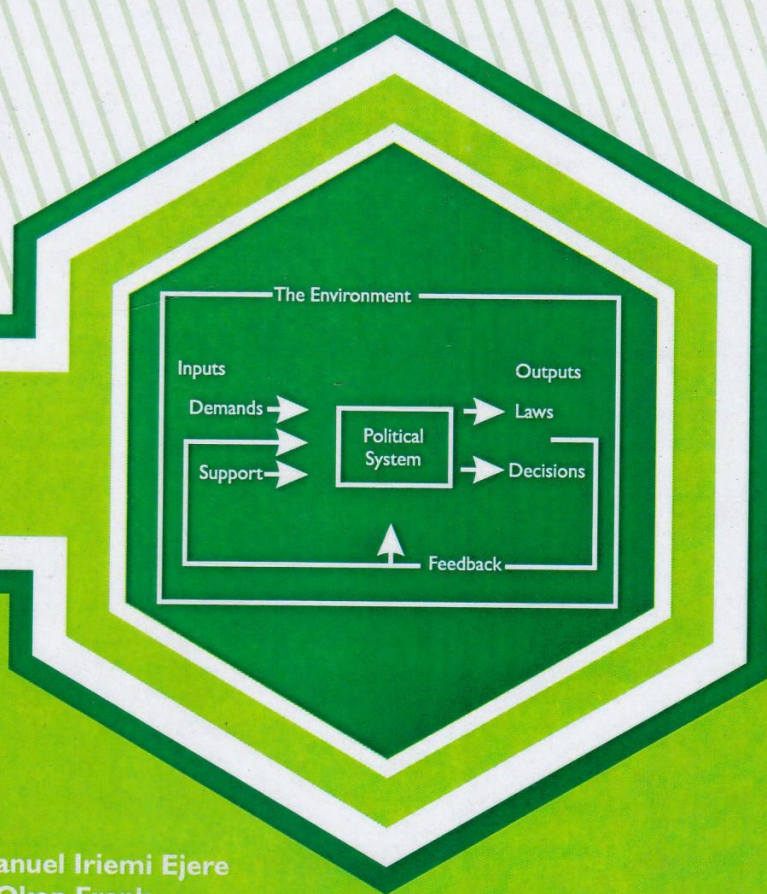


ISSUES IN PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND DECISION MAKING



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CHAPTER NINE

PERSPECTIVES IN NIGERIA'S AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

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Introduction

Nigeria emerged from the colonial era as an independent state in 1960 and attempted to catch-up with progress made in post-colonial societies like all others that had emerged from colonialism by becoming a "developmental state". A developmental state is one which is neck deep in state-led macroeconomic planning. In this kind of state there is strong control over the economy through strong state intervention and extensive regulation of the entire economy in order to drive it in the direction it desires. One approach to development was through agricultural development which Nigeria by its size had advantage, with a vast land area of about 91 million hectares. Agriculture is the art and science of cultivating the soil, producing crops, and raising livestock and preparing these for the consumption of man and industries. Nigerians were already surviving through this original occupation of man. The state was to take this to a stage of higher productivity by its intervention. The pursuit of development through the agricultural approach was considered logical given that the analysis of the developmental steps of most advanced societies, indicated that in their early stages of growth, increase agricultural cultivation and production had been a categorical imperative. This eventually aided the industrial sector and by extension the entire economy, even as this was not the case in Nigeria then and now. This study basically examined the various perspectives that had been used to pursue food sufficiency through the public policy perspective in Nigeria.

This paper is structured into sections. The first introduces the subject of the study, objective, significance, problem addressed, methodology and framework of analysis. Section II, examines the public policy perspectives on agriculture. Section III presents the analyses of the various public policies relating to agriculture up to 2019, while section iv identifies the cross-cutting issues which have affected the agricultural

perspectives, with conclusion and recommended steps pursuant to agricultural food security in Nigeria.

SECTION I

Nigeria became self-sufficient in food production in the early days of independence even as the climate created regional agricultural specialization in Nigeria. It should be noted that this was the handy works of the colonial masters who had identified where to cultivate what as a result of the soil texture and the weather condition so as to provide raw material for the industries back in England. However, nature had created three vegetational zones in Nigeria, which determined the type of food cultivated by each zone. The zones were: (i) the Equatorial rain forest belt of the South (ii) the Guinea Savannah of the middle belt and (iii) the Dry semi-desert in the North (Titilola, 1998). These natural zones created agricultural specialization from where we got zonal specialization in cocoa, groundnut and palm oil as the main cash crops from the Western, Northern and Eastern regions respectively, with abundance of food crops cultivated alongside the cash crops. All these have now changed and Nigeria is now a net importer of food with the attendant threat that faces any nation that cannot feed itself.

One of the objectives of this chapter is to highlight the various approaches and public policies which Nigeria had adopted at one time or the other, pursuant to attaining food sufficiency. Another is to highlight the fact that, in order to use agriculture as a springboard for economic development, public policy should deliberately create linkages between the agricultural and the industrial sector. Additionally, it is to highlight the missing link which account for the persistent failure of public policy in respect of agriculture to be able to boost food production. This is because, in the newly developed economies, there is often the dependence of industries on agriculture, but in Nigeria, there has hardly been any such symbiosis; hence, there is no mutual interdependence between these critical sectors, with agriculture feeding the industries with raw materials. It is also the aim of this work to outline what ought to be done through agricultural policies given the burgeoning population growth in Nigeria to achieve food security and enhance the political power of Nigeria. It is instructive to know that food is today a weapon of politics. The capacity

to produce a country's food requirement is an index of power, else the country is susceptible to external influences.

The study would be significant in a number of ways, as it would illustrate the disconnection between public policy on agriculture and the worsening food insecurity in Nigeria. It would illustrate how the agricultural sector can support the industrial and manufacturing sectors respectively. Above all, it would state the *modus operandi* for food security in Nigeria. In the final analysis, it would show that multiplicity of public policies on agriculture would not solve the problem of food deficit before prescribing steps necessary to resolve the problem.

It is important to state that at the moment Nigeria has not been able to feed the citizens without external food import. Principal among the food imported is rice which has become a staple food in Nigeria. According to the United States Department of Agriculture (2018), Nigeria was the third largest importer of her rice. Nigeria also imports the same product from Thailand and many other Asian countries to meet up with demand. What made this problem more intriguing is that, given a well thought out public policy, rice and many other foods being imported could be cultivated adequately in Nigeria, in Bansara Cross River, Afikpo-Ebonyi, Kebbi state, Mambilla, Adamawa State, Kano and many other areas with river basins through a coordinated execution of the policy.

It should be noted that between 1960 - 66, Nigeria was almost self-sufficient in food production with an estimated population of about 53 million people then, but today with an estimated population of about 190 million people, Nigeria is importing food. In this day of food as a weapon of war, Nigeria is therefore susceptible to the powers that supply her foods.

A critical aspect of this problem is that, governments have been generating public policies meant to turn around the situation since independence, yet the food situation has remained unchanged and Nigeria has remained a net importer of food including rice. It may be that the quality of the policies and its duration, execution or the policy actors may be the variables which have hindered the successes of policies from addressing the situation adequately.

Nigeria is a world rated producer of raw tomatoes, yet she imports tomato paste for the tomato industry; a world producer of cassava, yet it imports starch for the textile industries; a third largest producer of

plantain, yet, has not supplied plantain paste to the pharmaceutical industries. It has also not converted cassava and maize into flour for bread, oats and cornflakes respectively.

Let it be stated categorically that, with an extensive cultivable land area of about 91 million hectares, extensive coastline, Nigeria should have been able to get it right in this direction. Poor agricultural output is connected to the rate of poverty. The National Bureau of Statistics 2012 reported that 112,519 million Nigerians now live in relative poverty. The Charity, 'Save the Children' a UK-based non-governmental organization reported that...Nigerians could not afford meat, milk or vegetables...children were abandoning school to help by working for food... Dr. Kamawa the UNIDO representative in Nigeria alerted that there is imminent food crisis which might provoke political unrest ... Nigeria spent ₦300 billion annually on the importation of food and beverages. According to the CBN Governor, Nigeria food import in the first six months of 2011 stood at one billion dollars (Frank, 2012).

If this is the trend, one can only imagine what the food import bill is as at today. Like Frank (2012) posited, since 2007, food related riots have occurred in 15 countries including 7 in Sub-Saharan African states with dire consequences. Nigeria may not be left out if something is not urgently done. It is a popular saying that a hungry man is an angry man. Hunger and poverty are not culture bound and do not know ethnicity. A hungry man would not be pacified by religion; hence, the Nigerian state must take urgent actions to avert the kind of public discontent seen in Latin American states, Asia and elsewhere.

Methodology

The descriptive method was deployed in this study because it is concerned with studying the characteristics of those who proposed the various agricultural policies. It focused on the 'what' of the research rather than on 'why' of the nature of the public policies regarding agricultural food production. Its essential emphasis was on describing the interests of the demographer who initiated the policies on agriculture over the years. Its procedures consisted of observation of the policy-making processes, in-depth evaluation of public policy processes compared with what obtained in respect of agricultural food production in Nigeria and survey of the outputs and impact of the various policies. It also invoked

cross-sectional description of agricultural policies outputs and impact in other climes in contrast with what was obtained in Nigeria over the years. The combination of observations, case-study of the agricultural policies, survey and cross-sectional procedures generated enormous data which were subjected to critical analysis against the theoretical methods of public policy-making and evaluation, to provide the conclusion reached in this study. Furthermore, since there are about 16 different agricultural policies before and after independence, we shall discuss the ones we considered the major ones, mention some others and proceed with the analysis.

Framework of Analysis

The theme of this reader is on Public Policy. The appropriate framework or angle of understanding and addressing the problem is public policy on agriculture. We proceed thus: (i) there is a public problem, which is that, the Nigerian state has not been able to provide adequate agricultural food for its citizens. As a result, it has to import food it could produce locally. This depletes its stock of foreign exchange and create trade deficit with the exporting nations (ii) the agent of the Nigerian state is of course the government (civilian or military or interim). This agent has to take actions, to resolve this problem affecting the public. (iii) the actions, decisions and inactions to sustain the status-quo, are taken by the government at the time pursuant to the problem referred to as public policy. It is the pathway, and the principles considered, whether in the public or ruling class interests to address the problems that constitute public policy.

The above illustration could be described as a systematized objective, methods and principles of conduct of a government or any other entity. Public policy can be official when it emanates from any arm (executive, legislative and judiciary) of government or any of its administrative or other agencies. For the government, public policies embodies its action and declaratory policies, and can be long, medium or short term. It consists of decision-making or choice selection between competing alternatives. The ideal object of public policy is to promote the public good and welfare of its individual members (Igwe, 2005:365).

Other scholars posited that the public policy processes consist of six stages which include: policy generation, formation, policy output,

implementation, performance and impact (Ikelegbe, 1994: 68). The stages espoused in Igwe (2005) is subsumed in Ikelegbe (1994). We shall proceed with the analysis of agricultural policies against these policy frameworks. Implicit in Igwe's conception are the following principles (i) that the interests of the policy-makers and that of the citizenry must cohere and when not, the public policy serves the interests of the ruling class while the citizens suffer (ii) public policy starts from identifying the public problems which affects the people (i.e. from below to the top) which indicates that the citizens must participate in governance by bringing their problems to the notice of the government (through the advisers, civil society activism, public opinion through the press, political parties, etc.) (iii) once public policy is made, it must be followed with *monitoring and evaluation, programme impact evaluation, and programme strategy evaluation* to assess the degree to which it is achieving the intended purpose (how the strategy is working and creating the intended impact). This is never the case with Nigeria's public policy as we hear budget speeches without review report on how the previous budget had performed.

A public policy is a statement of what an organization wants to do, what it is doing, what it is not doing and what would not be done. It can also be regarded as a general rule, regulation, guiding practices or actions in a particular activity or problem area. It specifies the line of action or proposed line of action in relation to certain activity areas. Categorically Ikelegbe submitted that a policy is a course of action and a programme of actions which is chosen from among several alternatives by certain actors in response to certain problems. Once taken, it guides the behavior, activities and practices and provides a frame for present and future decision (Ikelegbe, 1999). James Anderson (1984), in his narrative on 'Policy Formation and adoption' conjectured that public policy formulation goes through the processes of problem identification, policy agenda setting, policy formulations, and decision-makings. It is instructive to note that there is obvious overlap between the three perspectives of public policy making, all of which are making the same point.

It is critical to state that public policy is what the government or its agent does. This explains why current Nigerian government signed African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement, yet, he closed

the borders against rice and other goods import from sister countries. It was expected to extend the market for locally grown rice. This explained the assertion that public policy is what government does at any one time. Public policy-making can be characterized as a dynamic, complex and interactive system through which public problems are identified and countered by creating new public policy. Public problems can be economic, social or political in nature (Peter and Hill, 1998, 2005). Whatever its form, it should be resolved in the interest of the people or in the interest of the ruling elites. These are the angles in which decisions and pathways are decided with regard to agriculture in Nigeria.

SECTION II

Public Policies Perspectives on Agriculture

Nigeria had made several attempts since independence to recreate groundnut pyramids in the North, abundance of cocoa in the West and palm produce in the East through a number of public policies in agriculture. It is instructive to note that Nigeria became a developmental state by colonial design. A developmental state is one in which the state leads in the macroeconomic planning and directs the economy on behalf of the citizens. Nigeria acquired the veer of a developmental state from the colonial master's orientation whereby they ran the state in their own interests. After independence, Nigeria wanted to catch up with contemporary development using the prevailing trend. Every emerging state was developmental in nature and approach. In respect for agriculture, the colonial masters' decided what were to be cultivated in its interest. Nigeria had to control her agriculture likewise along the colonial lines, with the belief that the accumulation of foreign exchange was an indication of growth and development. This was how the Nigerian state acquired a dominant role in the economy beside the Keynesian advocacy during and after the European economic depressions of the 1930s. The influence of the Nigerian state with regard to agriculture came through public policy from the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development thus:

Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria (1946-1966)

Nigeria, under British colonialism, benefitted from the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter passed in 1945, whereby the colonial

authorities were urged to prepare their colonies for self-rule. The British colonial office then drew up a development plan which was to lapse in 1956 but was extended to 1966. The main emphasis of the plan programme was on building the transport and communication systems with little provision for industrial development. With respect to agriculture, attention was concentrated on a limited range of cash crops such as cocoa, palm products, cotton, groundnut and timber log. The development plan did not take into consideration the participation of the population being planned for (Ayo, 1988:2).

The colonial policy was aimed at producing raw materials in Nigeria to feed their industries in England. The policy on agriculture was export driven and the practice was mechanized while the management system was under the supervision of the colonial officers. It served the colonial economy very well. The point here is that the policy on agriculture laid emphasis on cash crop production. It planned and executed the plan well and obtained the envisaged output and impact. Table 1 shows the effect of the colonial agricultural policy on the GDP.

Table 1: Showing the Performance of Agriculture under colonial Administration

Activity	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1960
Agriculture	771.6	846.4	877.4	908.4	959.0	984.2	936.0	1,098.8
Livestock	120.2	115.5	105.0	107.0	111.4	113.0	115.2	29.2
Forest Products	18.8	19.6	20.2	23.8	24.6	26.8	27.2	30.0
Mining	15.2	15.2	15.8	15.8	16.2	18.0	19.2	16.8
Manufacturing & Public utilities	39.4	39.8	43.6	44.8	48.2	50.2	57.0	113.0

Sources: *Federal Office of Statistics, Lagos, cited in Edward Jide (1988 4)*

Table 1 indicates that agriculture was the foremost contributor to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product 1950-60. It was skewed to produce 'cash crops' under the supervision of the colonial master, using mechanized technique. It was export focused at the detriment of food crop cultivation. Extensive state farms plantations were located in the then three (3) regions with colonial resident officers supervising, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the policy. Nigerians earned

foreign exchange, held in colonial banks and used same to pay for imported manufactured goods created out of the raw-materials cultivated in Nigeria. The legacy of public policy inherited was to exclude the people from the policy-making process, to ensure that external interests and that of policy-makers are served to the detriment of the citizens.

Agricultural Policy 1966-70

This was the period of the civil war in which agriculture probably took place only in the North and the West, while the Southeast which was the theatre of the war experienced no serious agriculture. Government's attention was diverted to the civil war; hence, there was no particular policy on agriculture. Rather, rather the inherited agricultural policy at independence prevailed. Its outputs started dropping because of the destruction caused by the civil war and the fact that no one was monitoring and reshaping the strategies. International Red Cross and the World Food Programme came to the rescue of the Southeast. Where agriculture took place, it was on subsistence level and small holder farmstead.

It is important to note that this period fell within the 'First National Development Plan 1962-68'. The share of agriculture to the GDP dropped considerably from 61 percent in 1962/63 to about 56 per cent in 1967/68 (Ayo, 1988 p.7). Beside the effect of the civil war, the elite attention shifted to mining, which destroyed most arable lands in the middle belt of Nigeria.

National Accelerated Food Production 1972-74

It would be recalled that there is often no agricultural production during war years anywhere. The civil war ended 1970, food production dropped considerably and the federal government launched the National Accelerated Food Production Programme. It was intended to end food crisis which arose as a result of the civil war with lopsided production. Its aimed at educating the farmers on improved techniques of farming. Its strategy was to be transferred to the farmers through several workshops, seminars and demonstration practices. The other modus operandi of the system was to form the farmers into cooperatives for the disbursement of inputs to them and cost sharing of whatever was to be given to them. By this approach, non-members of farmers' cooperatives were excluded from benefitting from government subsidies. There was misuse of funds

credited to the farmers by the executives of the cooperatives. This policy, like all others before it, suffered critical challenges which rendered it dysfunctional.

River Basin Development Authority 1975

This again was created to take advantage of the various river basin alluvial deposits which are always very rich for agricultural practices, which were many in the country. The attraction was from the success story of Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in the USA. It also was meant to manage water resources by building dams in order to trap water for agricultural purposes. Nigeria has 19 River basin authority facilities from about 19 river sources. It would help in stemming the effect of Sahel drought on all season farming in the North particularly through irrigation. Nigeria still had to import food to supplement local production. This meant that there were missing links still prevailing.

Agricultural Development Project (ADP) 1975

The World Bank came to the rescue with the idea of ADP in most parts of the country on a bilateral arrangement. They contributed to setting up ADPs farm settlement mostly in the North, while Nigeria paid counterpart funding to support farm settlements for producing certain crops. ADP was established to improve the agricultural productivity and by extension the income of smallholder operators in the rural areas in the ADP projects and around the project because of the spill-off effect. It was created in 1972, two years after the civil war when Nigeria had critical food shortage because there were no cultivations in the Southeast and many other areas as a result of the war. It was meant to pool the small holders' farmers together and provide for them, services which they could not provide for themselves. The funding was to come from the World Bank, Federal and the States governments. After the pilot scheme, the projects were scaled up in 1984 to cover the entire country. The outcomes and impact of ADP have not been compiled, its success rate in boosting food production when compared with the cost input ratio, would be in the negative range.

Operation Feed the Nation 1976-79

After the civil war ended in Nigeria in 1970, agricultural production naturally dropped. The North which was producing during the civil war period, faced Sahel drought, the East was the theatre of the war, hence not producing anything, the Western production could not suffice to meet the demands of Lagos where everyone had migrated to, hence there was real food shortage; food aid could not suffice.

The 'push-pull' dynamics had caused many young men to move to the urban centers with attendant urban problems, leaving the rural areas devoid of manpower to cultivate the land. The outcome was very low agricultural outputs and low agricultural ratio to the GDP.

In May 1976 during the budget presentation, the then Head of State and Government announced the new public policy to boost agriculture known as 'Operation Feed the Nation' (OFN). The thrust of OFN was for all the available cultivated land around anyone to be cultivated to produce own food in order to reduce food importation. Schools, colleges, institutions and organizations were to become self-reliant in food production by growing their own crops and selling off the surplus generated.

The government facilitated extension services to farms, subsidized fertilizers distribution, encouraged large scale farming by commercial farmers, aircraft were acquired to spray pesticides in farms, poultry chicks were distributed to farmers, large tracts of land were acquired for the establishment of agricultural estates which would house other farmers with access to extension officers. Nigeria Agricultural Cooperative Bank was established to extend loan facilities to farmers and credit guarantee scheme was created. To encourage this in schools, Biology and Agriculture teachers attended crash courses to incorporate this into the syllabus. This lasted till the return to the civilian government in 1979. However, OFN could not turn around the agricultural food deficit in Nigeria. The challenges that confronted it were encountered by other public policies on agriculture and would be treated in the relevant section of this treatise.

Green Revolution 1980-84

The theory and practices of Green Revolution elsewhere (Europe) had led to increased agricultural revolution hence duplications all round

the world. It is often research-based to produce hybrid seedlings that are high yielding. It was initiated by the civilian government of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) which had promised more agricultural food production in order to stop food importation. It acquired trawlers for fishing in the coastal states and large farm settlement in the hinterland. This policy ended in 1983 with the military intervention. It is important to state the irony of this policy, was that at the end of the regime, Nigeria rice import bill hit the roof. Nigeria had 'rice Armada' with then minister of transport, then chairman of rice importation going into exile on the fall of the regime. The Green Revolution did not achieve one third of the stated objectives as the project was subjected to a lot of abuses.

Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRI) 1985-1992

This was the period of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) arising from a World Bank loan taken by the government after an extensive country wide debate where Nigeria resolved against taking of the loan. The government then decided to boost food production by providing infrastructure in rural areas to boost the evacuation of farm products. This was on the hope that there was enough food produced in the rural areas without the access to the urban markets. This turned out to be a rouse as many active hands had been pushed and pulled out of the rural areas to the cities in search of non-existing opportunities. The roads were rendered impassable, fertilizers racketeering took place and corruption became instituted. Food production did not increase, Nigeria remained deficit in food production. Structural adjustment failed to achieve the purpose of increased food production. The other relevant policies were: Nigeria Agricultural Insurance Scheme, National Fadama Development Project 1992, National Special Program for Food Security 2003-2006. They were policy thrust introduced in the middle of the operation of other policies. All these did not change Nigeria's status as a food deficit nation to food exporter. It indicated the failures of these public policies in agriculture.

The Seven Point Agenda 2007-2009

The second civilian government of President Yar'Adua instituted the Seven Point Agenda manifesto, one of which was to achieve 'food

security' rather than follow in the foot step of the immediate past government which could not but import a great deal of food particularly those ones which could be produced locally. However, the ill-health and eventual death of the late president denied Nigerians and, of course, this study the benefit of the knowledge of the techniques imbedded in the 'Seven-point Agenda' for the attainment of 'food security in Nigeria. The problem of 'time' was the culprit and the inability of the succeeding government to continue with the policy, made its evaluation an impossible task.

Agricultural Transformation Agenda 2012-2015

The agricultural Transformation Agenda was packaged and managed by experts, economists and agriculturalists. It sought in the main to achieve strong, inclusive and non-inflationary growth, attain employment generation and poverty alleviation, and achieve value-re-orientation of the citizenry to accept agriculture as a business. It created a database of farmers in the country for the first time and pegged it initially at 4.2 million in 2012 and 9.2 million in 2013. The corruption known in the distribution of fertilizer ceased to be because the farmers were engaging the sellers directly. Fertilizer vouchers applications were created in the mobile phones of farmers. E-wallet was used to buy farm inputs. Electronic wallet system was used to deliver fertilizers to farmers directly. Commercial Banks gave credit to farmers without creating specialized banks for this purpose. Food production increased but short of taking Nigeria away from the club of food deficit nations. There was a qualitative improvement in the situation.

Farm Service Centers Program 2015-2019

The agricultural programme and policy of the current administration could be gleaned from the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) document. The substance was narrated by the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, Muhammed Sabo Nanono who averred that the Federal government planed to establish farming service centers in 635 local government areas. In addition, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) was to install 17 Rice mills in Kano to ensue food security. The equipment which was to be imported as Complete Knocked Down (CKD) was to be assembled in Nigeria to

provide jobs for about three (3) million Nigerians. FADAMA in Kano was also to be expanded to cover about 180 million hectares of land.

The Farm Service Centers were to organize seminars for local farmers, focus on updated techniques for farming, teach them how to know the right texture of land for rice cultivation and orientate them to use high yielding species of rice. Nigeria has about 70 million farmers, but only about 14 million are experts in the use of modern agricultural techniques (Adeyemi, 2019). How this policy would generate food sufficiency and security is left to conjecture.

SECTION III

In this section of the study, we present the analysis where we breakdown the agricultural policies to identify the variables which accounted for their outputs and impacts in the GDP of Nigeria at the time of their operation. Nigeria has had about 15 agricultural policies to grow the economy, provide food for the population, which have grown from 53 million people in 1960 to about 190 million estimate by 2019. It would be recalled that public policies are intended to resolve public problems and create the envisaged society. It is a categorical imperative for policies analysis and evaluation to be conducted to ascertain the result attained. Impact evaluation could be conducted during or at the end of the policy programme period to ascertain the impact created against the expected quantum of effect.

It is important to state that the success of Marshall Plan after world war II, the Green Revolution in the 1960s and the increase in life expectancy and reduction in infant mortality due to various health interventions (Oakley, Pratt and Clayton, 1998 p.2), made experts to outline stages of evaluating social development such as agricultural policies through a four (4) stages paradigm (i) preparation (ii) execution (iii) analysis or evaluation including Monitoring and Evaluation (iv) reflection, and we use the term 'outcomes' and 'impact' to denote the more 'immediate' and 'long-term effect' of social development of agriculture respectively. We are conducting the analyses along this paradigm.

Ten Year Plan of Development 1946-66

Since it was carefully conceived to accord with the purpose of colonialism which was basically commercial in nature and focus, all the factors required to be successful in making Nigeria a producer of raw material to feed the English industries were factored into the preparation. Its execution was superb, the colonial residents in the then 3 regions (North, West, East) were on board of the implementation team. Midway, they evaluate the programme, conducted Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) and repositioned the strategies to achieve the intended goals. The immediate and long-term impact was adequately achieved. Nigeria remained till this day a producer of raw or crude materials to be processed in Europe. Table 1, indicated the positive effect of agriculture in the GDP. Above all, this was the only agricultural policy that lasted long enough (20 years); all the required inputs and regulations were followed to the latter. The four elements of the analytical continuum were consummated in this policy, the outcome were the various agricultural plantation and farm settlements found in Nigeria in the early days. Nigeria remained the producer of raw materials for Europe till this day, the long-term effect of that policy plan.

1966-70: The War Years

It is the conjecture of this analysis that the period of the state of emergency did not give room for any Public Policy on agriculture except defense policy. Agriculture was essentially subsistence in small holders' farmstead, both in the North and the West. Agriculture did not take place in the Eastern region because there were no cultivation occasioned by the emergency. The time which is desirous in planning a policy was not there, lack of food and the starving in East of food supply and cultivation even by international Red Cross Society became an instrument of warfare, hence there were no preparation, execution, analysis or evaluation. The only reflection was that, starving the East of agricultural production and supply of food aid, led to the early surrender of Biafra and an end to the civil war. This is how food has become an invitation for war. Any country can also use it against Nigeria if the agricultural policy is not strengthened.

SECTION IV

Agricultural Policies: Cross-Cutting Issues

There are several elements of public policy concern that were either omitted or not invoked because of the nature of the government which cut across almost all the policies. This is the highlight of this section of the work. In the first place, it is important to note that agriculture involves the preparation of the land/farm or incubators, acquiring the seedlings and the inputs, allowing the seedlings to germinate after planting, tending the growing crops, allowing them to mature, harvesting, processing, storing, packaging and marketing. These entail down and upstream activities. All these require time for the policy to take effect, yet all the agricultural policies discussed herein had an average life-span of three (3) years. This is certainly not adequate for the policies to go through the stages of policy making and have the corresponding outcomes and impacts. This explains why it was only the colonial policy on agriculture which was initiated in 1946 and lasted through independence that had outcomes and impact which is noticeable till this day.

The exceptional cases of DFRRRI and SAP must be mentioned. Though it had the luxury of time eight years, it failed the test of public policy analytical framework applied in this study, as deposed to in the preceding analysis. Public policies require time to mature because they are about men in society.

Secondly, agricultural transformation agenda did not have the bonus of six years as may be assumed, but rather, four years, since the first two years of the government was about finding legitimacy. The lifespan view of public policy is also true of the farm Service Centre programme which has just been unveiled.

Thirdly, almost all public policies in Nigeria not limited to agricultural policies do have the challenges of implementation. Implementation is the means through which a programme is actually converted from the design to bringing the issues to actuality. It would involve coordination by sectoral leaders and above all, involve monitoring and evaluation. However, this important aspect of policy design is often the missing link in public policy programming and execution in Nigeria. Implementation would involve a degree of decentralization of power to take decisions during Monitoring and Evaluation and re-strategize. The

power to take decisions during monitoring should be cautiously delegated. This shortcoming confronted all policies on agriculture except the colonial designed one.

Interference by politically exposed persons is a common public policy pathology in Nigeria whether in the military or civilian dispensation. It is not uncommon to find the debt profile of agricultural Banks being made of politically exposed persons who have become emergency farmers going to pick loans meant for the farmers. This denies the genuine farmers the opportunities to obtain the facilities to purchase the required inputs to improve their farms with the attendant positive outcomes and impacts.

Conclusion

It is evident that public policies are meant to resolve societal problems. The case of food sufficiency in Nigeria has not been resolved through the perspective of public policy. There are two possibilities: the makers of the policies did so to serve their interests through continued food importation (when looked at, from the elites' model of public policy making). The second probability is that they meant well but had challenges in the implementation stages with implementers doing something different from the program design.

The appropriate thing to do therefore, is to ensure that public policy not only on agriculture follow the appropriate steps required, such as preparation, in which the goals sought are carefully spelt out. Also, the substance of the policy needs to be captured with Monitoring and Evaluation built into the processes during implementation. Above all, the public policy steps should follow the steps spelt out in this analysis. This would ensure that all activities to be carried out are conducted and where there are deviations, adjustments are made and strategies are changed during the monitoring and evaluation process. There should be reflection on the policy implementation processes and time allowed for outcomes and impact to be evaluated, with indicators of success defined.

Public policy requires time to generate outcome and impact. However, as shown from the analysis, the average lifespan of the policies on agriculture have been three years, too short to generate impact but not outcomes. In all these cases except the colonial policy, outcomes were

minimally seen. The processes of public policy conceptions and implementation in Nigeria need to be revisited.

Recommendations

Farms lands in Nigeria are too small – it is herein suggested that the concept of National Land Development Authority (NALDA) should be recreated and properly managed. By this token, large farmlands should be acquired, prepared and shared to farmers in the locality with processing facilities attached to the farms. This should include primary (harvesters, pesticides spraying, storage, etc.) and secondary processing services (packaging, marketing).

Marketing boards should be recreated to evacuate the products and pay the farmers according to their output. The marketing board would have the responsibility of storage, packaging and selling to the final consumers. The burden would have been lifted off the shoulders of the farmers. At every point of these services, agricultural credit scheme should be factored into it.

Financial facilities should be graded in the agricultural value chains. By this, the banks should be guided through this policy thrust to grant greater percentage of their loan portfolios (about 60%) to the downstream farmers (cultivators and farm owners) and forty percent (40%) to those in the agriculture value-chains through the e-wallet system after due cross checking of the facts. All farms must have their names. This would certainly generate outcomes and later impacts.

It is anticipated that, this perspective of public policy on agriculture would reposition Nigeria better in the schedule for food security and much better when it is connected to the industrial sector, to provide support for the manufacturing sector of the economy.

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