) maintains that:

> Just as the economic system of the periphery cannot be understood by itself because its relations with the centre are crucial, so the social structure of the periphery is a mutilated structure, which cannot be understood unless it is properly situated as an element in a world social structure. (p. 23)

It is important to note that various forms of financial support from the developed world through both bilateral and multilateral institutions are not critical but are impediments to the developmental issues of the developing world (Goldstein, 2005). Conditions of the external forces such as multi-national corporations and governments of industrialized countries are constraining or better still compounding the problems of the developing world. The inflows of aid into developing countries from the developed capitalist countries could be perceived from the dependency perspective as an instrument of imperialism. This is a means to further integrate the economies of developing countries into the Western capitalist system without giving it the opportunity to develop on its own. Hence, the conditionality attached to financial support in form of aid could be viewed as a means to further emasculate the economies of the developing countries.

Therefore, aid and investment are vehicles for accessing the riches of developing countries and maintaining their underdevelopment and dependent status (Frank, 1969). Szentes (1971) corroborates Frank's views by arguing that foreign aid and other forms of financial support from developed capitalist countries serve to only bind developing countries into the exploitative global economic system thereby deepening their dependent position. As a dependent state, Nigeria provides the enabling environment for the penetration of international capital in the guise of promoting rural development through agricultural based projects such as FADAMA II. The Nigerian state also allows for the alliance of state controlled capital and international capital from the World Bank to implement the FADAMA II project. However, it is important to note as Evans (1979) argues that any developing state that enters into alliance with international capital is transformed into a subordinate whose actions must reflect the interest of international capital. The interest of international capital is not to develop the economies of dependent states like Nigeria, but to further incorporate such economies into the international capitalist system for profit maximization. Thus, Hettne (1990) argues that international assistance to Africa is for the survival of capitalism rather than for the development of African countries.

The continued impoverishment of rural smallholder farmers in Nigeria regardless of various rural development programmes the World Bank initiated in collaboration with the Nigerian state can be explained by the nature of such programmes. Sharma (1989) notes that rural development programmes are attuned to the needs of local elite (comprador bourgeoisie) and international capital, while other interests are pushed to the periphery. Therefore, even when the poor benefits from such programmes, the benefits are only momentary and unsustainable (Mawdsley, 2017) which explain why the rural poor remain poor even with rural development programmes meant to address their impoverishment. Thus, dependency theorists posit that unless Africa gets rid of any form of assistance from the developed countries, no sustainable development can be achieved (Rodney, 1975; Frank, 1967).

Study Area

This study was conducted in Kaduna State, north-west of Nigeria. The state in its current form shares borders with Kano, Katsina (created from old Kaduna State in 1987), and Zamfara States. Other states include Niger, Nasarawa, Plateau and Bauchi States as well as Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (Kaduna State Planning and Budget Commission, 2017). Kaduna State has a landmass of 46, 020sq km and a projected population of 8.6million (Kaduna State Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Also, it has large expanse of fertile land for agricultural production. The state has major rivers such as Rivers Kaduna, Gurara, Kogum and Matsirga as well as several streams which provide opportunities for irrigation and fish farming. There are 23 Local Government Areas in the state which are grouped into three Senatorial Zones-Northern, Central and Southern Zones.

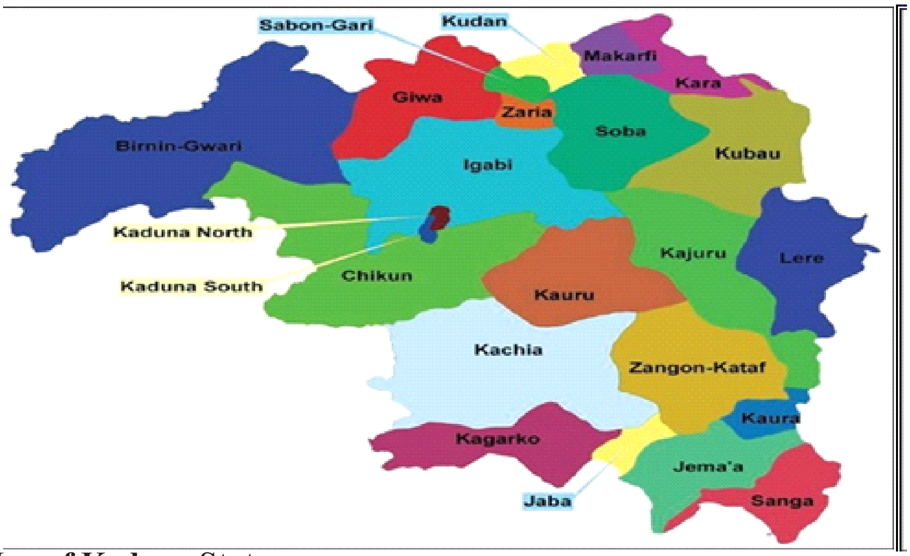


Figure 1: Map of Kaduna State

Materials and Methods

The target population of the study comprises the farming households who benefitted from the FADAMA II project in selected communities of the state. The target population is 12, 177 male and female project beneficiaries from across all the 10 beneficiary project local government areas in the state. A total of 400 project beneficiary farmers were surveyed randomly in three LGAs from among the 10 project LGAs. Thirty-one percent (124 farmers) of the respondents were drawn from female beneficiaries and 69% (276 farmers) from male beneficiaries reflecting the female to male ratio of the total project beneficiaries in Kaduna State.

The study adopted a multi-stage random sampling technique. The first stage involved the identification of local government areas (LGAs) that benefitted from the FADAMA II project across each of the three Senatorial Districts of Kaduna State. In total, 10 LGAs benefitted from the project across the three Senatorial Districts; four LGAs from the Northern Zone and three LGAs each from both the Central and Southern Zones of the State. In the second stage, one LGA was selected randomly from each Senatorial District using lot to make a total of three LGAs selected for the study. The three LGAs are Kubau from the Northern Zone, Kajuru from the Central Zone and Kagarko from the Southern Zone.The third stage involved the listing of all the villages/communities that benefitted from the project in each selected LGA and then a random selection of three villages/communities from each selected LGA. Lastly, at the village/community level, the list of beneficiary farmers, provided by the FADAMA Office in Kaduna, was used to randomly select respondents for questionnaire administration. The total sample size (400 farmers) was distributed proportionately among selected beneficiary LGAs as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Sample Distribution by LGA

LGA	Total Population	Total FADAMA II Beneficiaries	Sample Size		Total Sample Size
			Female	Male	
Kubau	280,704	1,839	56	124	180
Kajuru	109, 810	1,076	32	72	104
Kagarko	239, 058	1,158	36	80	116
Total			**124**	**276**	**400**

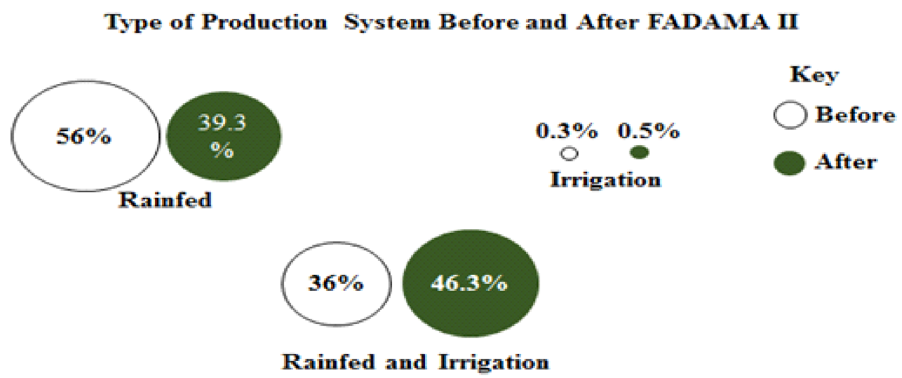
Source: Field data, 2017.

To complement the quantitative data, a total of 8 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were conducted with major stakeholders of the project including the FADAMA II State Project Coordinator of Kaduna State, the Community Liaison Officer of the project, leadership of FADAMA Community Associations (FCAs) in the three selected LGAs as well as community leaders in the selected communities. In addition, two focus group discussions were held with male and female farmers in the study locations. The quantitative data collected were analysed using simple percentage, while the interviews were transcribed and used as narratives to complement the quantitative data.

Discussion and Findings

The sustainability of the gains of the FADAMA II project vis-à-vis rural development in Kaduna State is assessed here in three aspects. First, **Knowledge Uptake** as an achievement of the project is examined. In this regard, the study considers selected advisory services the project rendered to farmers in form of training in good agricultural practices (GAP), conflict management and adoption of irrigated farming system. The analysis within this aspect centres on farmers ability to use the knowledge obtained from such services even after the project had ceased to exist. Second, **Access to Agricultural Input** is also examined because the project was meant to enable farmers to access inputs at affordable prices. In this aspect, emphasis is placed on whether or not farmers were still able to afford and access sufficient inputs such as seeds, seedlings, fertilizers and agro-chemicals after the project had ended. Third, **Financial Viability** is another aspect examined in this paper. The critical question with regard to this aspect is; were the farmers still able to significantly increase their incomes generated from agricultural production without FADAMA II? The farmers' ability to increase their incomes after the project is closely related to other factors such as access to quality inputs, increased farm size and barring market and climatic shocks as well as the existence of relative peace in the rural communities.

As regards knowledge uptake, FADAMA II was meant to introduce farmers to modern methods of farming. This informed its design to train farmers on good agricultural practices, financial management and conflict resolution skills. Also, to encourage the cultivation of crops all-year round, the project trained farmers to adopt modern methods of irrigated farming system. However, the findings from the study as shown in Figure 2 below suggest that increased adoption of irrigated farming system among farmers after the project is not significant.

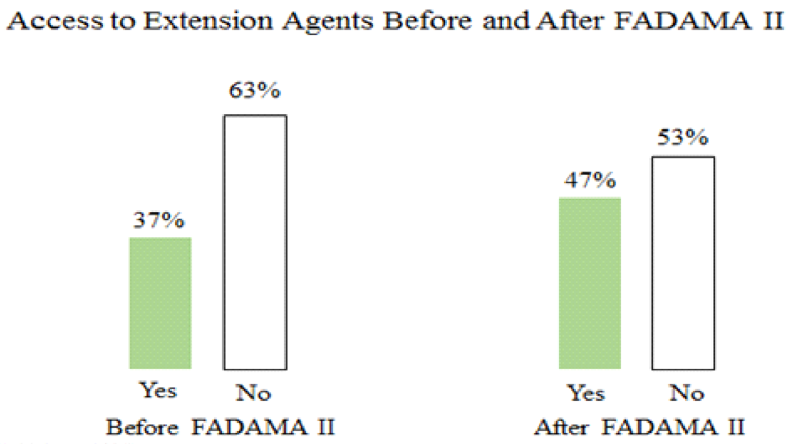


Source: Field data, 2017

Figure 2

Figure 2 shows that before the project, 36% of the farmers adopted both rain-fed and irrigated farming system. However, after the project, the percentage of such farmers went up to 46.3% which is not very significant. Thus, regardless of the farmers' knowledge on modern methods of irrigation, many of them could not use the knowledge because they did not have access to water sources that could have facilitated the adoption of irrigated farming system. During a focus group discussion with farmers in Kagarko Local Government Area, farmers complained of not having sufficient water sources to practice irrigation. The project document shows that the project could construct only one dam in the entire state for irrigation. Thus, farmers' knowledge on modern methods of irrigated farming system could only have sustained benefits to them if they had access to water sources to put such knowledge to good use.

Also, the conflict resolution training appears not to have sustained impact on the communities as the major drivers of farmers-herdsmen conflict had not been addressed. Cattle routes had not been demarcated in many communities and cattle were still encroaching on farmlands which most often resulted in violent clashes between pastoralists and farming communities (KI, FGD-Kagargo LGA). Furthermore, the study observed significant improvement in farmers' knowledge on GAP. However, their inability to afford sufficient quality inputs remained a challenge that limited their ability to practice GAP effectively. Also, even after the project, 53% of the farmers did not have access to extension services which further suggested that they may not be directly exposed to new and emerging methods of farming. Figure 3 below shows farmers' access to extension services before and after the project.



Source: Field data, 2017
Figure 3

Many smallholder farmers in Nigeria hardly have access to extension services thereby depriving them of the requisite knowledge and skills of modern and improved farming techniques. Figure 3 above shows that 37% of the farmers had access to extension agents before the project and 47% after the project. Thus, FADAMA II could not contribute to a significant increase in farmers' access to extension agents because the project relied largely on the extension agents provided by the state's Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) who were grossly inadequate. This also affected the reach of the project as reported by a key informant during an interview in Kagarko. The key informant reported that many farmers from different villages indicated their interest in participating in the project, but only few of them could be accommodated because extension agents were grossly inadequate and the project was financially limited.

Regarding farmers' ability to access agricultural inputs after the project, the findings suggest a significant improvement, but not without some challenges. Figure 4 below shows farmers' access to inputs before and after the project.

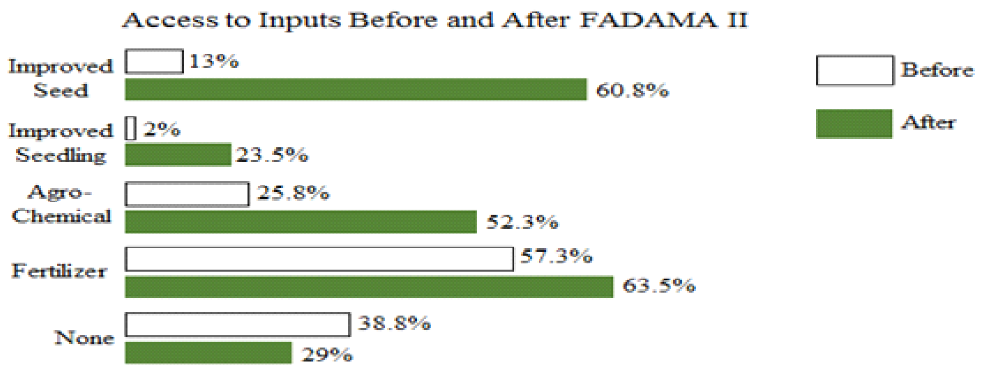


Figure 4 **Source: Field data, 2017**

The findings in Figure 4 above show significant improvement in access to inputs after the project. However, the farmers had difficulties buying inputs after FADAMA II had ended (KI, FGD at Kagargo). This was because the subsidy they enjoyed during the project's lifespan had stopped and they lacked sufficient financial resources to buy the required quantity of inputs for their farms. One of the shortcomings of the project is that it did not provide a sustainable means through which farmers could access credit facilities to procure farm inputs.

As for financial viability, Table 2 below shows increased incomes among farmers as a result of their involvement in the project.

Table 2: Annual Estimate of Household Head's Income from Agricultural Production

Income (Naira)	Frequency	Percent
Before FADAMA II		
Less than 10,000	104	26
10,000 – 50,000	139	34.8
50,001 – 100,000	33	8.3
100,001 – 200,000	20	5
200,001 – 300,000	4	1
300,001 – 400,000	1	0.3
400,001 – 500,000	2	0.5
500,001 and above	4	1
No answer	93	23.3
Total	**400**	**100.2**
After FADAMA II		
Less than 10,000	55	14
10,000 – 50,000	103	25.8
50,001 – 100,000	32	8
100,001 – 200,000	53	13.3
200,001 – 300,000	13	3.3
300,001 – 400,000	11	2.3
400,001 – 500,000	8	2
500,001 and above	33	8.3
No answer	92	23
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: Field data, 2017

Generally, the farmers had increased incomes at varying degrees as a result of their involvement in the project. Further probe on the respondents shows that 71% of them had their incomes from agricultural production increased because of increased yield. This could be further attributed to adoption of good agricultural practices, use of improved agricultural technology, increased farmland and better prices for agricultural produce. However, how does the increase in farmers' incomes relate to improvement in their living conditions in a sustained way and the development of their communities generally? The study shows that only 1% or less of the total inhabitants of each beneficiary LGA benefitted from the project. This suggests that the gains achieved regarding increased incomes could not have impacted on the communities significantly as only very few farmers benefitted from the project in each beneficiary local government.

Thus, in line with Sharma's (1989) views, increased incomes had little impact on the farmers' livelihoods because they were highly indebted and had many monetary issues to address. This explains why many of them could not afford sufficient inputs for their farms even with increased incomes.

Conclusion

The World Bank's interventions in Nigeria's rural development are yet to produce sustained improvement in the living conditions of rural dwellers who are mainly farmers. Many reasons have been attributed to this failure, including corruption and bad governance (Chakravarti, 2005). Despite the Bank's interventions and many attempts by successive governments in Nigeria to develop the rural areas, poverty, unemployment and other socio-economic indicators of development in the areas are below national averages (Omotesho, 2015).

In conclusion, the study reveals mixed findings regarding the impact of the

FADAMA II project on sustainable rural development in Kaduna State. The findings suggest increased knowledge uptake among farmers, but without adequate resources to effectively put such knowledge to good use. Also, increased incomes among farmers did not directly translate into significant improvement in their living conditions and the development of their communities as they were faced with many monetary challenges that impeded the improvement of their livelihoods. Generally, the project's contributions to the development of the rural communities were limited in scope and could not have engendered the development of the areas.

Therefore, the paper recommends that the state needs to play greater role in regulating the World Bank's interventions in Nigeria. The state should study the Bank's intervention policies and review those aspects that do not benefit its citizens. Also, the state should show more commitment towards the development of the rural areas. Rural development projects (infrastructure, services, etc.) should be driven by the needs of the areas and they should be implemented effectively. This will reduce the influence of the World Bank in that regard.

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